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ARTES SCIENTIA VERITAS

THE

PILLARS

OF

PRIESTCRAFT

AND

ORTHODOXY

SHAKEN.

IR FOUR VOLUMES.

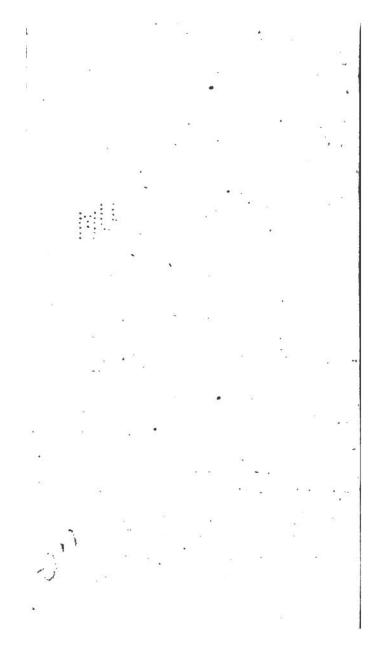
VOL. I.

The SECOND EDITION.

LONDON:

Printed for Mr. CABELL, in the Strand;
Mr. Kearsley, in Ludgate-street; Mr. Payne
and Mr. Johnson, in Pater-noster-Row; and
Mr. Young, under the Royal Exchange.

MDCCLXVIII.



English Blackw. 3-9-29 18973

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TO

Samuel Rhodes, Esq;

OF

Highgate in Middlesex.

SIR.

THE design of this Collection being to emancipate the minds of men, and to free them from those chains in which they have been long held to the great disgrace both of reason and christianity, I beg leave to dedicate the first volume to you: and I do it with great alacrity and pleasure, as I am thoroughly persuaded that every attempt to serve the glorious cause of liberty and truth, will be acceptable to a man of your generous and excellent spirit.

In countries enflaved, all truth is rigorously suppressed, all the avenues to religious knowledge and free enquiry are

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carefully blocked up; and it is penal, fometimes capital, to gainfay and oppose what power hath decreed and established. A few ages ago, our own country was in the same doleful condition; when nothing could be published but what supported fuperstition and tyranny, when the Priests had the direction of the press, and restrained it to their own vile purposes; to keep the people in ignorance and bondage. But, thanks to Heaven! our lot is fallen in happier times: and the only way to preferve our liberty, is to affert it; and to oppose all such principles and practices as are inconfiftent with it, or which threaten and endanger the loss of it.

The worth of liberty is inestimable; it comprehends all human selicity: and it is impossible for any man to love God or his country, who does not study to promote the principles of liberty, and to serve its cause. Where liberty is gone, all is gone that is precious and dear to men!

For this reason, it may be justly expected that all who are friends to mankind, will ever oppose priestcraft and spiritual tyranny, as these have been ever found the greatest foes to truth and the happiness of men. In the professors of christianity this is a most indispensible duty, both from a regard to men's temporal good, and from that concern which they ought to have for the honour and purity of their religion. It is certain that nothing has been a greater hindrance to the reception of this religion among men, nothing has more obstructed its progress in the world, than the abfurd and felfish doctrines, the superstitious and foolish practices, which have been blended with it and fathered upon it. To free it from thefe, would be the means of recommending it to all men: and it is very probable, that when once it is feparated from all heterogeneous and foreign mixtures, its divinity will be acknowledged, and all men , will readily e nbrace it.

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When

When christianity first appeared, it was a light to the world; it comforted and made glad the heart of man: but the corruptions, inventions, and additions of after-ages, rendered it a difgrace to human reason, a burden and curse to human kind. For many centuries it was buried under such a mass of superstition, that it could not be distinguished from the worst. fort of Paganism itself. In Christendom all was darkness, horror, and chains. Here is an everlasting reason for opposing all Priests, and an unanswerable argument against all their claims of power and authority. For, from the power and pride of priefts it was, that all these terrible evils Not content with being paftors and ministers according to the primitive institution, they set up for Lords and Rulers: And when they were become masters of all things, and wielded both the spiritual and civil sword, it was death and damnation to relift them.

Does it not highly concernall christians, to know and consider these things? If men 遊戲

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2-men had exercised their reason, or understood their just rights, their christian liberby; could they possibly have been thus . blinded and enflaved? And is not this ample warning to all Protestant States, that have in some measure recovered their liberty, to guard against all priestly encroachments, to break every remaining 'yoke; 'and to encourage a spirit of free enquiry in their people, as what alone can preserve and perpetuate their liberty? If neither the bitter experience of past ages, nor the dreadful condition of Popith countries at this day, can open our eyes, and teach us wisdom; we must be the blindest, the most intensible, the most stupid and infatuated of all people.

Of late years religious knowledge hath greatly encreased in this nation, and the nature and design of christianity are now better understood than ever: but of what avail are all our improvements in knowledge, if we must still be slaves to the laws and

and customs, the doctrines and practices of dark and barbarous ages? How can we blame Papists for following Tradition, tho' contrary to the light both of reason and revelation, when we ourselves are the most prostrate worshippers of custom, and reverence error for antiquity's sake? Better be in ignorance, than thus hold the Truth in unrighteousness, to slash in our saces and condemn us!

Whoever compares the scriptures with the articles and canons of our national church, will see how little we have of christian truth and liberty, and what remains there still are of popish corruption and tyranny. Can any man reconcile the right of private judgment, and the apostolical injunction to prove all things, with the twentieth article of the church; by which the Priests claim a power over all human understanding, and by denying us a right to think for ourselves, treat us as brute beasts?

Let them shew us, if they can, how the use of reason and their damning creeds agree; and the consistency of eursing in churches, or that it is less shocking for men to damn their neighbours in the worship of God, than in an ale-house or a gin-shop!

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It can never be a just defence of these things, to tell us, that they are established by law. Human authority is not the standard of Truth; nor is it in the power of any men to make that which is wrong, to be right. A law compelling us to eat what we do not relish, or cannot digest, would be less unnatural than a law commanding us to believe what we do not understand, or judge to be falle. If our · laws are inconfiftent with reason and truth and public good, have we not a right to abolish them? If not; what a ridiculous and contemptible, what a base and unworthy nation are we, to boast of knowledge and freedom?

Sir,

T

Sir, I mention not these things for your infraction, but for your edification; to animate and fortify you in the noble opposition you have hitherto made to established falshood and folly. In matters of Religion, neither the great vulgar, nor the small, have any concern what they profess or act. Where honours, wealth, and preferments are annexed to any opinions, the great will ever profess and maintain them, how false and wicked · forver they be; whill truths that are attended with reproach and poverty, or any degree of perfecution, will have few friends, few advocates and followers in this world. But if there be a God, the love of truth is a fiare title to his favour : and hereafter They shall shine with distinguifhed honour, that here flood up for Truth and Liberty in a degenerate age; and by their example, influence, and all their abilities, studied to promote their interest amongst men. Who would defert

t so glorious a cause, with such rewards prospect? That you will never desert I have the greatest reason to believe; I Therefore I thus publicly declare self to be, with great esteem and oftion.

SIR,

Your bigbly obliged friend,

And most bumble forwant,

1752.

Richard Baron.

THE

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HE death of the Reverend Mr.
Baron, the Editor of the following valuable Tracts, has not only
given his friends much concern, but
has likewise disappointed them in their
expectation of a spirited address by
way of preface.

Mr. Baron's character was one of the most artless and undisguised that ever appeared in the world.

He was a man of real and great learning—of fixed and steady integrity—and a tender and sympathizing heart.

He firmly believed in Revelation, and for this very reason was infinitely more concerned to promote the cause of TRUTH and VIRTUE in the world, than to procure any emoluments or advantages to himself.

VOL. I.

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No

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No man was ever more zealous in the cause of civil and religious Liberty than Mr. Baron.

The whole bent of his studies led him this way—well did he understand the cause in its utmost extent—warmly was he animated whenever it was the subject of debate, and zealously indignant was he, when he thought it attack'd, or in danger of subversion.

Could he haverestrained the natural impetuosity of his temper, no man would have had more friends or better deserved them.—With many virtues and a sew faults—which only wanted the elevation of an higher station and a better fate to have assumed the form of virtues—Mr. Baron past the greatest part of his life in penurious circumstances—which neither abated the generous ardour, or overcame the laudable

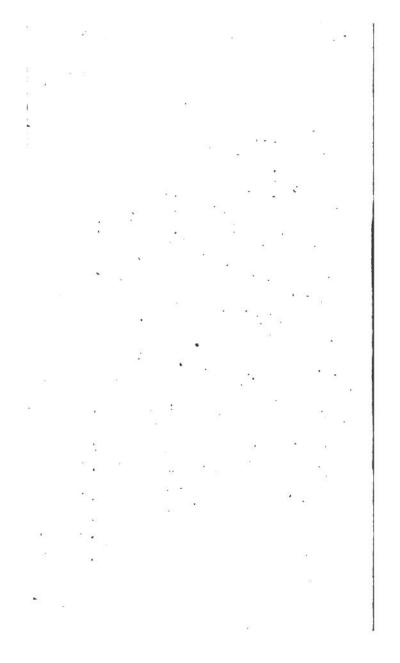
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able independency of his spirit. These are virtues, which, when exerted in a low sphere, seldom bring their reward to the possessor; yet these, with their blessed effects, are all this good man left behind him for the consolation and support of a widow and three children.

Virtus laudatur et alget.

Mr. Baron to the last moment of his life retain'd a truly grateful sense of his obligations to his friends.—Just before he expired, (his gratitude struggling with nature for expression) Thank, thank, said he, my friends for all they bave, and all that they are doing for me.

The public may depend on it that whatever profits may arise from the following work, they shall be all faithfully applied to the benefit of Mr. Baron's family.



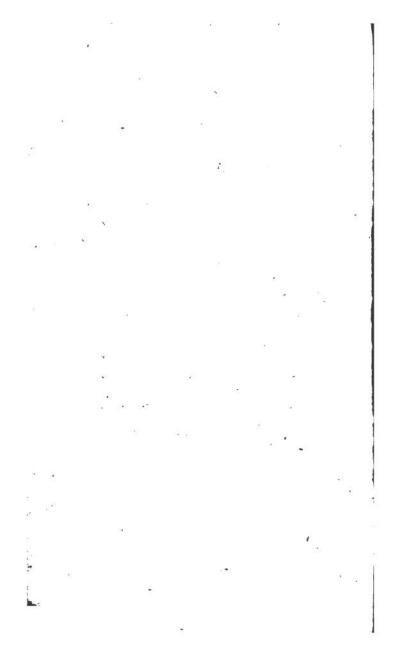
DISCOURSE

ON

ISAIAH Ixvi. 7, 8.

Preached upon the 10th of June, being the Birth-day of the Pretender, many years fince.

First printed in the year 1715.



ISAIAH Ixvi. 7, 8.

Before she travailed she brought forth; before her pain came, she was delivered of a man child.

Who bath heard fuch a thing? Who hath feen fuch things? Shall the earth be made to bring forth in one day, or shall a nation be born at once?

HE works of nature, which we every day contemplate, lie within the compais of our reason, and if we cannot fee into their first causes. yet we can trace them in their powers and effects, so as to be able to give some case and fatisfaction to our natural defire after knowledge. Our observations on material objects being frequently repeated, and our fenfes giving certain evidence of their truth, lead us into a competent ikill to judge of the rife. progress, and decay of many substances, or natural beings. Various are the instances of this kind, in which we may fafely fay, that we cannot be deceived, or that we must first forfeit both our fenses, and our reason, before we can fuffer any delution to pals upon us in these common occurrences. There are in-B 2 deed

deed some truths which are equally certain with these more obvious ones, and in these one man may be more capable of being imposed upon than another, from the unequal degrees of knowledge, or the indifferent exercises and attainments of their rational faculties; but still there are common cases in which every man above the class of an ideot is an equal judge, and wherein the clown and the philosopher are upon the same level.

If a man cannot tell what degrees of motion, kindle a flame, yet he can certainly know as well as the best naturalist, that one slame will kindle en ther; if he cannot tell how the food supplies the body with additional parts for its prefervation and increase, yet he can perceive it is nourished and increased by the food that is conveyed into the vessels. In these operations of nature, which are the objects of our daily experience, we may lay it down as a maxim, that it is impossible to be deceived. And yet there is a church, and a mighty one too, which in direct contradiction to the evidence of fenfe, the natural refults of reason, would, and does impose the grossest cheats imaginable upon its members, under the notion that their ferfes are deceived in the most obvious and plain experiments in life-With them it is no difficulty, for a body to be in ten thousand places at one time, for the substance which you see, feel, smell, and taste, to be a different substance to what all these senses represent it to be; or, in the instance of my text, for a woman to being so the, before travails, and be delivered of a man child, before her pain comes.

And now if we should add with the prophet, who has heard fuch a thing, who has feen fuch things? Their answer is ready, the church out of its holy treasury of legends furnishes us with a thousand instances equally improbable, equally contradictory to the received notions, and certain experience of all mankind. . There are not only those who have heard of these natural impossibilities, but those who have feen them, and will witness to their truth; they have ocular demonstrators against common fense, and hearsay evidences innumerable for the proof of facts which never have been. The earth shall be made to bring forth in one day, and a nation shall be made at once; that is, the ordinary methods of a beginning from fome certain principle, and a gradual encrease by regular and natural means shall be superfeded, and that which requires time, pains, and industry for its growth, be formed and perfected at one instant, or in so short a space as to be equally the object of wonder, as if B 3 it

it had been produced and finished at once. Such a case as this, in which Isaiab appeals to the testimony of the world, if ever they had heard of, or feen fuch a thing, is a flight and common matter with the church of Rome, whose forge of miracles is always at work, and fo many constant artificers employed in that pions drudgery, that though it has produced wonder after wonder for these many a century, it still labours on, and with very little pains, and a competent stock of assurance, still brings forth more and more, fo that they are now become like the multitude mentioned in the Revelations, which no man could number. But that ye, brethren, may be warned from falling into the errors and superstitions of those who lay in wait to deceive your and that you may fly from the snare, which is fet for the weak and ignorant; I shall take occasion from the words I have named to you, to shew you in particular,

First, The monstrous absurdity of that church in its perpetual forgery of new miracles, and how much it derogates from the honour and truth of christianity.

And in the fecond place, I will plainly tell you the end and defign of their pretentions to miracles. And in the last place, make a particular application of the words of my text, to the occasion of the present time.

First then: It is absurd in the church of Rome for to pretend to the exercise of a miraculous power in that filly and ridiculous manner it does, and brings a very great discredit upon miracles themselves, and so reflects a dishonour upon Christ and his followers, who never had recourse to that method of conviction, but upon proper and extraordinary occasions. The miracles which were worked by our bleffed faviour, were in testimony of his mission, that he came from God for those purposes which lie informed his hearers he did, and therefore he very often for the truth of his milfron and doctrines appeals to his miracles; as when he fays, if they would not believe him, they should believe his works. In the same manner the apostles have recourse to the mighty works which they wrought for the confirmation of the doffrine which they received from their master, and propagated in his name. And certain it is, that whoever offers any thing to the belief of another, pretending that he comes from God, must have some evident proof of his divine mission: since no man is obliged to believe him meetly upon his own testimony. BA

testimony. For this would make way for a perpetual series of delusion, if every pretender to divine inspiration was to be believed without proof. Now the proof is the extraordinary assistance God assords to the person who really comes in his name, and this assistance appears either in the spirit of prophecy, or the power of miracles; both which, but especially the latter, were visible in the apostles, and were an evident confirmation of the doctaines which they taught.

Now there can be no occasion for new miracles, unless there be new dectrines; and here indeed the church of Rome feem to have made the first necessary, by their plentiful introduction of the latter. But have they really any of these which may be depended upon? Have they supported their additional articles of faith with confirmatory works beyond the power of natural agents? Here they glory, here they triumph. Their flock of miracles is inexhaustible, for there is not a relique of theirs which has not wrought mighty wonders, not a country faint (for they make a difference) but that the curate of the place shall tell you more miracles of his performing, than you can read in all the acts of the apostles. As if christianity wanted more evidences now a days, and that in a christian country,

country, than when it was to struggle in its infancy against the cunning of the Greek, the ebstinacy of the Yew, and all the perverseness of a feduced, unenlightened world. But it is not only their living faints that do mighty things; there refides a power even in their ashes, in the minutest trifles that the good men wore, to perform the fame; nay a bair of many of them has worked as powerfully at a hundred miles distance after their decease, as if they themselves had been present, and upon the spot. As the bones of Scanderbeg were to influence his followers to conquer their worldly enemies, fo those of their fain's by an equal virtue are pioufly bequeathed to subdue fatar, and the powers of darkness. Here indeed I am upon a sad sublect of lies and fictions, but such a one as deserves to be displayed in its proper colours. How fhamefully ridiculous are even their own accounts of their miracles? Was it a worthy piece of the angelical ministration, for angels to go trotting over fea and land with a lead of timber and stones of the Virgin Mary's boufe, till at length they fet it down at Laretto, that it might be honoured with greater devotion? This flory feems the more filly, because if it had stood in the same place where it was built, their religion gives them a war- . rant to have visited it at any distance, and the merit of the pilgrimage would have well B 5

recompenced the tediousness of the journey. Is it not a goodly story to tell of a faint that walked a vast way after his head was cut off, with it in his arms, refting in some places to draw breath? And yet any one would pass for an infidel that should doubt of this at Se. The miracles of the chri-Dennis's church. flian faith, were grave and folemn actions; but what scenical ridiculous stories, not to fay blasphemous ones, make up the miracles of their faints! Again, the miracles of Christ and his apostles were acted in a public manner, in the view of all, and even before the face of their adversaries; but most of these wonders were transacted in corners, none being witnesses but persons concerned to own and vindicate the cheat: From hence it comes to pass, that they abound with so many fables of Christ's appearing in the host, sometimes as a child, and fometimes as crucified, when but very few of the whole company present were honoured with that amazing fight. Now when once it has been received as a truth that fomething miraculous may be performed among a great multitude, and yet may be only discernible by a select number, it soon becomes impiety to question any the most monstrous fiction that can be invented; and thus a foundation is laid for the juggling priesthood to trump . up as many miracles as they please, since they

may be easily furnished from their own society with proper evidences.

Further, the miracles of the christian faith were written in the times in which. they were acted, to the end that enquiries might have been made into their truth, or their falshood; and the powers who then gowerned, being adverturies to the christian faith if there had been any forgery, it had not: only been fafe but meritorious for its enemies . to have discovered them, and published them. to the world. But most of the miracles of Rome, have slept with their pretended performers many years, if not ages, and are never heard of till they are secure from the aftergame of discovery, and then they are blazoned out with mighty pomp and devotion. And here, when the inventor's head is at work, . he may as well trick up his faint, with a. hundred miracles as one; nay he has the whole creation before him, and nothing to obstruct his choice, and fo may pitch upon what wonders he thinks most likely to prove new and! fashionable. But we may fairly ask the queflion how it comes to pass, that in heretical! countries (as they are pleased to call them); where there is a greater necessity for those miracles, and where they might be proved, if true, by a more incontestable evidence, fincethe: B. 6.

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the examiners of them were not to be fufpected, yet none of those mighty works do show themselves forth? Are they confined to Italy, and Spain, and must we never be blessed with one . for the conversion of multitudes in Britain? This gives good grounds to believe their whole account to be a forgery, a bold impolition of a cunning imperious priefibood, working upon the ignorance, the credulity, or the fears of the laity. And indeed the contrivers of these stories have not managed their delign with such dexterity, as one might have expected from them; for they have beflowed as many wonders fometimes upon one perfon, as might have fainted half an order. And now, if any one is not fatisfied with finis, and their performances, let him confider farther what conformity the present Rome bears to the ancient, and what a low debased mimickry they have reduced the Christian religion to of Heathenish superstition. It will bear, I fear, too just a parallel; let those who make it, tremble at the effects and confequences.

Yet there is still something more dangerous behind in these miracle-morgers of the Remish church. For the people being taught to believe these forgeries, and the real miracles of the gospel with an equal certainty,

fince they have the testimony of the church. for both, and at the same time seeing such evident characters of fraud and forgery in these supposed miracles, as convince them of their falshood; are thereby in danger of fufpecting all the miracles of the gospel to be of the fame stamp, and only the artifices of a fet of cunning men, whose design was to delude the rest of mankind. This opens a way to direct Atheism, since finding the one falfe, they conclude the other to be fo too: and by consequence, cast away all religion at once, as a piece of political delusion, contrived only for the interest of the deceivers. Justly therefore may we fay, that this practice of the church of Rome, brings a discredit upon miracles themselves, and is so far from promoting the real interest of christianity, that it dishonours it to the greatest degree; it being certain, that fo much as the best cause is promoted by the worst means, fo much in the eye of the generality of judges it detracts from the goodness of that cause. Yet we who are placed in a happier light. as we by this fee the falle spirit that reigns. in that church, fo we diffinguish the true one in a most particular manner, which cannot deceive, and which has given it us, as an indication of the fon of perdition, that his coming should be after the fower of futan, with all power and

The Piliars of PRIESTCRAFT

figns and lying wonders, and with all deceiveableness of unrighteous ess, 2 Thest. ii. 9, 10.

And now, since we have seen the absurdity of this pretended multiplication of miracles, and the dangerous consequences that it has upon the christian faith, let me open to you the real end and design that the church of Rome has in all these contrivances; which was my second proposal.

If we then go behind the scenes of this ridiculous pageantry, we shall see the springs and movements that set this engine of superstition at play, and discover the great secret of this mystery of iniquity. The church you may be sure does not play its tricks for nothing; there must be something to be got by spritual legerdemain, or the actors would never be at the pains of shewing so often. The design then of this continual scene of miracles, is no other than interest, which is of two kinds; first, the great gain that it brings to the church; and secondly, the tyrany that it maintains over the minds of the people.

First then; though the Romis church has many ways of enriching itself, yet the same, and their feats, bring no small addition to the holy treasury. Gregory's dialogues first began the trade, which soon proved so thriv-

ing a one, that the masters of the mystery were: resolved not to part with it on any terms. The case of Demetrius, who made the filverthrines for Diana, is much the fame with thepriefts of Rome: for Diana was proved a goddefs by no better argument, than the fons of that communion are proved faints: the heathen, indeed, was more plain and open in his dealing, when he fairly told his brethren, Sirs, you know that by this craft we have our wealth, and then they found a convincing reason to cry out, Great is the Diane of the Eph fians ! Our fore-fathers have heard the same in Englard upon the like occasion : Great is St. Becket of Canterbury! has been as popular and as gainful a clamour to the zealots of Rome. The multimen of offerings from every degree of people, (for none that can give can be excused from giving) vastly encreases the fanclified treasuries of every particular church, and at the same time. adds to the general flock; for the pope being himself a greater faint than any of the dead ones, must have a share in all the contributions to them. And here we may take notice what lengths men will run, when they once take up a new vain superstition; for since their trade commenced, faints have been appointed, not only to every country, but to every baufe, for every trade, and every difeafe. So that however poor and miserable the inhabi-

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tants of any place are, they must have a confrant tax to pay to the faint of the neighbourhood, or that of their profession, or if they have an inclination to live well with the priess their masters, to both. Thus is this kind of goddiness in the literal sense, great gain.

Now there is not one of all this train that stuff the pontifical calendar, but has been a mighty wonder-worker, and has a fufficient number of testimonies to maintain his credit with the people. It is true, fome of them grow old and unfashionable, but not from any decay of real power to do the fame great things they had done before; but because the directors of the holy machinery have got some new impostor to amuse the vulgar; and it is well known, that new faints, and new reliques bear a great price at their markets. Beside that, faintship itself costs very dear, and whatever may be gained afterwards by the bargain, the faints family, and the religious house where he is to keep his residence, and perform his miracles, pay fufficiently to the apostolick chamber for his admittance into that dignified order. So that the power of working miracles is first fold at a lump by his holiness, and then retailed out by the purchalers to their cultomers. Such are the artifices of the vicar of St. Peter: thefe the dtlu fions

lusions of an avaricious insatiable pack of priests, to maintain the outward splendor and magnificence of their church, that the inward defects of purity of saith and doctrines, may be the less pryed into and observed. Which leads me to the second end of their multiplication of miracles, which is,

To preserve an arbitrary tyranny over the minds of the people. The church of Rome well ... knows that no tyranny is more absolute than Supersition, that when it has once taken root in the foul, it grows and flourishes into a thoufand abfurdities, and is hardly removeable without taking away that religion itself upon which it is grafted. This then is to be cherished and kept warm in the bosom of their deluded members by a continual shew of false appearances, that strike an awe upon their senses, and fire their imaginations with ideas of terror and admiration. Hence proceed all their folemn pomp of festivals, their processions, and their publick exhibitions of their faints. The poor wretches have not time left them to examine into one gaudy wonder (if they were inclined to it) before another strikes upon them with equal fplendor; and thus the show continges with their lives. No fooner has the cagulated blood of one faint begun to flow, but the image of the virgin keeps up the amazement

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ment of the vulgar, by a short speech to some holy man; and the virgin has not long been dumb, but tears, or blood, run down from the face or side of some martyr or other; or, if none of them be at leisure, from our lord himfelf. There is fach a succession, and such an artful variety in it, of these pretended miracles, that a laity not prone to question, nor at all encouraged to do it, may well be kept in slavery to their masters.

What is there fo difficult, that a man would not be perfused to attempt, what fo irrational that he would not believe, if he might but have the voise of heaven to encourage him; and this the priest can let him have every day of his life? Does he want an approbasion of his delign, and would have a miracle to solure his faccefe, the first flatur he fees shall bow, or the curate hierfelf thall affore him from a vision, that all will be right. Behold one. of these poor creatures proftrate before a fhrine. and perhaps washing the feet of it with histears, and with great affection killing the hems. of its garment: and then, if through the tricks of the priest, the image feem to nod or fmile. on him (which is not unfrequent) with what joy does he go away, as if some angel hadfainted him from heaven? What will not mendo when they believe that their minister can: charm.

sharm water, falt, wax candles for the driving oway of devils? That he can hallow oil, touch beads and pebbles, which shall have a virtue against fickness of all kinds, thunder and lightning, and the temptations of the devil. would think, that there should be little need of having recourse to dead saints, when the living can perform such great things; but every art has its particular gain, and is worth fo much, and there lies the fecret of multiplying miracles. It is amazing that any thing, a degree above natural finpidity, should contique in a servile obsequiousness so these impoling tyrannies; but the unhappiness is, that bigatry is become an article of their faith. and to scruple or question, is to incur the pains of purgatory, if not of damnation. Thus the hower of the priestland is settled, beyond the possibility of being shook off by any human means, especially fince the focular arm is employed in its support; and thus a small degree of superstition, with a vast fear of suffering, confirms their subjection, till it become habitual fometimes, even to believe against their senses. No wonder then, if by these means of oftentatious miracles, they can inspire their members with a false fear, a false love, and a falle courage, and work all their passions, so as to make them subservient to the carrying on the great suffery of iniquity. And now ! think

think that I have plainly declared to you, the two great ends that the church of Rome proposes to herself in her sham-miracles, which are worldly gain, and spiritual tyranny. May we who see through their artifices, shun their devices, and holding sincerely to the true unsophisticated word of God, never stand in need of these vile and abominable practices to support our holy religion!

I come now to make a particular application of the words of my text fuitable to the present time; an application, in which every hearer that wishes well to the protestant faith, and its continuance in these realms, is deeply concerned.

The prophet says, before she travailed, she brought forth; before her pain came, she was delivered of a man child. Who hath heard such a thing? Who hath seen such things? Shall the earth bring forth in one day, or shall a nation he born at once? Now this impossibility, beyond the powers of nature and its ordinary operation, is come to pass (if you believe the papists) in these our days. A woman too well, and I fear, too satally known to these kingdoms, has brought forth a man child without the least tokens, or previous symptoms of travail; the power of Romish miracles has done this mighty thing

thing in one day, and made, as they vainly imagine, a nation at once. And that it must be done in this short space of time, and that this is agreeable to the oftentatious promises of papal wonders, let us observe the conduct and progress of this whole affair, in which we shall discover enough to make us abhor their miracles, and the product of them.

When as yet there was neither hope on one fide, nor fuspicion on the other of the queen's being with child; when as yet the thought did not feem entertained by herfelf, nor was dreamed of by any near her person; yet the good men at Rome, out of their zeal to give us an heir, could not help discovering their defign, by an unlucky prophify, which we have had fince occasion to regard. For among many compliments of the Jesuits to the Earl of Cafilemain at Rome, before this affair was talked of. there appeared in publick this prophetical device. An emllem was represented of a lilly difilling drops upon the ground, which flower, according to the old opinion of the naturalist, by the shedding of the water from its leaves, propagates its species, and the motto was Lachrymer in problem. But to make it the plainer, this distich was written beneath,

Pro natis, Jacobe, gemis! flos candide regum?

Hos natura fili si neget astra dabunt.

Dost thou grieve for children, James, thou best of kings? If nature denies them, heaven shall give them to thee.

A sufficient testimony both of their defigns and their modesty; and they were indeed resolved to make good their promises of a miraculous conception. The Jesuits, that bleffed society, in their publick discourses soon after, did not scraple to aver, as if from inspiration, that the queen must be with child, and with equal confidence, that it must be a male child. When matters were a little riper for their beloved project, on which the hearts of the whole catholick cause were fet, and for which every good protestant and Englishman, was pierced with a thousand fears; then they began to appear still more bold and positive, declaring that God was concerned as much in the case of the future birth for his own glory, as he was for the fulfilling. of his promise in quickening the dead womb of Sarah.

And now, that this child of wonder might not be blasted in the womb, or be destroyed by any other unforeseen accident, the consecrated trinkets delivery, and preferve the life of the infant. And indeed it was very fitting that every step of this affair should be attended with a due solemnity, since the contrivers were to have a babe, who was to exalt the tripple crown so high, and make so large returns as the facrifice of a kingdom for the blessings of the boly father.

But this scene, whether you will call it a miracle, or a plot, (and fure it has as good a title to the latter as to the former) was earried on like the rest of their wonders, with the privity of a few only, and those concerned not to discover the imposition. The doctrine of equivocation, which that church teaches. was an excellent cordial to make any oath, or deposition go down without a strain of confcience, and was not unluckily propagated not many years before their members had fo just an occasion for its use. And shall then a woman before the travails, bring forth? Who has heard such a thing? The church of Rome. Shall she before her pain comes, be delivered of a man child? Who has feen such things? The church of Rome. Shall the earth bring forth in one day, or a nation be made at once? Who believes this impossibility? The church of Rome.

Yet let us observe a little farther into the conduct of the action of this day. There are, as we have faid in the beginning of this difcourse, some things, which from the evidence of our fenses, and our daily experience, we cannot be deceived in, and of this nature is the present case. For so little care was taken in the disguising an affair of this importance, that the queen was undetermined till just before the time where he should lie in, and of a sudden, without any previous fymptoms of her labour, it must be at St. James's. It was not perceived that the was ill on the Seturday night, and the next day between nine and ten she was brought to bed, and in the language of the prophet a nation was made at once. Where were the heads of the Jesuits not to give a more solemn preparation, a more regular and decent management to an action on which all their hopes depended? So many, in short, seem to have been let into the secret, that the time was generally known among the papifts to an hour or thereabout, and it is well known that fome of them inadvertently told it before the pretended delivery.

But what gives still more shrewd suspicions that this is a true Romish miracle, is the time chosen to work it in; when all those whom it most

most concerned to be present, were by stratagem ordered to be absent. The story is too well known, and still so fresh in our memories, that it needs not a repetition. I complained in the foregoing part of my discourse, that out of the great number of wonders that church bestows upon almost all countries, it had not vouch-safed to give Britain one; but I now own that Rome has made us amends for her past unkindnesses by one that exceeds all she has performed in the territories under her-own yoke. We thank her, and shall from hence learn to measure the goodness of her inclinations to a land of bereticks, since she chose that for the scene of the most wonderful exploit she ever attempted.

And now, my brethren, if you can be perfuaded in contradiction to your fenses, and-believe in opposition to common reason, and that in facts which all men are equal judges of, then listen to the voice of Rome, swallow down her miracles with implicit faith, and take up her voke with implicit obedience. Let the grofs impositions of pretended faints, and pretended princes, be the burthen of your necks, and the load of your consciences. If you can be reconciled to impossibilities, and think every thing must be true, that the priest tells you is so, then fit down tame contented creatures under a double blindness both of reason and religion. If you VOL. I. have

have so unjust a notion of the purity, the truth, and the divine establishment of the christian religion, to think it stands in need of the assistance of new miraculous gifts and powers, so to evidence its certainty, then lay hold of those alters that promise these mighty works, adhere to nodding images and smiling wax-work; then fix your faith upon that monstrous absurdity, the infallibility of meer man.

But I am persuaded better things of you, brethren, from the pure and sincere milk of the word of God which you have received, from the untainted principles of reason, and that open integrity of heart which is the characteristic of this nation, and which disdains the mean artifices and disguises of a Jesuitical conscience. You have seen too plainly the spirit of that persecuting church, ever to be allured by its specious promises, or convinced by its fallacious arguments: as you have been taught not to bear a spiritual tyranny, so have you selt enough never to submit to a temporal one, knowing well that whichsoever begins first, the other naturally follows.

You know what you must expect if infallibility of any Tort takes place in these islands, and that a king who is above laws, and a priest who is above errors, are equally dangerous to this constitution. Who can then doubt, but that out of a due sense of the duty you owe to God, to your country, and yourselves, nay to your memories, and your posterity, you will with a noble and generous disdain resent the impositions which wicked and cunning men would fettle and entail upon your church and nation? You must expect that the old Romish artillery will be planted against you; but thank God, there is courage left among us to refift them, and reason enough to confute them. Let them confine their miracles to the countries where the fword and the church (always friends in the cause of superstition) can enforce their belief; but we know not, I fay again, either their pretended faints, or their pretended princes.

In short, as our ancestors have delivered to us such valuable blessings as a pure reformed church, a temperate monarchy, and English liberties, let us take care to deliver them safe to our posterity. And lastly, in desiance of all the sopperies of Rome, hold sast to that faith which was once delivered to the real faints, and which, if we take care to preserve, and practise according to the precepts of its divine author, will bring us to everlassing glory, and make saints of us all.

Which God in his, &c.

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DIALOGUE

Between the

Rev. Mr. JENKIN EVANS

Affistant Minister to the Curate of White-chapel,

AND

Mr. PETER DOBSON,

A Man of Sense and some Learning, and a Citizen of LONDON;

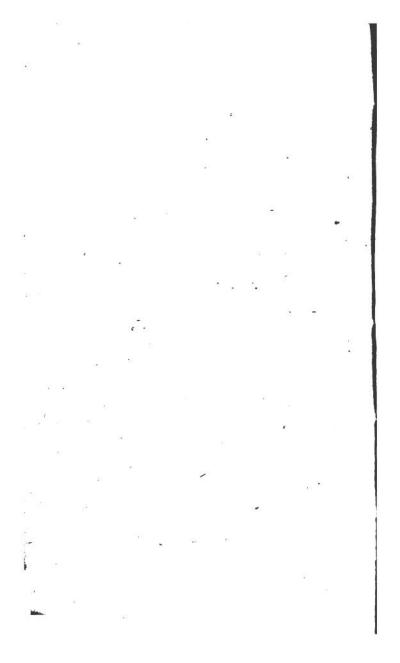
CONCERNING

BISHOPS,

PARTICULARLY

The Bishops of the Principality of WALES.

First printed in the year 1744.



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DIALOGUE

CONCERNING

BISHOPS.

D. HE reverend Mr. Evans here!
This is a favour indeed; I hope you have not been come long?

E. About half an hour; I have been amufing myself in your little library; upon my word you have a pretty collection of books and well chosen.

D. You know, doctor, I have in a great measure left off business; my friends give me a tolerable education; I was brought up at St. Paul's school, and I was pretty near the top; I have taken care to preserve at least the learning I had, and can still understand a Latin author reasonably well; my father designed me for a clergyman, but having a dispute with the minister of the parish about his dues, he put me into trade; Mr. Evans, you are a happy man, you were brought up at the university.

E.

E. I thank God, Mr. Dobson, I have sucked the breast of alma mater; I was sent to fefus college before I was twenty; in two years I
was made senior s.ph, and had not seen sour and
twenty when I was batchelor of arts.

D. I fee you have my felio common prayerbook before you: I bought it when I was church-

warden of the parish.

E. I think I always find it open upon the table; I am glad you put so great a value upon that excellent book; I am fallen accidentally upon the office concerning the ordaining and confecrating of bishops.

D. I am glad of it with all my heart; I have longed a great while to know something about that business, but you will never have patience with all my impertinent questions. [Now must I humour this choleric Welch divine, or I shall get nothing out of him: he is a strange mixture, God knows. Aside.]

E. I shall be ready to answer any thing that lies in my power, but it is a serious matter, and requires great gravity and consideration.

D. To be fure it does; then Mr. Evans, fince you are so good, pray tell me in the first place what's properly meant by a bishop?

E. A bishop according to the Greek deri-

vation is an overfeer.

D. Why is he called a bishop?

E. He has that name from the Saxon word biscop, which we derive from the Greek episcopos, speculator, explorator, a spy, a looker-out, a sentinel or watchman; in short, he is, as I may say, a supervisor of the business and affairs of the church: this before us you see is the form of ordaining or consecrating of bishops, that is of English bishops, of christian bishops.

D. God forbid there should be any bishops that are not christian bishops; fure there are no beathen bishops.

E. There were beathen bishops and good bishops too; the old Grecians had their episcopoi, and so had the Romans; I remember that the divine Cicero, in one of his epistles, tells us, that he was a bishop.

D. What was the business of those bishops?

E. To enquire into the manners of the people under their jurisdiction, and take notice of their conduct and behaviour.

D. But are there no heathen bishops now?

E. No not one upon the face of the earth.

Rara avisin terris nigreque simillima cygno.

You'll excuse the Latin Mr. Dobson?

D. O dear doctor, I love it of all things.
This facred office, I find, begins with an excellent prayer. I wish those that are concerned would frequently reflect upon it with those C 5 attention

attention it deserves - Give grace, we befeech thee, to all bishops and pastors of thy church, that they may diligently preach thy word and duly administer the godly discipline thereof. The venerable compilers of this form, I suppose, had no notion that a bishop, as soon as he was consecrated, was discharged from the duty of a priest, or was immediately to burn his commonplace book, as if it was beneath his dignity to preach diligently, that is conflantly in his diocese; whereas a bishop has without doubt the principal care of every foul within his district, and is more especially bound not only to fee the offices of the church, the duties of praying, preaching and administring the facraments are faithfully and regularly executed by the parochial clergy, but to preach diligently himself in one or other of his churches. as he finds most conducive to the edification of his people, and the spiritual improvement of the flocks committed to his charge. This must be the meaning of the words, if they have any meaning at all, and how they acquit themfelves in this important case, I should be glad to be informed.

E. That may be easily done; for when they are resident in their sees, they are a mighty relief to the parochial clergy; they travel from church to church in all weathers, through soft and snow, over hills and high mountains

they preach here, read prayers there, catechize, expound, confirm. They are never idle, for they well know, that wee be unto them if they preach not the gospel. Do you think they wrap their talents in a napkin, and let them grow rusty? Can you imagine they do nothing but walk to the cathedral on a Sunday in state with the vergers, with their silver-maces, before them?

D. Why, Sir, some of them do not reside in their dioceses at all; others are there for a month or two, to take the benefit of the fummer air, and taste the venison of the country, and then, perhaps, they may treach once or fo, and a mighty favour it is; but the chief account of their preaching we have from the news papers; you hear now and then of a charity fermon, or a fermon before the lords. and exceedingly feldom, they will vouchfafe to ascend the pulpit of the parish wherein they live, and fet all the congregation upon the Some of them do not preach five times in a year, in their own diocese, and many of them not once. I would recommend to them the reading of old bishop Latimer's sermons, and particularly this remark, which I took down in my pocket-book. While they controul in great towns and about court, who is it that controuls the devil at home? Whether they relide or not, the devil is not wanting on his part, he is never unoccupied, C 6 · he

he is ever in his parish, he keeps residence at all times, he ever applies his business, he is never idle, his office is to hinder religion. ——Oh that prelates would be as diligent to fow the corn of good doctrine, as fatan is to fow cockle and darnel .-The devil is no unpreaching prelate, he is o no lordly loiterer from his cure, he still ape plies his business; if you will not learn of God, or good men, learn diligence in your business even of the devil, ad erubescentiam vestram dico, I speak it to your shame.' This indefensible practice of non-residence, must one time or other be of pernicious consequence to episcopacy: the church of Rome, with all her absurdities, all her obligations to favour ignorance and blindness, could never fwallow that monstrous contradiction of non-residence. The council of Trent (as I have read) decrees expresly, that every bishop who was six months absent from his bishopric, of what title, or preeminence foever he shall be, he should forfeit a fourth part of the revenues of it, and if fix months more, another fourth, and the contumacy increasing, the metropolitan was to inform the pope against him, that he might inflict some severe punishment, or remove him from his bishopric, and place a better in his What a miserable case it is that a room. poor clergyman, whose family wants bread at home_ hime, if he has any business with his bishop, must be obliged to run after him from one end of the kingdom to the other, and be forced to beg his way home again?

E. There's no such thing. The bishop I assure you defrays every farthing of the expence out of his own pocket, and gives his poor brother something to buy a good book with when he comes home.

D. So much the better; but we are rambled from the subject; spare me a word more. when episcopacy was run down in the civil wars, a great objection against the bishops was that they never preached. They were called the most opprobrious names upon that account, idle shepherds, blind watchmen, dumb I do not care to repeat the distinctions and characters bestowed upon them in those times: I remember Mr. Fiennes, in his speech upon that occasion, says, that 'the bishops e neither can nor will preach; they cannot, because they are fo entangled with the affairs of this world; they will not, because their dignities and honours make them for flately, that they think it not episcopal to e preach often. They are so fat, and live so much at their eafe, that they are overrun with idleness, and cannot bring their minds to it. I wish as well to the episcopal order as any man in England, nor do I think it reasonable

able to argue against the use of an office (70m the abuse of it, but I am forry to say-----

- E. To say any thing to the purpose you mean; why that Firmer was a rebel, a republican, a fanatic; he was condemned to be hanged for the cowardly surrender of Briffel to prince Rupert. Have you no better authority than this; read on, read on.
- D. What is meant by duly administring the godly discipline of Ged's word, as mentioned in this prayer?
- E. That expression relates chiefly to the censures of the church, those dreadful and terrible weapons that God has committed into the hands of bishops to punish and cut off notorious offenders, that cannot otherwise be reaclaimed, to shut them out of the pale of God's fold, and to deliver them over to fasan, until by their penitence and submission they are qualified to be re-admitted, and to be restored to the common privileges of the christian church.
- D. Is that gody discipline administred at this time according to the original dusign of its infitution!
- E. I hope so; the offender I suppose, is cited before the bishop, who sets in consistory with his presbyters about him, and takes immediate cognizance of the cause himself; there the since is examined, reproved, admonished, threatened,

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threatened, and upon his continued obstinacy cast out of the church. The matter is not turned over to chancellers, rommissioners, efficially, and a parcel of hungry unhallowed lay-officers (who can presend to no relation to the commission of Christ and his applies) to perfecute and squeeze the poor wretch, to torment him with cruel, tedious, and expensive processes, and when they have racked him to death, and ruined him in his fortune, then at last to excommunicate him, and for any little failure in the form of their enflaving proceedings, to throw him out of all spiritual and civil commerce and foeiety, to banish him as a vagabond like Cain, and make him infamous to all about him; and as if this were not enough, to call for help from the temporal fword, to clap him up in a goal, and let him rot in a dungeon. This would be fetting up an inquistion with a vengeance; from which, and all other posish crafts and cruelties, good lord deliver us! Do you think this was the manner of binding and bosing intended by the commission delivered by Christ to his apastus, and by them to the bifbops, their fuccessors in the church? Can you imagine, that the fentence of fuch judges is ratified in heaven? That God will ever fign such dead warrants as thefe? Can this be the defign of that petition offered up by the maddifted in the office of confecrations

grant we befeech thee to this thy servant such graces that he may use the authority given him, not to destruction, but to salvation, not to hurt, but to help?

D. If the bishop bimfelf was to sit in judgment, and to execute the censures according to the design of his lord and master, the fenzence, no doubt would be dreadful and of fatal effect, but when so many excommunications are thundered out and published in a ludicrous unedifying manner, for the most trifling occafions, which the bishop knows nothing of; when he never bears nor fees the offender, nor takes the least care of the happiness of his foul, but leaves that entirely to his officers to be faved or damaed, as the fubtle unrighteous forms of their unscriptural proceedings (first invented for the support of patal power, and spun out into a fort of trade, by canon lawyers, the spawn of popery) shall think fit to pronounce; to confign a poor creature to eternal flames for fome pitiful matter, to enjoin him penance, perhaps, and then for a little money, to loofe him and let him go; if this be the due administring of godly discipline according to this excellent prayer, let the consciences of those declare to whom it belongs. What a horrid profanenels and mockery of God, it is to give it folemply in charge to a bifbop elect, when he is confecrated to exercise godly discipline, to be so merciful

- E. God forbid; I hope things will mend, do not be so hot. Come, we will go on: he that desireth the office of a bishop desireth a good work; he desires the office of a bishop on purpose to enable him to promote the interest of piety, virtue and charity, and to do more good works than he was capable of doing before.
- D. Do bishops desire the office only for those excellent ends? Have they no worldly prospects in view to advance themselves or their families? Have they no ambition to sit in parliaments, or to appear in the courts of princes? Do they do more good works in proportion to the increase of their revenue, and the advantages of their station?

E. Yes, marry do they; and were it not for those worthy ends they would be dragged by no violence from their studies in the obscurity of a college, or the privacy of a country pafish; and as for their families, if they have any food or raiment convenient for them, they leave the rest to providence. they have preferments in their gifts fusicient to fupport their foas la a handlome manner, but desur digniffint is the word. If a bishop's for be the most learned clergyman in the diocese, as it generally happens under the influence of paternal example, fimile frondescit virga metalles as the poet fings; and if the father upon a firict examination finds him for then indeed he will advance him perhaps to an archdeaconry, or to a good living; but what of that? He fends him out bare, and without furniture, without giving him fo much as a little fenfe, or his common-place book, or one old fermon, or the least hint or division, or general head, but leaves the poor young man, who is not used to hard labour, to work and fweat, and make it all out of his own brains: in thort, it is a cruel thing to be a bishop's fon.

D. It is so at this rate, but one would think they might make some allowance, and incline a little in favour of their own siesh and blood.

E. No doubt they have been often told fo, but they will not bear the thoughts of it; they

will have no respect of persons; if my lady, the mother, was to beg upon her bended knees, it would signify nothing; I do assure you, when a bishop examines his son for orders, he works him about the pig-market; he asks him the hardest questions, and puts him to the crabbidest place in all the book. And then for their daughters

D. I knew a bishop that married his daughters to clergymen, and provided handsomely for them.

E. But how is that? if a clergyman falls in love with a bishop's daughter (and indeed they are the most beautiful and accomplished young ladies in the kingdom) he knows he is to expect nothing from the father but by his merits; the bishop tells him so beforehand. If you have a mind to my daughter, God blefs you both together; but look for no preferment from me upon that account; my favours are the rewards of hard study, of found principles, and regular behaviour; you e must shine ficut inter fedlas luna mineres, to be distinguished by me.' So that if you fee the fon or relation of a bishop raised to the highest preferments in the church, you may depend upon it he is the most learned, and the best prescher in all the diocofe. You'll find it a difficult matter to prove the contrary.

D. Does a bishop give his daughters no for-

tune in money?

E. A very trifle besides his blessing; and how can it be? What with charity at home, and charity abroad, with endowing of hospitals, and founding of exhibitions, and buying books in all the eastern anguages to convert the Jews and Arabians, what can be faved? I think the natural piety and virtue of a bishop's daughter is portion sufficient, and a competent stock for a young clergyman to begin with.

D. But I have heard that a female relation. or a waiting-woman in a bishop's family, is fometimes married to a clergyman, who has a

living given him upon that account.

E. There is no fuch thing : I defy the rankest presbyterian to produce one instance of it since the reformation.

D. I hope then, they observe the fame rigid impartiality in prefering any clergyman upon the strongest recommendation from others?

E. They do I affure you; for between you and I, if the greatest king, or prince, or duke, or earl in all the world, recommends a clergyman to a bishop, he first examines him strictly in Latin, Greek and Hebrew, and if he catches him tripping he is rejected; there is no regard to the greatest power, or the highest title, he is fent away re infecta, with a flea in his ear, and

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makes as filly a figure, as if he had been recommended by you or me.

- D. Good lack !
- E. I tell you it is merit only must do the business; and to encourage merit there is most laudable custom now universally followed by all the governors of the church, which is to keep a constant correspondence with the heads of all the colleges in both universities; and when they find a poor lad of promising parts, and a good fober behaviour; one of the bishops, whose turn it is, immediately adopts him for his own, makes him a handsome allowance to live comfortably, fends for him at proper times to his own palace to have him under his eye; there he directs him in the method of his studies, settles him in good principles, and particularly in a love and veneration for the doctrine and discipline of the established church; and when he is qualified for, orders, he advances him gradually to the highest dignities, and gives him the preference to all fons and relations in the world.
 - D. But do not bishops generally appoint one of their relations to be their secretaries or so?
 - E. Very rarely; their way is to look out for some worthy clergyman in their diocese, who is reduced to missfortunes, or some young student just in orders; such a one they take into

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perquifites of that employment, and fmall enough they are, God knows: but if no fuch perfor can be found, which fearer ever haptens, then they will make use of a nephew of shining parts, or some distant relation; and where is the mighty harm in this?

- D. None in the leaft.
- E. Then, as for pride and ambition-
- D. Have bishops no pride or ambition?
- E. No more than a sucking child; and though it is well known that the bishops in England are descended from the best and most ancient samilies in the kingdom, you never hear them talk of their pedigrees; they are rather the more humble on that account. One is the son of a duke, another the son of a letel you they are not like mushrooms sprung up in a night, or raised in a minute like pussenge; they have no occasion, like upstarts in other professions, to buy coats of arms at the Herald's office: they and their ladies have them by descent; ab avis & proavis, & avi numerantur avorum.
- D. Do they not affect to make a figure at court?
- E. Affect, a fiddle; they had rather live in a cell than undergo the fatigue of attendance at any court in Christendom; but there they go to discharge a good conscience; they are

a fort of protestant, confessors ready to folve all difficult cases, to support the weak, to comfort the afflicted, to relieve the diffrested to chear up the poor-fpirited, to case such as are troubled with exil thoughts, to deliver fuch as are under fixong temptation. They have always before their oyes, that excellent canon of the council of Sard's. The fathers of that fynod observing, that bishops used to go to court upon by-ends, and private deligns of their own, ordained that no bishop should go to court, unless immediately summoned by the emperor's letters, or that their affiftance was required to sight the widow, or orphane. . and to refcue them from the unjust grasps of potent and merciles oppressors. I will tell you a fecret: if the greatest king, or peer in the world, was known to live in any habitual fin, they would not faffer the fin upon him one moment, they would reprove him to his face, though they were all fure to perich in a dungcon.

D. Well done, doctor; but do not bishops. delight to fit in the parhament house?

E. They delight to serve their country, if you will: there they sit facere vota pro republica, to make proyers, or vows, or votes for the commonwealth, for so the phrase may be translated; thus we read in Horace, voti compas, a man has a good vote; or vote vivitur, when

when a man lives according to his vote; nec woto vivitur uno, when he keeps a good house by giving a double vote. They fit in parliament, ne quid detrimenti capiat ecclesia, that the church fuffers no wrong. And it is most comfortable to observe, how they are all inspired with a wonderful spirit of concord and unanimity; for they all pray, or vew, or vete, the same way; yet every one severally follows the dictates of his conscience, and votes as the merits of the cause require. They act by a fort of divine instinct, without any manner of communication with one another. They are like the feventy interpreters, that translated the old testament into Greek, they were locked up separately in different cells, yet they fay, there was not a syllable difference in their several translations; so these interpreters of holy writ, without speaking a word to one another, agree always in their prayers or votes; they rife up as one man, they are of one heart, and of one foul. Delight to fit in parliaments? fo far from it, any more than their duty obliges them, that they never concern themselves about the election of parliament-men in the country where they live; they never offer to closet; to fend circular letters to influence, or menace their clergy, their tenants, or their tradesmen, but leave them all to their liberty to vote as their consciences direct, withwithout favour or affection. They do not hurry their fervants abroad at all hours, night and day, and make them foour about the country on the coach-horfes through thick and thin; or keep their cellars open to make a party, but every man that belongs to them remains free and unbiaffed, according to act of parliament, and the established liberty of the subject, and sundamental rights of the constitution.

- D. That is glorious! but have bishops no pride?
- E. Did you ever observe them to strut or swagger, or puss out their scarves? Do they spread open or display their silken shining circingles over their cassocks? No, they wrap themselves close in their holy vessments, they walk softly with their eyes downward upon the ground, inwardly lamenting and bemoaning the stagrant wickedness of a sinful nation. You may be sure those thin lean bodies, and pale sad countenances are the effects of long sasting, strong crying and tears, of hard sludy, and continual mortification.
- D. I do not know what you mean by pale faces, but I have seen a bishop with a red face before now.
- E. And have you not feen ladies with red faces, by drinking of too much water?

D. But dear doctor, are not bishops exceed.

ingly pleased to ride in coaches?

E. What would you have those ride in, who have almost crippled themselves by a studious fedentary life, and their limbs are be-· numbed, fo that they are scarce able to walk? But then they always pull up the blinds, for the huzza's and acclamations of the people would be troublesome to them, if they were feen as they pass along; popularity gives them offence. O Mr. Dohson, give me leave, indulge me, or my heart will burst: there is fomething fo peculiarly noble in a bishop's lady as the fits in her coach, whether you observe the beauty and dignity of her person, the majesty of her appearance, the genteelness of her dress, nothing of the dowdy about her; with what gracefulness she sits, as if she was born for greatness: O they are the ornaments of their fex, the patterns of politeness, elegancy, and decorum, the deliciæ humani generis, raifed on purpose by providence, to be the nursing mothers of the - Did you never observe a bishop's lady in her coach at a mercer's door upon Ludgate bill, how humbly she looks with her little daughters, pretty-moppets! about her, teaching them to knot, and fay their catechifms? You might swear she was an episcopal gentlewoman, without feeing the golden mitre on the outside.

- D. It is wonderful, I confess; but, dector, let us go on; a bishop must be the bushand of one wife; no doubt of it, he ought not to have two at one time.
- E. Pray, Mr. Dobjen, leave the expounding of scripture to me, I think it is more my province. This injunction does not relate to a plurality of wives, but it is as much, as if one should say —— what would you give to know?
- D. Not much; but pray, doctor, was there ever any such a thing as a bishop's committing fornication?
 - E. No.
- D. Nor adultery ?
 - E. No, never.
- D. But did a bishop never look upon a woman to lust after her, and so commit adultery with her in his heart?
- E. Yes, popish bishops in abundance: they all commit adultery with the whore of Babylon, and with other loose husseys, or they are much belyed. But I never heard nor read of a protestant bishop's being a whoremonger, nor adulterer, name one if you dare.
 - D. Nor archbishop?
 - E. No.
- D. Good lack! but do they never look upon a pretty woman with delight? Do they never drink tea among the ladies?

E. They look upon a fine woman as you do upon a beautiful horse, to admire the works of the creation, but without any manner of concupiscence I assure you.

D. And then, they wear such huge broadbrimmed hats, on purpose to keep their eyes from wandring upon strange objects.

E. Well observed, they do so; and as for drinking tea among the ladies, they do it to have the better opportunity to draw them off from the pomps and vanities of this wicked world, and all the sinful lusts of the siesh. They are ever meditating upon these verses, which, (as you may see in the office) they sing when they are consecrated.

Our weakn s firengthen and confirm, (For, Lord, thou know st us frail) That neither devil, world, nor slesh Against us may prevail.

They do not spend their time upon trifling subjects, pinching of snuff, admiring the ribbins, or gallanting their fans, but in explaining the catechism, or expounding some difficult acest. O, it is a heaven upon earth, to sit at a tea-table with a bishop, or, indeed, with a bishop's lady.

D. Do not some bishops keep ladies in their houses, whom they call cousins, or nicees?

E.

E. No, never; and in this they are truly primitive; for in the first ages of the church, particular care was taken, that no bishop, under penalty of being deposed, should entertain any woman in his family, either relation, or stranger, that so all pretence, either of temptation or scandal, might be cut off.

D. But, dear doctor, may not a bishop have

wandering thoughts?

E. Mr. Dobson, ask pertinent questions: It is no jesting matter, ludere cum facris: you will ask me by and by, if bishops do not go to

plays.

D. Now you speak of that, I will not fay, that bishops go to plays, but I am sure some of them read plays, and very fmutty ones too. Pray, did not a bishop publish some Latin plays, Terence's comedies? I am fure there is bawdy in fome of them; I have read them: there is a plump juicy girl, would make your teeth water: and then there is a plot to debauch a women, by a man that pretends to have no flores. I thought a bishop might find himself better business, than to recommend and explain such stuff as that. lately an A----'s name among a list of subscribers to a collection of old plays, in which are expressions so obscene, so filthy, lewd and impious. --- Ah, doctor, there are other D 3

other fluts in the world, beside the whore of Babylon.

- E. I have a good mind to cite you into the fpiritual court for defamation: I fee you observe no bounds: I will have no more to fay to you: I renounce all communication with you: here am I taking all the pains to edify and improve your understanding, and you affront me to my teeth: I will never darken your doors again.
 - D. Pardon me, reverend Sir, this one time; do not, I befeech you, let me lose your learned acquaintance. I beg you would bring good Mrs. Evans to eat a bit of reast pig with me to-morrow.
 - E. Have you broached the barrel of ale you told me of? I am somewhat hasty, I own; but, upon your submission, I pass it by.
 - D. Do bishops love their wives as Christ loved his church?
 - E. Yes, they do, and would lay down their lives to fave them.
- D. Do bishops (as the office directs) rule their wives well?

E. Yes; mighty well.

D. Is not a bishop's diocese, said to be his fpiritual wife? How then comes he, for the sake of a richer dower, to leave his first l ve,

and to give her a bill of divorce, and to marry himself to another bishoprick?

E. The old prespyterian cant! a bishop, you must know, is not married to any particular diocese, but to the church in general. I find you are nibbling about the translation of bishops; that practice, I do affure you, is justified by the use of the first and purest ages, from the apostles days down to the times we live in; it is jure divino, and may be proved by undeniable authority. Do not you read expressly that Enoch was translated?

D. You have convinced me; and yet, notwithstanding this plain proof, I have read somewhere of a bishop of Rochester in sormer days, one Fisher, who, when he was offered a riches bishopric, was used to say, his church was his wife, and he would never part with her because she was poor.

E. He was a popish bishop; do not mind him; foxes and firebrands! papish and presbyterians! all against the poor church of England! God help her!

D. I remember now; it was in Collier's church history, where I read that saying of the bishop's; and the same writer, in another place, speaks something of the translation of bishops, I will turn to the index; here it is; let me see; look here, doctor, he says, that it. it decreed by the apostles canons, thatoit

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" is not lawful for a bishop to leave his dwa 44 diocese, and remove to another, without a " justifiable motive; that is, unless he has a " fair prospect of doing more firvice to the " church upon fuch a translation. But even " in this case, he is not to remove without 46 flrong folicitation, and by the order of a " great number of bishops. The council of " Nice fays, if any bishop quits his own fee, " and fettles in another, his translation shall " be wid, and he shall be returned to the dio-" cele to which he was at first consecrated. " And the council of Sardica complained, that " covetoulnels and ambition had brought an "ill custom upon the church; that it was " too common a practice for bishops to re-" move from a less see to a greater, and that " an instance the other way was feldom or " never to be met with; from whence it " was plain, they were governed by confidera-"tions of interest." Now, spare me a question or two. Are bishops translated merely because they can do the church more fervier in a rich bishopric than a poor one? Do they deny to be translated, till they are pressed by the strongest solicitation? Do all the rest of the bishops go to him in a body, and beg of him to be translated? Do they ever defire to be granslated from a rich bishopric to a poor one, hebecause they may be able to do more service to the church?

E. All forgery! popery! forgery! that Collier was a rank Jacobite! a Nonjuror! give me my hat and gloves. That book ought to be burnt by the hangman. I will not stay a moment, lest the earth should open and swallow us up, and the house tumble about our ears.

D. Patience, reverend Sir, I only refer you to what I have read; you know I have often told you I was pretty near the upper end of Paul's school, and, though I may not talk so learnedly as you gentlemen of the university, I have read a great deal of English history. But I am of your opinion all the while; I think as well of bishops as you do, and would go as far to serve them.

E. Sayest thou so! give me thy hand; then I will fill the other pipe. I tell you, once for all, that no bishop would endure the thoughts of being translated, unless he was sure it was for the good of the church; and what think you is the reason, that the same holy man will be a bishop of one church, dean of another, prebendary of another, hold a living or two in commendam, and take the trouble of other cures upon him, but only to qualify himself to do the more good in his generation? and if they thought that other clergymen would pro-

mote the business of charity and religion in those benefices, with an equal or superior industry and care, they would instantly renounce them all; but, alas! Mr. Dobson, the harvest truly is great, but the labourers are few, very few! could they find persons proper to receive them, they would foon refign their pluralities; but when, upon firicl enquiry, no fuch are to be found, they keep them in their own hands for those worthy and pious purposes. Nay, they are fo eager and resolute to advance those excellent ends, that you will, fometimes, fee a holy man refuse, as it were, a bishopric, unless he be, likewise, allowed to be a dean, a prebendary and a rector, for fear the duties of those places should not be so properly exeeuted, and their revenues not conscientiously managed for the good of fouls. I am well affured, they do not fave a penny of the profits into their own pockets, but lay it out in the most useful and extensive charities, to support poor vicars; to supply the wants of the inferior clergy; to found libraries in markettowns, in usum cleri; to build parsonage-houses, that are now running into decay all over England; to repair the episcopal palaces, especially in Wales; to relieve the fatherless, and make the widow's heart to fing.

D. You were faying, doctor, that the biflyops, fometimes, hold a living or two in commendam, commendam, what is the meaning of that word?

E. Sir, I do not take upon me to be a regular dector, but only am called fo by the courtely of England. Why, you must know, that in fome of the fmall bishoprics, that do not exceed above five or fix hundred, or a thousand pounds a year, (and what is that for the representative of an apostle?) there is fometimes a good living annexed, and, fometimes, the king (God bless him and his royal house for ever!) is so gracious as to permit the holy man to hold a living, or a dignity, which he had before, along with his bishopric, to affift him to support the character of his function, to enable him to keep a better table, and to enlarge his charitable heart; and these good designs, I dare say, are executed to a tittle; a very trifle is laid up to . make provision for his family; the poor are his pensioners, they are his children.

D. But, how is it, that the fame holy man should be the best of a church in one diocese, and be a parish priest, and subject to another bishop, in another bishopric; how such unbecoming condescensions, such shifting of scenes, such mean sinking in their characters, from being bishops to become parachial priests in other dioceses, how such a practice, such an irregular kind of plurality agrees with the ca-

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yet be able to comprehend.

- E. What fignifies it whether you can comprehend it or not? Will you deny the king's fuprimacy? Pray, was not Amos a prophet of the lord, and, at the same time, one of the herdmen of Tekna?
- D. Very true, doctor; I am fatisfied. Now, if you please, we will go on a little farther. A tishop must be vigilant, sober, of good behaviour, given to hespitality.
- E. That is, he must be temperate, and not include the rapacious cravings of his stomach; he must keep a good lock-out, and be upon the watch; and above all, and for the sake of all, support a generous and well-spread table, to entertain strangers, to receive his clergy, and welcome his neighbours; not that he is to make his house an inn, or a tavern, open at all hours, and free to all comers.
- D. I take you right. But how can they be faid to keep up to this precept of the apostle, when not one in fix of them lives in his own proper diocese?
- E. What of that? though they do not reade constantly in their country palaces, because they are obliged to take care of the church, and the king, and the nation in parliament, yet they provide that as plentiful a house be kept in their absence as if they were them-

felves upon the spot. They do not when they come away fasten up the doors, and let the grass grow in the courtyard, but they leave a regular table behind them. There is a chaplain to represent his lordship, a steward and proper fervants, and the bell rings, and the eleth is laid, and sumpruously covered, where the clergy, the neighbouring gentry, and the yeomanry are handsomely received, and their horses put into the stable and well rubbed down, and the poor of the adjacent villages are comfortably fed, and fent away with full bellies, and fometimes with a piece of maney in their pocket besides; there the traveller, and the firanger are welcome, at all times, to a flice of bread, and a cup of ale; the people of the country do not feel the want of monasteries and religious houses, which used to bestow their alms, and their hospitality fo liberally among them, as long as their room is fo well supplied by the bountiful distributions of the bishop of the diocese. - They remember faithfully the question put to them, when they are consecrated.

Will you show yourself gentle, and be merciful, for Christ's sake, to poor and needy, and to all strangers destitute of help?

Apfwer.

I will fo flow myfelf, by God's help.

And, then, when the business of the nation calls them to London, they do not, like fome members of parliament, hide themselves in obscure corners, that their people do not know where to find them. They do not take. private lodgings, or hire little, pitiful houses of two rooms on a floor, in dark lanes or alleys, but (if they have no palaces in town that belong to their fee) they chuse the most open and public streets, and the most spacioushouses, where they live nobly and magnificently, like peers of the realm; here their clergy, when they come to town, are welcome; here they are entertained at bed and board : here they have the benefit of my lord's library, to employ themselves at leisure hours ;. the poor young candidates for orders remainhere, and are supplied with every thing, tillthey are ordained: and the poor are daily relieved by the porter, in the great court. You may easily know where a bishop lives, by the crowd of poor people in the street before the door, fo that passengers can scarce go along; it is really a grievance to the neighbours, they have hardly room to go about their

their lawful business, especially in christmas time. when the fleward is delivering out the beef and coals, and fitting the elder fort with their grey gowns. To prove how unbounded is the extent of prelatical charity, how foft and tender episcopal bowels are toward the miferies of the poor, do but look into the lift of benefactors for the relief of the fufferers by the fire at Crediton. - O, Sir! when a bishop goes to sleep with his fathers; when he is taken from us by the stroke of death; when he is hid from our eyes, and is no more, what a thunderclap is felt throughout the nation! what running to the churches and the altars! what beating of breafts, wringing of hands, and dishevelling of hair, as in times of national calamity and diffress! be is gone! he is gone! my father! my father! the chariot of Ifrael, and the horsemen thereof! then; then we find the loss; virtutem incolumem odimus, sublațam ex oculis quærimus invidi. Were he not like the golden bough, in the evangelical poet,

Prima avulso, non deficit alter aureus;

We should be utterly inconfolable——The death of the great St. Basil strikes full upon my memory. When that worthy prelate lay a dying, the whole city came about him, not able

able to bear the thoughts of his departure; they prayed as if they would lay hands upon his very foul, and by force detain it in his body; they were distracted with the thoughts of so great a loss. His funeral was solemnized with all possible testimonies of love and honourable attendance, and with the abundant tears, not only of Christians, but of Jews and Heath ns. The confluence was so great, that many were pressed to death in the crowd, and sent to bear him company to his long home.

—An exact type of the pious times we live in! saving, that not quite so many are trod to death now as were formerly.

D. But, Sir, I have often heard the clerge complain, that when they have dined with the bishop, and are coming away, they are forced to run the gantlofe through a lane of impudent footmen and servants, who look upon them as the devil over Lincoln, if every one does not give them a shilling a piece, when some of them have not one more in their pockets. This is a great hardship upon the poor clergy, who pay dear for their dinners. Where is the bespitality of this practice?

E. I do not believe a word of it; I never gave a bishop's servant a farthing in all my life; not the value of a pipe of tebacce.

D. Pray, Mr. Evans, who does London-boule in Alder gate freet belong to?

E. Why, to the bishop of London.

D. There are no fuch doings in that place as you talk of. No biftop has resided there for many years, nor any body to represent him. That ancient building is all ruinous, and strangely perverted; it is let into scurvy lodgings and apartments; turned into warehouses, shops and wine-vaults, and made use of by a fort of tenants that do small reputation to the fabric or the landlord. I believe the bishop would call the minister of a parish to a strict account, that should let out his parsonage house to such odd uses, and suffer it to run to ruin in such a dismal manner. That venerable pile, where fo many kings and princes have been entertained, and fat in council, fo many learned and renowned prelates, Ridley, Bancroft, Sandys, King, and many other great reformers, and the glory of their times, lived with so much honour and bespitality, is now become a nest of Would a christian believe, that one end of the archbishop's palace in York is converted to a dancing-school, and the other end into a play-Boufe? The episcopal house at Worcester, and in many other fees, is all in ruins. - I do not suppose, but large sums have been received, from time to time, for dilapidations; they look harp enough after that: Pray, Sir, if fuch monies are not honeftly bid out, where lies the remedy, or who must call the bishop to account? I have looked into the codex, and cannot find a word upon this subject.

E. Let me tell you, your infinuation is vile and atheistical. The inferior clergy, if you will, look sharp, as you call it, after dilapidations, and, perhaps, are too rigid and hardhearted upon that account; but the right reverend prelates proceed, in that respect, with all tenderness and humanity; they consider the circumstances of the family left behind, and are more likely to affish them out of the revenues of the ensuing year, than to harrass them with dilapidations. Come, call a new cause; read on.

D. A bishop must be apt to teach.

E. They must be qualified, by their study of the scriptures, and their great skill in explaining them, to instruct and feed the slock committed to their charge. And how can they be otherwise, when the whole business of their lives has been to turn over and meditate upon those sacred pages? when they have the bible ad unguem, and have spent the choicest of their time, their breath and strength in catechising, in expounding and preaching? They unravel all difficult places, all the similes, types, parables, examples, allegories; they reconcile seeming contradictions, and can repeat you all the parallel texts from the

the beginning to the end. They are no ob-Scure persons that the world never heard of till they were called to the chair; they are no novices, or (as the old translation has it) no young scholars, lest they swell and fall into the judgement of the evil speaker; they are no fresb men, no raw, unfledged, pen feathered divines, but ripe and in full plumage, the most stannch and celebrated doctors of the first class, the admired orators and preachers of the age. They have taken their degrees, regularly, in our universities, where their names will be immortal; they performed their exercises with applause, and the schools rung with the acclamations of the audience; they preached Latin fermons, read lectures, were folid and acute in disputations, famous for defending the primitive and pure doctrines of Christianity, against Athiefts, Deifts, Socinians, Papifts, Fanatics, Enthusiafts, Methodifts, Turks, Tews and Heathers; their docteinal and controverfial writings are admired, and almost adored all Europe over; their found is gone out into all lands, and their names, and their fames too, unto the ends of the world. can they be but apt to teach, when they have read over all the expositors, the commentators in all languages, all the doctors of the eastern and western churches? There is not a man of them.

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them, but may fafely fay of himself, what the
Oxford muse so sweetly warbles:

Notior at nulli vox est sua quam mibi quicquid Graius. Arabs, Italus, Chaldæus, Hebræus et Assur,

Æthiopesve fonant facrum aut Memphitica Coptos,

Is sum qui latices ex ipso fonte petitos

Malim, quam longo circum deducere rivo.

Hinc, ut me laudem, legi Targumque, Maforamque,

Onkelon et Kimchi, quæ te vel nomina ter-

Commentatores Rabbinos, Kabbala quicquid Implicuit nedis, cacoque anigmate texit.

I was exercifing my poetic fancy, fometime ago, in translating these lines into English, verse; you know I have a pretty knack at poetry, though I do not make it my profession; but,

Dignum laude virum musa vetat mori.

My muse forbids the worthy man to die.

I am glad I can repeat them; for, I am fore.
you will be pleafed.

There's no man's voice is to himself more known
Than is to me the hely religion
Of Grecian, Arabian and Italian,
Chaldwan, Hebrwan and Assyrian,
What the Æthiopians teach, and what the
Copti,
I am the man; with bucket and a rope I
Chuse to draw water from the fountain-head,
Than from the wand'ring streams the rivers
shed;
And tho' I praise myself I have read the
Targum,

The Masora, Onkelos and Kimchi's Jargon,
Whose very names would fright thee, and the
devil into the bargain,
The Rabbins comments, and the Kabbala

The Rabbins comments, and the Kabbala, That foldeth up its meaning, I do say,
In twisted knots and dark ænigmata.

What think you of that, my boy! but if you chuse to have rather in scripture phrase, it will run thus: Parthians and Medes, and Elomites, and the dwellers of Mesopatamia, and in Judaa and Cappadocia, in Pentus and Asia, Phrygia and Pamphylia, in Egypt, and in the parts of Lybia about Cyrene, strangers of Rome, Jews and Proselytes, Cretzs and Arabians, we do all hear them speak in our own tongue the

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In this case, I say, they are the Mallei Hareticorum, Papistarum, Paganorum, the Mauk, the Beetles and Wedges of Heretics, Papifts, and Infidels; if a blasphemous or wicked book creeps out, one or other of them foon cuts it to pieces, to the utter shame and confusion of the gainfayer. They have an antidote ready to expel the poison; they pray against it, preach against it, write against it, and encourage and follicit their clergy to do the same. Such reverend champions they fayour and distinguish, and prefer them before all the relations in the world. and disperse their books, they affist them in their studies, and warm them in their bosoms. They do not as the great dons, in other professions, neglect, depreciate and brow beat writers of their own order out of a spirit of party, or from a principle of envy, as if they obscured their own characters, or - in Thort, Herely and Infidelity never had fewer friends and followers than in these bleffed times, and all owing to the unweatied induftry and vigilance of these shepherds, these watchmen of Ifra l. I will tell you what, I was at church in the city about three Sundays ago, where two great prelates were in the same pew, and at the repeating of the Athanafian creed, they both reverently flood up. and made their responses aloud with their eyes

of myself and all the congregation: neither of them took fauff, or lolled fauntringly over the pew, or tasked to any body near him all the while.

D. You have taken a deal of pains to prove that the bishops are a learned body, which seems to be out of dispute; for you see here in the effice before us, that the bishop elect shall be presented by two bishops to the arcb-bishop of the province, in this form.

Most reverend father in God, we present unto you this godly and well learned man to to verdained and consecrated bishop.

But I have a small scruple upon me in this matter; how do these two bishops know that the bishop elect is well learned?

E. Do you think they give this teltimony of him by hearlay, or by common fame, for favour or affection? Can you suppose they would present him in that solemn manner, in the presence of God, and in the face of all the congregation, unless they could do it with a safe conscience, and from their own express knowledge? No, no; they examine him strictly and severely in the polyglot, I suppose, thesaurus rerum ecclesissicarum, liber valorum, and other godly books; and sind-VOL, I.

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ing him as learned as they expect, they justly bestow that character upon him, they would be unjust if they did not; I believe the whole world would not prevail upon them to go against their sirm belief and conviction in that matter, even their enemies themselves being judges.

D. Who doubts it? But admit that the bishops are picked men, well disciplined, and called out of the body of the priesthood on account of their profound cruditism, yet if they be ever so learned, or so apt to teach, you will allow, I suppose, that it is impossible they should teach or feed their slock, unless they be able to teach the people in a language they understand.

E. I allow that, and what then?

D. Why then, I should be glad to know how a bishop of a diocese in Wales, is capable of doing his duty with a good conscience, when he does not understand one syllable of the Welsh tongue, and the people do not understand a word of English?

E. The answer is plain, I deny your supposition; you are to consider when an eminept divine finds himself improving in spiritual knowledge, and spreading, and stretching, and thickening, and reaching surther, and widening, and enlarging his capacities, and budding and blossening, and growing ripe, and.

as it were maturus epistopatu, he then pre-Tently applies himself to the study of the Welsh language against the time comes; this He finds a most easy and delightful entertainment; for the Welf is a foft, harmonious and mellifluous tongue, all music and melo-dy, not thickened with confonants, nor throt-tling you with gutturals; it does not make your tongue Brike double against the roof of your mouth, or knock out your foreteeth, or shake your grinders like many of your Northern dialects. And then it has abundance of Hebrew words intermixed, and so the holy man being perfectly, mafter of the Orientals before, finds it an easy matter to attain the Cambro Britannic. I verily believe, that Adam spoke something of the Welfh tongue in paradife, when he was talking to the bruter; and it is my firm opinion, that every bishop of a Welsh diocese, is qualified to instruct his Hock, to preach and pray in the language of the country; I am fure the last good lord of St. Davids was, for he was a mighty deeytherer of tongues. The prelates of Wales must, and do preach and pray, in season, and out of season, or elfe, what do they do there ! A bishopric is as much, or rather more a cure of fouls, than a parsonage or vicarage, and it would be strange they should cloath themselves with the wool, and take no care of feeding the flock :

flock; but to preach, or prey to the people in an anknown tongue, would be popery, down-

tight popery !

D. It would so; but not to urge this further at present, I cannot be altogether of your opinion, that the bishops in Wales understand the language of the country, for I have a little book in my library, (as you are pleased to call it) that gives a quite different account of this matter, and likewise of the bespitality that is preserved (as you say) in the palaces of bishops of that country, either when they do, or do not reside in their diocess. You know the bishopric of St. David:?

E. I had the honour to be born in that diocese; it is a see of a very large extent, and takes in the counties of Pembroke, Caermarthen, Cardigan, Brecon, and all Radnor, except six parishes, a considerable part of Glamorganshire, and many parishes in the counties of Hereford and Manmouth; O it is a cu-

rious fine bishopric !

D. The book I spoke of is called, A view of the flate of religion in the diocese of St. Davids; it was written by a doctor of divinity in that principality, and his observations are founded upon his own knowledge; here is such a scene of misery and distress, of barbarism and barbarity, such scandalous abuse of discipline and church power! but it is no wonder.

wonder, for a Welf bishopric is commonly no more than a flopgap, an earnest of higher promotion; you feldom find a bishop die in possession of a see in that country, they hope not to continue there long, they have no time. if they had an inclination, to make themselves acquainted with their clergy, or their people; fome never go there at all, and others but once, or fo, to take possession, to settle their rents, and receive their presents, they go in fnug, and fo they go out, they keep their own counsel, their houses are tumbling down, and so there is no pretence for residence, one succeeds another, and takes things as he finds. them, alter et idem! the country lies in a remote corner of the island, not much frequented or inquired after; the gentry and people of fashion make no complaint; they enjoy their impropriations, and generally live in London, and fpend their money there, or in other places at a diffance, and do not regard how the livings are ferved, how the people are taught, and how the clergy are starved; but I will reach the book, here it is, I remarked fome particular passages, that made my heart bleed - and first, doctor, for your hospitality in the bishop's palace at St. Davids.

E. I never was at St. Davids, but I have been received with great befoitality, and drunk very good ale, at the palace of Abargusty.

D. To begin then; St. Davids, once & celebrated leat of learning, and an alma mater of the muses, once the happy abode as of our archbishops and bishops, fo of our archdeacons, canons and prebendaries, who were encouraged, and thought themselves. obliged to maintain the honour of religion, to attend the fervice of their church, to repair their fabric, and their houses creditable, to spend the rest of their revenues in befpitality and charity, in kindly welcoming. and entertaining pious visitors and strangers, and relieving the poor as liberally. These were the good laudable practices of the ancient times: but alas! what an amazing change has now befallen us; the college ofour students is long since dissolved, a great part of our facred and most ancient cathedral is in rubbage, and of the biflop's pa-Lace, there is nothing to be feen but flately ruins, and almost all the habitations of our dignitaries demolished, so that they have in a manner left us, and consequently hospitality and charity, are gone away too, and the marks of forfaken poverty and defolation. feem to overspread the whole neighbourhood; there remains scarce any thing beside poor lodgings, for the chapter to keep their audit, for a week or a fortnight at St. James's. tide, and then we are to hope for the pleafure of feeing them no more till the next "feafon comes again." That is as much as to My, that they come once a year to receive their money, and the church, and the palace, and the cathedral, and the service, hospitality and charity may go --- The poor continue naked, miserable, and unrelieved, the revenue is carried away to London, and other places, none of it is feathered upon the ground from whonce it came, it is confumed in other dioceles among foreigners, commonly in a flowerly ungenteel ristous way of living, or an aukapard affectation of greatness; for few of those fort of clergy die worth a shilling, but leave their families in the utmost misery and diffres; as they are generally vain, ignorant, and haughty, fo they are expensive, prodigal, and wasteful. They swagger among the little curates, and the gaping clowns in the country, under the title of Mr. Dean, Mr. Archdeacon ; with this distinction they strut in a title page if they chance to write a filly pampblet or print a flelen fermon, but as for the functions of their office, to visit their jurisdictions, and regulate the diforders of it; Gallio cares for none of these things. And the case I am afraid is much the same in all the other bishopries. of the principality.

E. Go on, have you say more? I shall-

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D. Truly I have much more than I could wish. The same pious regard observed in supporting hospitality in the palace of the bifter. appears notoriously in keeping up the benfes of the parachial clargy, and providing them habitations comfortable and proper for their residence and abode; the case; in short, is this. 'Did you but fee what very forry and mean cottages. (if any) that are left for par-Image and visarage houses? In most parishes there are no provisions of any kind for that use, no glebe, no ground to build upon; but where there are any, they are commonby fo mean and inconvenient, as that the clergy, poor as they are, cannot think them babitable for themselves, and therefore are obliged to part with them to any one that will please to rest them; but very often they full to the fexton's lot, who to get a forry maintenance is allowed the privilege of felling " ale by the church-yard fide."

E. How can this be, when to my knowledge there be so many rocks and stones in
that country ready at hand? When the archdeacons of the diocese, and the rural deans,
who are officers under them, are solemnly
appointed to visit the houses of the clergy,
and to order the repairing of them, that they
may be kept in order, and not be suffered to
run to ruin. The bishops have authority to
compel.

compel the imprepriator to find a fuitable habitation for his curate, as well as to provide him a comfortable maintenance: the archieacon is after sculus epifeopi, as the dean is the other; he is one of the eyes of the bishop, and his jurifdiction extends chiefly to these affairs; if the house of the minister be out of repair, the churchwardens are obliged toprefent it at the visitation, and the archdeacon is bound to take cognizance of it, and to provide against it.

D. What figuifies where the power is lodged, if it be never executed? The archdeacons do not refide, though they are obliged to residence by law; and the bishops take no care to compel them to it. Watfen. in his Compleat Incumbent (which I bought when I was churchwarden) fays exprefly, if: an archdeacon, be wilfully ablent from his dignity for the space of a month together, or for the space of two months, to be accounted at feveral times in the space of one year, and for fuch a time refides in any other place, he shall for every such default, forfeit ten paunds. What havock would the execution . of this law make among the Welf archdeacons, and among many of the English ones too? What advantages would accrue to religion, what scandalous imputations would be filenced by the constant enforcing of it? It is their

their duty to visit two years in three, yet if they chance to come into the diocele at alla they do not hold their visitations in any regular manner, fo that neither clergy nor peaple know when, or where, or how to apple. An archdeacon may be one of the eyes of the bishop, yet that officer must have a werk Grong fight to fee from Highgate, into Cardiganshire. And then to help the matter, the bishop, who feldom resides at all, sometimes holds an archdeaconry or two, along: with his bishopric, and so deprives the church. of that useful officer, when there are many valuable clergymen in the diocese (notwithstanding the poverty and distress of most ofthem) who are well qualified to fill the place, and discharge the duties of it. The bishopof Bangor (I think) is archdeacon of Bangor and archdeacon of Anglesey; the bishop of St. Ajoph is archdeacon likewife of St. Asaph; what a monstrous thing is this? What a strange accumulation of preferments, in their own natures utterly inconfident and untenable, and of the most fatal tendency to the discipline and good order of the diocese, the clergy and people? If they appoint archdeacons, they do not oblige them to reside, or hold their vifitations, as the law requires; and if they are archdeacons themselves, it isimpossible they should do their duty in that office,

when, as they are bishops, they do not live in their diocese, and confequently cannot: be ablent as histops, and prefent as archdeacons at the same time; and yet Watfon deglares it for law, that though a bishop perhang be not tied to residence, by the statute of the 21st of H. VIII, yet he is thereto obliged by ecclefiaftical law, and may be compelled to keep residence by ecclesiastical cen-Jures. And if a bishop hold in commendam an archdeaconry, deanery, or like inferior dignity, parlonage or vicarage, with his bilhopric, he is punishable by the same statute, if according to the same, he be not resident upon such dignity, parsonage or vicarage, and that though he be constantly resident upon his bishopric, he shall not be excused thereby. difficulty is, how to put these laws properly. in execution. The bishops dispense with the residence of their archdeacons, and it would' be strange they should insist upon it, when they make so light a matter of dispensing with their own; but (as the poet sweetly warbles). defendit numerus junctæque umbone phalanges.

E. Is the man mad? What a terrible thing would it be to see a bishop excommunicated by his metropolitan for non-residence?

D. I cannot help that. And now I ampon this subject, I must take notice, that the bishops, conscious of their own neglect of refidence,

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sidence, are obliged as it were to dispense with the residence of those parochial clergy, whose livings are sufficient to afford them a hands fome and comfortable maintenance; for though many churches are stript of their revenues ina deplorable manner, yet some of them (I have heard) do still enjoy their full endowments, and afford provision for the incumbents whereby they may live reputably upon the foot, and do good fervice to religion, and support their character with credit and bonour. But thefe fort of clergy leave their flocks to wretched; miserable birelings, and run out of the country into a warmer fun, and hunt after preferments generally in London; there they creep: into curacies, and little lectures, (and their, modesty will sometimes raise them into a paltry popular chaplainship), where their broken, and unintelligible English, and their fqueaking Welfb dialect give great offence to all ferious and devout christians, and administer. mirth and mockery to giggling girls and young fellows, who make their reading and preaching, and even their common conversation, a matter of fport and ridicule.

E. What is that you fay, Sir? Do not I speak as proper English as any of you all, though I would not forget my Weish, for all your linsey woolsey mungrel gibberish?

D. You, Sir, have had the advantage of an good education; your language is polithed by: keeping the best of company, you dine once a year with the doctor of the parish, your accent is foftened by your frequent fpeaking in . public. I have heard you preach at St. Anthelin's in a morning, with the general applause of that elegant and distinguishing assembly. - You shall now see what regard. is had by these spiritual gourners to the decency and conveniency of divine worthin, by taking a thort furvey of the milerable and ruinous condition of the parochial churches in that coun-'Some churches are totally neglected.' s and very rarely, if at all, have any fervice performed in them, and which, if they are e not converted to barns and flables, do only ferve for the folitary habitations of owlse and jackdaws. In some places we have thurches without chancels, in others we have but some piece of a church, that is, one end, or a fide ifle, and the desolate appearance of most of those that are yet standing, fpeak how difficult they fubfift, and how miserably they are neglected. In some a not only the bells are taken away, but the towers are demolished, and in many others, there are scarce any feats, except here and . there a few ill contrived and broken fools and benches; their little windows are with-OUL.

out glass and darkened with boards, masts. for lattices; their roofs decaying, tottering, "and leaky; their walls green, mouldy, and ' naufeous, and very often without wastion plaifter; and their floors ridged up with noifone graves, without any pavement, and only covered with a few rufbes. Did von fee fo many parochial churches and cha-4 pels of the bishops palaces, and of almost eall the parsonage houses in the diocese; it imight well tempt you to think, that we had lain in the road of the Tunks and Sacracers, in some of their wild excursions. or that we had but very lately passed the diligence and reformation of an Oliverian "army,' Such are the bleffed effects of the due administration of godly discipline in that country! fuch ---

E. What is the man talking of? I do not fay our churches in Wales, are as fine as yours in London; and adorned with pictures and paintings, and God knows what; it is not the valls, or the bells, or the pows, that make a church. Do not you read, that Moses made the altar of burnt-offering of earth and rough unbewn stones? Our churches are built of the very same; there is a great deal of plains, ness and simplicity in them, nothing to draw the eyes of the congregation into superstition and idelatry.

P. You are right; you hall next fee what finale fort of clergy are appointed in thefefingle churches, as you call them. You came comewhat young out of the country, and therefore it, may be a curiofity to hear the description of a Welfe curate. ' In fome places the christian service is totally disused. there are other fome, that may be faid to be but half ferved; there being feveral churches where we are but rarely, if atall, to meet with preaching, catechifing, or administring the hely communion, In others,. the fervice of the prayers is but partly read, and that, perhaps, but once a month, or once in a quarter, of a year; por is it indeed reasonable to expect, that they should be better served, while the stipenes allowed for the fervice of them, are fo small, that a. poor curate must fometimes submit to serve three or four churches for ten or twelvepounds a year, and that, perhaps, when they are almost as many miles distant from each cother. And when it is thus with them. with what order, or regularity are they capable of doing that fervice? And having fo little time, and fo many places to attend upon, how precipitately, and if as out of breath, are they obliged to read the prayers, or to faorten and abridge them? And what time have they, or their congregation to compose

compose themselves for their devotion, while thus forced to a kind of perpetual motions. and like hafty itinerants, to hurry from. place to place? There is no time fixed to go to church, fo it be on Sunday; fo that the poor man must begin at any time with s as many as are at hand, fooner or later, as he can perform his round. He then abruptly huddles over as many prayers as may be in half an hour's time, and then returns again to his road fasting, till he has difpatched his circuit, and that weariness or darkness obliges him to rest, or perhaps, for want of a little necessary refreshment at home, to go where he ought not, where "It is odds, but he will meet with many of his congregation; who, when their hort fervice is over, are too apt to think them-· felves at liberty to fpend the remaining part of the day at an aleboufe, or at some passime or diversion, as they are disposed. bespitality to neighbours, or to strangers, or charity to the poor, can they afford to give, who are themselves, so very indigent as to be most in the need of charity? How conformable to the canons in their drefe and babits, fuch as are required, and becoming of their orders, viz. in their gowns and coffees ' are they capable of appearing when their e mean falaries will fearce afford them flues and i

"and flockings?" It feems, they literally obey the evangelical precept: they provide neither geld nor filver, nor ferip for their journey, neither two coats, neither foes; alas! they have fcarce cloaths to cover their nakedness; whence comes the common proverb, As ragged as a Welsh curate. Would not any man of fense, and common piety stand amazed, how fuch wretches could ever get into ordes? How a bifbep could devote fuch ignoreat poor creatures to minister in hely things? What a fort of examination must pass upon them before they are ordained? A bifbep is commanded to lay hands fuddenly on no man, without a strict inquiry into his life and abilities; but furely he could not upon the least deliberation by bands upon fuch itinerant vagabend hirelings as thefe. But so it is, and with a good conscience no doubt - And now, as this worthy writer observes, 'What christian knowledge, what sense of piety, what value for religion are we reasonably. to hope for in a country thus abandoned, when persons are ordained that are contemptible in themselves, when any little " a-b-c darian febool-mafter, a gentleman's buteler, a mountebank, or what not, shall be fo cheaply admitted to commence clerks, on the prevailing merit only, perhaps, of fome potent impropriator's recommendation, e mars The Phlars of PRIEST CHAFT

may be follicitous for a cheap chaplain or to

pack off an ufelefs fervant.'

What is the meaning of that folium charge given by the biften to the archdeacon, when he presents a person to be ordained, either deason or priess?

The bishop-

Take head that the person whom you present unto us he apt and meet for his learning, and godly conversation, to exercise his ministry duly to the honour of God, and the edification of his church.

The archdeacon shall answer.

I have enquired of him and also examined him and think him so to be.

What is the intention of the answer given by the bishop elect to the archbishop, when he is consecrated?

Will you be faithful in ordaining, fending, or laying hands upon others?

Apfwer.

I will do fo by the help of God.

How does he do so when he ordein such fellows who are scandalously illiterate, and are incapable in any sense to do bount to God, or to edify his church?

When I reflect upon these things, I am utterly confounded, they can never be reconciled. I shall say no more, than that all these miseries, all these prophanations and scandals, it is in the power of the bishap and his officers, in a great measure to remedy and suppress; there are laws to support them in the execution of their duty, the consequences, must therefore lie at their own doors.

E. Between you and I, Mr. Dabson, I am afraid this is too true; but I beg of you for the love of God, and out of respect to the cloth, that you would not say so much abroad; O tell it not in Gath!

D. I am come now to that abfurd and indefensible practice of holy men (as you call them) who accept of bishoprics in Wales, when they are utterly, and in any sense incapable of doing their duty, because they do not understand the language of the people they are to instruct; how can they (as the office of confecration enjoins) feed the flock over which the Holy Ghost had made them overseers, and for which Christ died, how can the sheep know the shepherd's voice, when they do not know the meaning of one syllable he says?

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With what reverence and complacency must they receive his benediction, when he bleffer them in an unknown tongue? To fee a bishop lay his band upon a person's head, and mutter a few words over him not to be underflood, looks more like a charm than a bleffing: In the office of consecration, God Almighty is addressed to endue the bistion elect with his Hely Spirit, that he preaching the word may not only be earnest to reprove, befeech; and rebake with all patience and doctrine, but also may be to such as believe, a wholesome example in word and conversation, &c. But what a scene is this, when he is appointed: over the fouls of people, to whom he cannot fpeak a word to be understood, and is utterly incapable to repreve, befeech; or rebuke, or to hold any manner of conversation with. them? What is the meaning of this folemn question and answer, much too solemn to be uled only for form?

The archbilhop.

Will you instruct the people committed to your charge (which shews a bishopric is a cure of souls) and call upon God for the true understanding of the scriptures, so as you may be able by them to preach and exhort with wholesome doctrine, and to withstand and convince the gainsayers?

Answers.

Answer.

I will do fo by the help of Ged.

How can he teach and preach, and exbort with wholesome doctrine, and instruct the people, withfland and convince the gainfayers in his diocese, when the people perhaps, never once faw the face of him, or if they had, he may as well talk to them in Arabic, and be as well understood? For God's fake, have not bishops fouls to be faved? Is religion a thing real, or is it priestcrast and juggling, and a trade to live by? Is this office no more than playing of a farce, or acting of a drell? Is God the fure avenger of breaches of promise and trust, made and published in his own most facred name? What can the people think, or what respect can they entertain of their pastors, when - But this bonest writer represents the case in a much better light; though he speaks with great wariness and caution (for the subject it seems is exceeding tender) yet he fays enough to expose and explode fo unjustifiable a custom. so opposite to common sense, and which can admit of no gloss or shadow of reason to secommend it.

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E. I wish you had done with your book; for my time is almost come, I expect the clerk every moment.

D. The disposing of Wall preferments to fuch as are wholly ignorant of the lansquage, has contributed not a fittle to the deray and defolation of our religion. The benefits of the church faculd be accepted for no other end, but of being ufeful and doing the service of the charts, whole * bread they eat; it being just and equitable that they thould be qualified for the day where they receive the profit; and it cannot be supposed that they are so, till they make themselves intelligible to the flocks they are to guide and overfee. For as St. Paul observes, when the voice of him that · speaketh is not understood, then both he that * Speaks, and he that is Spoken to, are muthdally barbarians to each other; and a greater yet infinitely than St. Paul hath told us, That it ought to go into the character of a good Shepherd, that the theep hould know his voice; which plainly enough fignifies, that no one can be faid to be an ufeful and good pafter whole speech or voice is " unintelligible to his people. The reason of the thing is fo clear and unanswerable, as that it is in truth amazing, that ambition itelf, with all its subtle inventions, should think

think to find out arguments to justify the Acontrary; for of what use can any one be (let his learning in other respects be ever fo great) to inftrust, and teach these whom. he cannot Beak to? And therefore what s benefit are the people to expect as to. knowledge, or information from the minifry of fuch, who can neither preach nor spray, so as to be nuderflood by them? Will "after-ages believe, that there thould srife s among the learned, and the knowing those who should not doubt of their sufficiency for, or of their faithfulness in, the discharge of this most felemm truft, without either " understanding the language, or ever freing. is the faces of those they are spiritually to feed and overfue? While things continue thus, with what kind of decency can we declaim against the popist practice of teaching men, it is neither necessary they should ·s read the scriptures, nor understand the prayers, when what amounts to fo much the fame thing, and is fo like it, is practifed and allowed among ourselves, by assigning pa-" flors that are unintelligible to their congre-" gation?"

E, On my word, your author speaks good sense, his observations are just; and whatever has been the practice of late in filling the Wellahishaprics with pastors that are frangers.

to the language, yet that the case was otherwife formerly, appears by an act paffed in the reign of Charles II. which enjoins, that the bishops of Hereford, St. Davids, Maph, Bangor, and Landoff, and their successors, shall take fuch order among themselves, for the foul's health of the flock committed to their charge, that the liturgy of the church of England, be truly and exactly translated into the British or Wellh tongue, and the same so translated, and by them, or any three of them at least, viewed, perused, and allowed, be imprinted, and the whole divine fervice be used, and said by the ministers and curates throughout all Wales. in the British or Welsh tongue; and therefore it is that if a clerk be presented to a church in Wales, who does not underfland the language, the ordinary may lawfully refuse him. because he is incapable of the cure.

D. It is certain by the act you mention, that bishops were in those days appointed to the Welsh sees, who perfectly understood the language; for to what purpose were they ordered to view and peruse she translation of the liturgy, if they were not able to understand it? Their successor, by this act, are likewise supposed to be capable from time to time to view, and peruse, and see the liturgy imprinted in Wesh; and how sufficient the present set are to discharge, or attend such

abusiness may be easily conjectured, when I believe not one of them can read or understand one fentence in the whole book. find there is a defign at prefent to publish a. large impression of Wellb bibles under the direction of the bishops of the principality; tenderly expressed! I should be glad to know which of them peruses the sheets, or corrects the press? How shocking is it to consider that the bible, on which the falvation of fo many thousands depends, should be left to the mercy of a hackney translator, to add, to omit, or alter what doctrines he pleases? What havoc may be made with the article of the Trinity at this rate? And then, with regard to the power they have by law to refuse a clerk, who does not understand the Wellb tongue, and to keep him out of the diocese, and to secure by that means, that the divine service may be performed in the language of the country, they are fo far from exercifing this authority, wherein religion and the good of fouls are so nearly concerned, that they frequently present to livings in their own gift, and admit by the prefentation of others, fuch clerks as are Englishmen, and fometimes refugees of other countries, who cannot speak one syllable, and understand as little of the language as themfelves.

E. What think you of Dr. Trever, the bishop of St. Davids? There are many families of the Trevers in Wales.

D. That may be; but let me go on with my book, I have almost done. 'The emie nently pious bishop BEDEL, when he was opromoted to an Irish see, thought himself obe liged to learn that language, to which he of fo applied himfelf, as to be fo great a master of it, and such a critic, as to correct a translation which he ordered to be made of the old testament into Irish, in order to be joined with the new and the commonprayer, which were done before. e given this example in his own person, he with the more authority could require his clergy, as he accordingly did, to conform themselves unto it; he therefore plainly told them, that fuch only he would encourage and prefer there, who could efficiate and preach in the Irifb language, which was, he faid, a qua-· lification absolutely necessary in every minister that had the care of an Irib congregation. " It was upon the fame view, that is, of being as uleful as possible to his diocese,

that the late most learned and pious bishop Lloyd of Worcester, on his promotion to the

bishopric of St. Asaph, thought it his duty

e also to learn the language of the country,

s fo fur, at least, as to be able to read it, to

administer the facraments, to confirm them, and to efficiate publicly among them in their own rougue; which was a means, not only to render him more ferviceable, but of mightily cadearing him to his people, who could not be intentible of the goodness, and 4 fingular condescension he expressed, by besing at the pains of learning their language, for no other end, but to shew his estnest defires of doing them more good. Again, it was upon the same principle, (as I am informed) that Dr. Bradford, the worthy and e learned bishop of Carliste, though there were emany motives to induce him to it, did yet decline of accepting a bishopric in Wales, because he was a stranger to the language; and that he therefore conscientiously feared he should not be able to be so useful to his diocese, nor so capable of edifying and infructing them, as he thought himself obliged to be.' What think you of fuch men as thefe-? E. Those were brave men indeed; but I admire, Mr. Dobson, why gentlemen of England will give themselves the trouble of learning a strange language, and clambring with their portmanteau's and cleak begs into the cold hilly country of Wales for bishoprics, when there are fo many of the natives, who are used to the roughness of the roads, and the sharpness of the air, that are sufficiently qualified by under-Standing F 2

standing the We's tongue, to execute that venerable office; for my own part, I can only answer for myself; I shall be always ready upon the least notice, when God and my king shall please to call me to that laborious and important trust; and I may say without vanity——but, I see one of the bearers coming; they stay for me in the church yard; I must take my leave.

D. Remember the pig to-morrow.

ADDRESS

TO THE

University of Oxford,

Occasioned by a SERMON, intitled, The divine Institution of the Ministry, and the absolute necessity of Church-Government; preached before that University by the Rev. Mr. Joseph Betty, on the 21st of September, 1729.

By I. W. L.

We know their boly jugglings,
Things that would flartle faith, and make us deem
Not this, or that, but all religious false,

By education most have been misled, So they believe, because they so were bred, The priest continues what the nurse began, And thus the child imposes on the man;

DAYD.

Nothing is more dangerous, nothing more dreadful than formen to affume to themselves a power which heaven has denied them; such men may indeed possibly deceive the world under a salle character, but God will not be mocked, the All-wise will not be over-reached by the crafty prefumptions of seigned stewards; nor will the monarch of heaven be imposed upon by the pretended credentials of salle embassadors. Mr. Batty's Sermon.

First printed in the year 1730.

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A.N

ADDRESS

TOTHE

University of Oxford.

GENTLEMEN,

Believe you will agree with me, that it is very just and reasonable, to expect fomething uncommon, in a fermon preached before the University of Oxford; the perfons who are appointed to entertain such a learned audience, being supposed to be every . way qualified for fuch an honourable employ. This expectation of mine naturally led me to purchase and peruse a sermon lately published, which recommended itself by being preached before that University. I was pleased with the hopes of being agreeably entertained and instructed by an address to so learned and polite an audience; but how far, and for what reasons, I was disappointed, will appear by the sequel.

I chuse, Gentlemen, to address myself on this occasion to you, who are undoubtedly the most competent judges of an affair of this nature; and because I apprehend it is in some measure incumbent upon the University, to take care that no discourses should be preached before them, at least not published to the world, which are deficient in point of just reasoning or charity.

That the discourse above mentioned is remarkably deficient in both instances, throughout almost every paragraph, is what, in my opinion, appears not difficult to prove, to the satisfaction and conviction of any, but those who have the happiness of the same profound learning and intellects as Nr. Betty: and all such I freely leave to that venerable Person, who bath an undeniable right, and undoubted authority, to instruct, reprove and exhort, direct and govern them.

In the first place, Gentlemen, I think your orator somewhat unhappy in the choice of his text; which, I suppose, he would infinuate as a divine proof out of the holy writings of the main position in his sermon, viz the divine institution of the ministry: whereas there is not the least soundation in the words themselves for any such fancy, they being applicable

cable to the apostle St. Paul himself, and no one individual person besides. In the beginning of his epiftle he tells the Galatians, that he was an apofile, not of men, neither by men, but by Jesus Christ, and God the Father: which is very little different from his usual manner of expression, as is evident if we review the beginning of any of his epiftles, for in them he calls himself, an apostle by the will of God, an expression which is very easy and obvious, and which none who are acquainted with his history could possibly mistake: the reason why the apostle varies from his more general form of expression, in the beginning of his other epiflies, none need be a ftranger to, who will give himself the trouble of reading the whole chapter.

But what reference hath this to the inflitution of a ministry seventeen centuries after? what connection hath the appointment of St. Paul to the apostleship, which certainly was by the will of God, and that revealed in a particular and miraculous manner, with the institution of Mr. Joseph Betty to the minifiry? or how doth it follow, that because the former was by divine appointment, that this is equally true concerning the latter? I fear if Mr. B--- had not taken orders till he had the divine appointment intimated in the words

words of his text, the world must have been for ever deprived of his instructions, reproofs and exhautations.

But if it was not our preacher's intention to make this use of his text, yet as he hath separated it from the words preceding and sollowing, it was very likely to be understood in such a sense, agreeable to the tenor of his whole discourse. He ought in justice therefore, to have expressy guarded his audience against understanding the words in that sense, which his choice of them would naturally lead them to.

After our author hath given us a specimen of his presound judgment, in the choice of a text which hath no relation at all to the discourse which is supposed to be sounded on it; for with equal reason, and the same propriety, he might have chose the first verse of the first chapter of Genesis; I suppose he had a mind to surprize his audience with somewhat bright and uncommon. I am indeed an entire stranger to the person and character of our preacher, but upon reading his sirst paragraph, I presently imagined, that when he was preparing this great and wonderful performance, he was somewhat diffident of him-

felf and his abilities, for which reason, lest the andience should immediately settle themfelves to fleep, he took extraordinary care, and uncommon pains about it: certainly the wonderous discoveries in this first paragraph, must be the product of great study and mature deliberation; there are some very deep and hidden things, which a genius less faga-could hardly discover. He tells us, that though the loveliness and beauty of religion es are motives strong enough to engage the esteem and admiration of the world; though " religion itself be highly agreeable to all the " laws of reason; though it be necessarily al-" lowed to be the ornament and perfection of " our nature, yet were its dispensers entirely . somauthorized, had their precepts received " no fanction, nor they themselves any com-" mission; were there indeed no divine po-" fitive isstitution, all the plaufible arguse ments, all the powerful obligations, which " are generally pleaded in its behalf, would "then be very precarious and uncertain;" i. e. in other words, that all our obligations to virtue and religion, which are founded upon its intrinsick beauty and loveliness, upon its conformity to the eternal nature and reason. of things, and moreover upon its being the F .6

express will * of the Deity, who as the author of our beings, hath an undoubted right to our obedience, yet that all these powerful obligations, would be very precarious and uncertain, except the dispensers of these truths, had been 'authorized or received a commifican to tell us, that we are obliged to a life of virtue and religion. Strange indeed! that the certainty of our obligation to virtue and religion should depend upon a person's being authorized or not authorized to tell us our duty: this is bad reasoning, but worse divinity; and yet no less a person than a master of arts, and an university oratir, out of his abundant zeal for he knoweth not what, hath been pleafed to affure the world, that all their obligations to religion, and the necessity of their obedience to the precepts of christianity, which arise from the moral fitness of the duties and virtues which it recommends, and the relation which we bear to a Deity, to cur fellow creatures, and to ourselves, which depend upon the nature and reafor

^{*} I add this, because if our author hath any meaning to this expression, bad their p ecepts received to sansion, he must, I think, mean, had not the precepts which the clergy deliver to the people (which by the way are improperly called theirs, because if they deliver none but what are agreeable to the will of Christ, and the rule of the Gospel, they are the precepts of Christ, and not theirs) received the sanction of divine authority.

fon of things which is eternally unalterable, neither to be changed or destroyed by the caprice of men, nor by the arbitrary will of the Deity himself: yet I say that the certainty of these divine principles, and the necessity of our conformity to them, depends upon an appointment and designation of some whimsical and chimerical powers, in the hands of a particular set of men. Whether by such a conduct, and such principles, our preacher hath recommended the christian religion, and the constitution of our church in particular, which in their nature and tendency they are inconsistent with, and directly contrary to, I leave to the impartial world to determine.

What he immediately adds, is not indeed a confirmation of what he hath faid, a thing that is false, being for that reason, incapable of a confirmation; but our author points out his meaning, in yet stronger terms, by adding " a voluntary choice might indeed re-" commend, or a discretionary power would " perhaps naturally enforce its doctrines; but " an absolute necessity of actual obedience " would be entirely cancelled." A voluntary choice recommending; and a discretionary prucer. naturally enforcing, are certainly flowers of university-rhetorick; perhaps indeed peculiarto the fellows of Exon college. I suppose our author

author means, that if there were no difpenfers authorized to instruct us in our holy religion. yet that some persons would chuse to be virtuous, and others from pradential confiderations would conform to its precepts and doctrines; but yet that upon the above-mentioned supposition, an absolute necessity of actual obedience would be entirely cancelled. not only cancelled, but entirely cancelled; in the former paragraph he only told us, that except dispensers were authorized, all the powerful obligation to religion would be precarious and uncertain: but upon second thoughts, I imagine that appeared too favourable; wherefore he now adds, that the necessity of our obedience would be entirely cancelled.

And by way of illustration, our orator tells ess, "That the harsh and more severe prescepts of christianity would easily find too good a friend in our corrupted natures to be "rightly observed and embraced." In my opinion, the words themselves carry their own season along with them; the bursh and more severe precepts of religion, for that very reason, and because our natures are corrupted, are not rightly embraced and observed by us; but then this doth by no means follow, which our preacher intimates to us, from the want of authorized and commissioned dispensers; for the

the supposition, of such authorized dispensers would be of no service to us in the present case; for without all doubt, these barsh and severe precepts would find the same good friend in our corrupted natures, whether we had a divinely commissioned ministry or not: neither will the odd and fanciful observation which is immediately subjoined clear up this matter at all.

And though Mr. B. doth conceive, (wondrous modest!) that the truth of the above affertions are too plainly evident to be denied; yet for fear others should not conceive in the manner that he doth, he is pleased to quicken and promote their conception with a familiar observation, "That the most proper advices, so the most prudent counsels, the most usese ful admonitions, unless given by a perfon who has a warrantable right of admonith-"ing, and an uncontested power of instructes ing, are commonly looked upon as unleasee fonable, triffing, and impertisent." hence our preacher would infer, that except the clergy had a warrantable right of admomishing, and an uncontested power of instructing, their preaching would be looked upon as unfeafonable, triffing, and impertinent.

And really, if I may speak my own opinion of this matter, I do not apprehend that the case differs much at present; for though they are allowed to have a warrantable right, and an uncontested power of instructing, yet I fear their discourses are generally esteem'd, and if managed in the same manner as our preacher's, very deservedly, unseasonable, trifling, and impertinent.

But because Mr. B. conceives that this obfervation confirms the truth of his affertions, it may not be improper to enquire into its nature and pertinence.

It is certainly a very just remark, that when a person unasked interferes in the common affairs of life, we generally think him impertinent, and his advice unseasonable; but then this will not, as I apprehend, be of any service to Mr. B's cause; for if we ask or defire the advice, I think then we very seldom, (I, am sure we ought, never) esteem it unseasonable or impertinent; nay, I doubt not, but such a request would be looked upon by any person, as a better warrant and power, than any commission or warrant which another forward to give his advice should pretend to from heaven: but our preacher's observation must

be enlarged, in order to do him any fervice, for as it now stands it answers no end; he must observe farther, that the advices and counsels of a person, who hath a warrantable right of admenishing, are (and for that reafon, I mean, because he hath such right) well received, are esteemed scasonable and pertinent : and in the case before us, that this warrantable right cannot be as well given by the people who are to be instructed, as by divine appointment, i. e. he must observe, that of two persons, the one of which hath his powers from the people, who are to be instructed, who authorize and pay him for fo doing; and of the other, who pretends a divine commission to teach: I fay, he must observe, that the infructions of the former are reckoned unfeafonable and impertinent, and those of the latter attended with successi. Except Mr. B. is pleased to observe thus much, his observation might as well have been spared; for as it now stands, to use his own words, it is unseasonable, trifling and impertinent.

Our preacher adds, "The truths themfelves, how important foever, are generally
neglected, and he that too zealoufly propagates them is, not always undefervedly,
ill treated." This, I think, is very oddly
expressed, for who would imagine that by too
zealoufly,

zealoufly, should be meant perfons not authorized? He goes on, " But what if noify and impudent pretenders are justly punished, for or prefumptuoufly arrogating to themselves a 66 claim to which divine laws have never giee ven, and to which human laws can never " give, any title?" I am fomewhat at a loss to know who are these noify and impudent pretenders; it must certainly refer to those in the former fentence who too zealoufly propagated unseasonable truths, but then I think it is strangely connected: in the former sentence, they are ill treated for propagating truth too zealoufly, in this truly, though he certainly means the very fame persons, and those guilty of the very same crimes, yet they are justly punished for arrogating a claim, to which divine laws have never given, and human laws never can give them a title. But what, pray, is this mighty claim, for the arrogating of which these persons are punished, and to which divine laws have not, and human laws never can give a title? All the claim already mentioned, and to which this can possibly refer, is that of fome persons instructing others without a warrantable right; and it is certainly fomewhat very strange and unaccountable, that human laws cannot give a person a right of this nature. That divine laws have never given noify and impudent pretenders any title to teach and instruct Anowledge; and this makes me inclinable to believe, that our preacher's ministry is of men, and not of God.

After this, our orator goes on in a very moving and pathetic strain, to lament and mourn over " fome venerable perfons, who 46 have an undeniable right, an undoubted 44 authority, a legal commission, to teach and 44 instruct, to reprove and exhort, to direct 46 and govern." He hath not told us who these venerable persons are, but whoever they are, I cannot fee any reason we should pity them, for it feems they are " the angels of God's church, the stars in his right hand, 46 and have a power fuperior to angels and archangels themselves;" and doubtless, these wonderful privileges and powers are able to support them under all their calamity and diffress.

But what is it that these venerable persons have an undoubted right to? It is, he tells us, to teach and instruct, to reprove and exhort, and at last comes out, to direct and govern:

I think our preacher should have acquainted us with the nature of this power, and wherein it consists.

govern; which is, I fear, the grand fecret and main foring of this mighty machine, which gives motion to all its parts: in the former pages, we had never a word about government, though were it not for the fake of this, I imagine, we should not have heard any thing about warrantable powers to admonish, teach and instruct: I doubt not, these venerable perfons would have been very easy in their demands of fuch a power as the latter, and the people as easy in the grant of it; but when once they come to talk about government, and prefumptuoufly arrogate a claim, to which neither divine nor human laws, ever gave them a title, no wonder then, that they meet with that fcorn and contempt, which our preacher laments in such a moving strain. But it seems, he is not willing barely to lament, and deplore their hard and unhappy fate; no, he thinks it not unseasonable " to vindicate their mission, to prove their authority, and mag-" nify their office;" and I think it not unfeasonable to fee how he hath acquitted himfelf.

He begins with endeavouring to demonstrate (wondrous modesty!) "First, that God has instituted and established a ministry by Christs and his apostles, to act between himself and

mankind, in the great and important affair of their falvation."

He begins the proof hereof with a remark, that there have been priests in all ages and nations, and that these priests were constantly looked upon, in a pious sense, as successful mediators between God and men.

It is indeed a truth too great to be denied, and at the same time a melancholy instance of the degeneracy of the human mind, that in almost all ages and nations of the world, there have been some persons of an infamous character; who, to carry on some mean and base designs, to promote their own interest, vanity and pride, have taken advantage of the weakness and ignorance of their fellow creatures; and it is not improbable to suppose, sometimes under the particular direction and assistance of their master the devil, whose ferwants they were, and whose proper work and business they were doing, have put in practice

A very odd expression in a christian divine; for though our great bigb priest, and author of our holy religion, is stilled the mediator between God and men, yet to apply this character to the priest-hood, and call it a pious sense, is an instance of uncommon wanity and weakness, not to call it worse,

all possible and plausible arts to impole upon the judgment and imagination of mankind. and vainly pretended to greater degrees of favour with the deity, or some imaginary superior beings, and under that pretence have feduced their respective followers and admirers into grofs and fcandalous errors, unworthy of men, or of reasonable beings; insomuch that they forfeited their proper character, and acted far beneath the rank and dignity of intelligent creatures, by an abject and fervile fabmillion of their reason and understanding, to the guidance and direction of their priests, and by a conformity to all their filly trumpery and ridiculous rites, under the falle and equally foolish notion of religion toward the Gods. This hath been the conftant bufinest. this the true character of those priests which our orator refers to: but why he hath thought proper to bring this miferable state and condition of mankind into our view, except it be to raife our abhorrence against those vile feducers, and their successors in the office, I cannot possibly imagine; for this, I hope, is far from being a proof, that priefts are of a divine appointment; not only far from being a direct proof, but likewise for from adding the least force or strength to his argument.

But having done with these, our preacher proceeds to tell us, that the true religion hath had its ministers, if not from the beginning of the world, yet certainly from the patriarchal ages, and that the priesthood was lodged in the first-born, which he would infinuate. as an argument of its dignity; or, as he hath, expressed it, that the dignity of it was reputed very great. In the preceding section he tells. us, that it was the business of the priests. to teach, exhort, and instruct, and here, oh. admirable discovery! he says the priesthood, was lodged in the * first born, so that they were kings and priests at the same time; and from hence he draws his argument for its dignity. I wonder much who our preacher would have to teach and instruct his family. but its master or head; ought not he therefore, who is its king, to be its priest? Certainly none is so fit and proper for that office; which, in my opinion, entirely destroys his curious argument for its dignity, which perhaps he was conscious of: for though he fays, from bence it dith manifestly appear; yet he

I suppose our preacher means the master of the family, for it is hardly to be imagined, that the first-born was king of the family while his father was living; or that after his decease he was king in the family of his brethren.

he immediately adds, but be this as it will: intimating, as one would imagine, that no great stress ought to be laid on it; and if he is content thus easily to yield up his own arguments, I fee no reason why I should be concerned for them: wherefore let us attend to what follows, which is, " that the office was " really executed, and that to no infignificant purpose, that its threats were neither looked ee upon as mere niceties or dreams, nor its 45 censures esteemed as altogether vain and ee ineffectual, is, I think, indisputably certain, es from the famous flory of Abraham and " Abimelech." The office, as he before defcribed it, was to teach and exhort, but by this which immediately follows, it feems to be of a different and contrary nature, for he talks of threats and censures. But he hath abused Abraham, and terverted th .fcripture in a most scandalous manner, in the instance which he hath made choice of, as a divine proof of the truth of his position; for if Abraham, as a prieft, did threaten and censure Abimelech, in the instance before us, he too much, I fear, resembled some priests of our days, and was without all doubt a very wicked priest for so doing; for Abimelech had the testimony of the deity himself, that what he did was done in the integrity of his heart; fee the fixth verse of the same twentieth of Genefis, Genefis, which our author himself quotes: nay, if we more narrowly examine the history, and consider it according to the account which our preacher hath given us of the priestbood, he seems entirely to have mistaken the character of the persons; for Abimelech seems to be the priest, and not Abrahum: however he certainly assumed the office in reproving Abraham; for he tells him in the ninth verse, he did deeds which he ought not to have done, which was undoubtedly true. I hope when our preacher is disposed to favour us with another sermon on the divine institution of the priesthood, he will please to review this instance.

In the mean time, as though he was fenfible that this instance was nothing to the purpose, he tells us, " that it will be more " fully confirmed, by the confideration of " Neah's bleffing Shem, and curfing Canaan: of Isaa's bleffing Facob, and of Facob's " authoritatively dispensing his paternal bene-41 dictions to his children." If it be confirmed at all by these instances, I very readily agree with him, that it will be more fully confirmed by the latter than the former; though, I must confess, I am utterly at a loss to know what the patriorchs bleffing or curfing their children hath to do with the priefthood, except VOL. I. G

except it be that our orator would infinuate, that our priests have the same powers now. that the patriarchs had then; and when Mr. B- or his brethren can give an instance of this their power, when we have reason not to look upon their threats as mere niceties and dreams, or not to effeem their cenfures altogether vain and ineffectual, then, and not till then I fancy, will mankind believe their divine institution, in the sense in which he contends for it. But to keep up the shew and appearance of an argument, our preacher adds, " folemnly to pronounce a benediction 56 in the name of the Lord Jehovah, is a 66 full and undoubted act of authority, and can never be valid without an express com-" mission from God." What he means by this, I profess I know not, nor indeed is it very material. How the pronunciation of a bleffing, which must be either praying God to bless, or else a declaration that he will blefs, can in any tolerable propriety of speech be called an undoubted act of authority, is what I can by no means comprehend; though I easily imagine, that none can truly declare that the divine being will blefs any particular person, either in general, or in any particular instance, except he hath received an express commission to make fuch a declaration: but what then? To what purpose hath our orator afferted this,

and in so pompous and rhetorical a strain? The reason, if we are to have any, is still behind, which is ushered in with a " now " that these bleffings, and these curses, were er really ministerial acts, and must be abso-66 lutely considered as such, is plain even to " demonstration; because when they were 46 once delivered, it was not in the power " of him by whom they were published, " though ever fo willing, or ever fo passio-" nately defirous, to reverse or alter them." What our orator means by calling these ministerial acts, where the whole stress of the affair lies, is hard to determine; the nature of his argument requires him to mean, that they are such acts as are peculiar and confined to the office of the priesthood; but then the reason which he adds, is so far from making this matter plain, even to demonstration, that it makes it neither plain nor probable, nor doth he mention any medium to prove it by: and there is neither reasoning nor connection in his argument; for it doth not by any means appear, that because the person pronouncing the bleffing could not reverse it, that therefore he acted in the character of a prieft. It is true, indeed, this act may in a proper sense be called ministerial, i. e. that the person who pronounced the bleffing, did not act, as we may fay, in propria persona, but as the mi-

mister of another, and as the publisher of the divine will; which indeed is sufficiently proved by the reason which our preacher gives, that it was not in his power to alter or reverse the blessing; but then what can be inferred from hence? Or what relation doth this bear to the priessbood? In the former sense of the word, his reason is no manner of proof; in the latter, though it be a proof, yet it is nothing to the purpose.

But moreover, if these acts were entirely ministerial, and it was not in the power of the publisher to alter the blessing, how can this be called an undoubted att of authority? How doth it argue either power or authority, to deliver, or publish the will of the divine being, in any particular instance; which will, as to its effects, doth not depend upon its being published or declared; for if it could not be altered after it was published, there doth not feem to be the least reason to suppose it would not equally have taken place, if it never had been published: but suppose we grant our author even more than he defires, that the fate of the person did in some measure depend upon the pronunciation of these bleffings and cursings, the divine being having regard to these in the dispensations of his providence towards the particular persons thus

thus bleffed or cursed, which I think seems not improbable from the history of the patriarchs; but then this, which must be allowed to be an undoubted act of authority, a power of a superior nature to any thing which our preacher contends for, who resolves all this power into no power at all, viz. the publishing and delivering the blessing, hath not the least reference to the priesthood, or our preacher's argument.

The true state of this affair is, that the patriarchs were favoured, by the divine being, with a privilege, which, none fince them feem to have enjoyed in fo great a latitude, of bleffing or curfing their immediate descendants; but that this power extended to other indifferent persons, doth by no means appear; and fomething analogous to this obtains amongst us even at this day, which hath given rife to that common and well known faying, that the curse of a parent falls beabut then in feveral instances this ought not to be considered under the character of a power, but rather as a mere privilege only, of fore-feeing and declaring the divine counsel and will. God ab origine defigned to bless Jacob, for Jacob, fays he, have I loved, and Efau have I bated, even before they were born, or had a being; it was therefore upon

all accounts necessary, that by some means or other, Jacob should have the blessing of his father; for if the patriarch had actually blessed Esau, as this was contrary to the will and design of the supreme being, Isaac's blessing would have been vain and ineffectual, and would never have been confirmed by God-Agreeably therefore to this privilege, granted to the patriarchs by the divine being, of blessing their offspring, some peculiar circumstances in that affair procured the declaration of the blessing in favour of Jacob, the person dessigned to be blessed by God.

But what hath this privilege, peculiar to the patriarchs, and to them not as priests, but as persons in a particular manner favoured by the divine being, to do in the present case? What reference hath this to the priestbood? What foundation is there, either in the nature of the thing, or in the holy writings, to imagine that they acted in the character and capacity of priests? Or even suppoling they did, yet where is the connection between them thus acting, and the divine institution of a christian priesthood in our days, which confessedly hath no powers of this or the like kind? I shall therefore leave it. with this farther remark only, that even in circumstances of a lesser and more indifferent nature,

nature, our preacher is mistaken; for I think it will puzzle him to give us an instance of any one, who after the bleffing was published, was passionately desirous to reverse it; and if he cannot, his position, as it now stands, is very lame and defective. What he feems to refer to, is the affair between Isaac and his fons; but it doth by no means appear, from their history in the holy writings, that * Isaac was at all willing, much less poffionately defirous to have it reverfed, but certainly there must be allowed to be a vast difference between the father and fon. this is not the first instance our preacher hath given us, that he is above confulting his bible.

It is indeed said, that when Isaac discovered how he had been imposed upon by Jacob, and that he had given him the blessing, which he designed for Esaa, that he trembled exceedingly; but this is no argument of his desire, nor indeed doth it at all appear, that it was his desire, after Jacob had the blessing, to reverse or alter it, but rather the contrary; for we are told, in the following chapter, that at a time when there doth not appear to be any occasion for it (Jacob having already had the blessing, and Isaac had told Esau, that by virtue of that blessing he should be blessed) I say, we are there told, that Isaac called Jacob and blessed him.

But our preacher not willing to dwell on the " fcanty beginnings of a religious mi-" nistry," (though, by the way, according to his own account, these beginnings were not fo very (canty) and I having as little inclination to dwell there as he, will very contentedly follow him to those brighter times, when our bleffed lord " founded and efta-" blished that church, which, our preacher 46 affures us, all men must enter into, who " will be intitled to the benefits of Christ's " incarnation, passion and resurrection." I profess he is once more got above my reach; if he had been fo good to tell us what he meant by entering into that church, or whether he meant joining in communion with the present established church, which by the rant that follows I shrewdly suspect, I could then have given some answer to it; but till he is pleased to explain himself, I must even leave it as I found it.

He then proceeds to acquaint us with the methods which our Lord made use of in the establishing his kingdom, which he doth in a pompous and rhetorical strain; but if less regard had been had to this, and a greater to the sense and meaning of the words, it might have been altogether as well. In one line

he tells us, that " our Lord's divine mission 46 was fully confirmed by his furprizing mi-" racles;" and in the next he adds, " that 41 the great feal of heaven gave an authen-" tic testimony to what he did:" though the expression is different, and he would be thought to convey a different idea to his audience, yet certainly he means one and the same individual thing: but after this follows, what every one, who hath read the history of our Lord in the holy gospels, must know to be falle, 4 that he was glorified 4 by all that heard him." Afterward he acquaints us, that Christ made choice of his apostles to preach his gospel to mankind, and that after they had received their commission. he tells us, " that they respectively propase gated their uniform doctrines, and imposed " the observance of them upon all christian 44 converts, as absolutely necessary to falva-"tion." These are some of our orator's flowers, which, in my opinion, need a small explanation: for what those uniform doftrines were, the observance of which were imposed on the christian converts, as absolutely necesfary to falvation, is somewhat hard to determine. The manner of his expression feems to refer to those doctrines of our holy religion, which are the articles of a christian's faith or belief, separate from his practice; G 5

and then these uniform destrines must be reduced to this single one of the divine mission, or messiahship of Christ.

After he hath given us a relation of the acts of the apostles, in the first planting and fettlement of the christian churches, he comes, to "and lastly, to keep up a lawful succession. of men qualified to adorn and explain the " doctrines of that great and glorious high es priest, God their faviour, in all things; and " that none might profanely intrude into the " fanctuary of our Lord, or facrilegiously inwade the altar of God, they constitute and ordain officers in fuch a regular subordina-" tion, as should be most effectual to preferve " a lasting establishment of peace and good gowernment in the church of Christ, which was to continue till all its faithful members " should be triumphantly received up into " glory." He feems to have referved this to the last, as being the most important and material action of the apostles, and certainly in his present argument, all that goes before is unscasonable, trifling and impertinent. But that we may have a clear and just notion of his argument, (for by the way, he hath aimed at none before) let, us add what immediately follows. which is " now, the adversaries of our church. " may then, if they please, be informed, or " rather

" rather fully convinced, that from hence it is
"we receive our power, from hence we claim
our authority, from hence we derive our
commission, and from hence also, in a very
justifiable sense, we sufficiently prove our

" uninterrupted fuccession."

Here is a great show of words, and by his now then, somewhat like the appearance of an argument; but really there is nothing but a mere empty shadow, without the fubstance. He fays, the apostles ordained officers in the christian churches : and what then? What have these officers to do with government and authority? Or how doth it appear, that because the apostles ordained them, that they were to ordain others? This our preacher ought to have proved, either out of the holy writings, or from the nature and defign of the office; the only proof, which in the nature of the thing, the point in debate is capable of: but I imagine, that he was conscious of his want of proof; for which reason he thought it proper to substitute some bold affertions to supply the place of evidence. The truth is, as it was inconfistent with the defign of the apostles constantly to reside any where, when shey left any particular place, where they had met with fuccess in making many converts to the religion of Christ, they thought proper to make choice G. 6

choice of some persons to supply their place in their absence, to teach and instruct their brethren, and confirm them in the principles of their holy religion; but that they conferred any power or authority upon these persons, as our preacher would feem to intimate, doth by no means appear: or that they had a right of appointing persons to succeed them in their office, is very unlikely; for though great regard was paid by the primitive christians, to the judgment of the apostles, and for a very good reason, because they were divinely inspired, yet it doth not from hence follow, that equal regard was paid to those who succeeded them. It is not improbable, for the reasons just mentioned, that they sould apply to the apostles, to make choice of a sit person to teach and instruct them; and no wonder likewife, that the apostles " compo-46 fed differences, determined controversies. " received accusations, punished offenders, ss and censured the scandalous;" but if the same spirit rested not upon their successors. where is the reason that the same regard should be paid them? The people, no doubt, were as proper judges, and in some sense more so. who were the fittest persons to supply the place of the immediate fuccessors of the apostles, and were as capable to give them a power to teach and instruct them, as their predecellors

decessors in that office; nay, it is undeniably certain, that no predecessor could commission his successor, to teach and instruct any particular church, without the churches concurrence and approbation.

But suppose we should grant our orator, that it was customary for the ministers of the gofpel, and them only, to examine all fuch as were candidates for that office, and upon their being fatisfied of their abilities to teach and instruct others, to give them in an improper fenfe, a formal order to execute it : yet what mighty service would this concession do his cause? Or what reason have we to imagine, that this custom had its rife from a divine institution, when another more probable and natural cause may be assigned for it: for it is not at all unlikely, that the people might judge it necessary, that the abilities of fuch candidates should be inquired into, and who more competent judges of this than their teachers? It may therefore be very eafily supposed. that they left this affair entirely to them : but if they made an ill use hereof, and by their orders pretended to confer any power or authority, in a first and proper fense of the word, which the person had not prior to fuch their order, they abused and deceived both themselves and the people; for what Loun-

foundation is there for this? Or what possible reason can be affigned; why these persons had not the same power and authority to teach and instruct mankind, before, as after they received this order? certainly the very fame; with this difference only, that probably the people without this approbation of their mimisters, would not be equally disposed to atgend to their instructions; and if the contipuation of that ceremony of the laying on of bands, which obtained in the first ages of the church, led people into this error, it was continued to very ill purpose. We grant, indeed, that the Holy Gooff was conferred by laying on of hands, but when the Holy Ghost was no longer conferred, the laying on of hands, was a mere form, and infignificant ceremony; and if any was so weak to imagine, that by the continuance of this rite, any powers were conferred, it would have been much better, that it had been entirely laid aside; better, when the substance was gone, that the shadow had in like manner vanished and disappeared; and if it had, possibly our preacher would not have been fo miftaken about the imaginary power and authogity of the priesthood. But suppose we grant our author all that he can defire of us, I much question whether he will ever be able to make his argument bear; for though we thould

should allow it to be the will of our Lord. that none should publish his law but those whom he appointed, and that they, and they only, appoint their fuccessors, and so on to the end of time; yet I fear, notwithstanding what our orator fays, that " from hence, in " a very justifiable fense, we sufficiently prove 5' our uninterrupted succession," (a manner of expression I do not very well understand) that he will be at a great loss to prove his uninterrupted succession; for if one link of this long chain should happen to be broke. and strange if in seventeen centuries it hath not been broke at least seventeen times; down goes christianity and our boly religion at once. I admire our preacher should place his own power and authority upon fuch a weak and fandy foundation; for it is certainly very improbable, that he hath derived his powers in an unintersupted succession from the apostles.

Our preacher proceeds to acquaint us, that we have the very same ministry, that was established in the apostles days, which, says he, "is plain even to demonstration, because the "first writers are silent about any new or si different institution:" but this is a very odd way of demonstration as ever was heard of; their silence about any new or different institution, doth by no means demonstrate, that

there was none; for though the remark may possibly have some force in it, yet it can never amount to demonstration. Or how doth Mr. B know that no intimation hath been given us hereof in some writings that are loft? But I wonder much, why our preacher should refer us to councils, and the authority of fathers on this head; for if it was the will of our Lord, that these particular offices should obtain in his church, if he had laid that firefs on them, which our preacher feems to do, without all doubt, we should have had an express declaration of this in the holy writings, the only rule of a christian's faith and obedience, with a particular description of the nature of their respective offices, and the proper boundaries and limits of the one, in contra-distinction to the other: to make use of our author's words, with a fmall variation, to which I think I have much the best right, "these being entirely filent in this affair, it amounts to demonstra-" tion, that the three orders of ecclefiaftics " we now have, were never instituted by " Christ and his hely apostles;" but shat this affair was left wholly indifferent by them, that christians might hereafter make choice of fuch officers as would best answer the end of religion, and at the same time should be helf fuited to the different circumstances of the several respective christian churches and nations in the world.

The paragraph which our author adds to confirm his affertion, hath certainly something in it very remarkable and uncommon, God forbid he should have many followers; " that the truth of this, i. e. of the divine institution of bishops, priests, and deacons, stands upon the very same basis, and is confirmed by the very same arguments, by which the authority of scripture itself is demonstrated." I leave this to our preacher's serious consideration and review, without any remark.

But to proceed, I think our author had much better have omitted the argument from the promiscuous use of the terms, except he had given a more satisfactory answer to it; for it is certain and undeniable, that no argument can be drawn for distinct offices from the use of different terms, if these different terms are promiscuously used, and indifferently applied to these supposed different officers: I mean, that no argument from the mention of the terms * bishop and elder in the holy write

Perhaps, the following inflance may explain this matter; suppose there is mention made in any author.

writings, (which by the way, is the only argument made use of) is conclusive for a different order or office comprehended in and denoted by the different terms, when they are allowed to be indifferently applied to the same

author of the terms conflable and beadborough, yet none, I believe, would imagine, that merely because he made use of two words, that he meant two distinct offices, but rather that he meant one and the same by both, if he made a promiscuous use of the terms, and indifferently applied them to one and the same person, calling him sometimes a constable, and sometimes an headborough: neither can I imagine any so weak to think, that because I sometimes call Mr. B. an orator, and sometimes a preacher, that I mean a different person, or distinct order; when it is certain, I make an indifferent and promiscuous use of the terms, and apply them to the same individual person.

But our author seems not to have apprehended the nature of the argument, or where the force of the objection lies, which doth not confist in this only, that the promiscuous use of the terms, is a direct proof of the identity of the offices; but where the matter, which is the present case, is left unsettled and undetermined by the apostles, where we have no express declaration that the offices are different or distinct, nor any thing in the nature of the thing which supposeth such a difference, there no argument can be drawn from the use of two different terms, if these terms are allowed at the same time to be indifferently and promiscu-

outly used,

fame individual person; so that he who is called an elder, is called bishop, and vice versa.

But our preacher not being disposed critically to pursue this fruitful point, adds this unanswerable remark, "that what he hath "advanced is acknowledged by catholicks, by hereticks, by schismaticks, by men of opposite interests, different sentiments, and contrary parties, who have all agreed to exchowledge the fact, as being insuperate bly overcome by the native evidence of truth." If what he hath advanced refers to the divine institution of the three orders, which I think it seems to do; If Mr. B. hath assurance enough to assert this, there is nothing, I believe, but what he may prevail upon himself to say.

After what hath been already said, I think it needless to remark upon the use which he hath made of the fathers; though, probably, if a narrow inquiry was made into this affair, our preacher might appear as sullen as St. Jerome, whom he is pleased to compliment with the character; I shall therefore beg leave to pass on to his sixteenth page, where, having once established his power, he grows outragious, raves and rants in the most scandalous

lous extravagant manner; by virtue, fays he. of their divine mission, " the evangelical priest-" hood translates us out of darkness into God's " marvellous light; raifes men from the earth, 44 and brings God bimfelf down from the " regions of heaven. By bleffing visible elese ments, it makes them invisible grace. 46 disposes of that body which was given for 46 the life of the world, and that blood which se was poured out to redeem mens precious and immortal fouls. Oh miracle of good-" ness! oh adorable bounty of God! that " fuch transcendent power should be given to se the fons of finful men! what amazing dulse ness is it therefore not to admire! what 66 shocking prophaneness is it not to revere so 66 great an authority!" and he immediately adds, "temporal princes have indeed a power " to bind, but that affects the body only. whereas ministerial power binds the foul, si is extended beyond the grave, reaches even " to heaven, and triumphs even with eternity 4 itfelf."

But now let us see what we can make of all this rant. That the evangelical priest-hood brings God himself down from the regions of beaven, and by blessing visible elements, makes them invisible grace, is, in my opinion, a very odd expression in a protestant divine; it smells very strong

frong of popery and transubstantiation, not without a mixture of conjuration and legerdemain ; for no fooner are the words bec eft corpus (or in the corrupt conjuring stile, hecus pecus) pronounced, the mighty wonder working words from the mouth of the priefts, but the visible elements we are told, vanish at once, and what pray have we left in their room? why it feems, invisible grace, or rather God himself; for if our preacher did not defign him for this purpole, I cannot possibly conceive, what other reason he had for bringing bim down from the regions of beaven; and therefore well might he in rapture and extafy cry out, oh miracle! oh transcendent power! and well might he call it shocking prophaneness not to revere fo great an authority, an authority it feems infinitely fuperior to that of kings, for their power affects the body only, but this fame ministerial power binds the foul, and is extended beyond the grave, and triumphs with eternity itself: fo that if his majesty, or the state should happen to be at variance with our preacher or his brethren, I fcar, they would come off by the worst; for though he might bind their bodies, yet I dread to think what a vast and mighty revenge they would take: a revenge, I doubt not, equal to the very utmost extent of their power; which brings to my mind the noble earl of Warwick's with, which.

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 which, upon our preacher's principles, is neither unfeasonable nor impertment at present.
 - Oh might I live, to bless the bappy day, When Rome no more usurps tyrannick sway; Or, that deny'd, may our descendants see The land throughout from superstition free: With kings, who fill an independent throne, And know no power supreme besides their own.

But fure our preacher is not in earnest, when he thinks himself possessed of this mighty power; God forbid he should have it, for I fear he would make furious work: nay, I am somewhat in pain, lest I should be made to feel its dreadful and wondrous effects. I think whoever gave Mr. B. orders should have previously consulted the temper and disposition of his mind, and not have intrusted fo great a power in the hands of a person, who feems fo very unfit for it; but however, as he hath not that same temporal power, which he feems to despife, which affects the body, I am, methinks, pretty eafy, and should not be very much concerned if he did try his other power upon me; though perhaps, I might be in the wrong, for he fays, "that it is the very ntmost extravagance of madness, to

^{*} Humfrey dake of Gloucester.

" despife or deny a power, without which we " can hope for no falvation." How! not hope for falvation without the power of a priest? Very sad truly: but how doth this appear? Why, for our comfort, the next fentence begins with a for, and there I suppose we are to look for the reason, if perchance we can find any, "for if none, favs our " preacher, none in a regular way, can enter " into the kingdom of heaven" (but by the way, I hope none enter there by an irregular way, or if they do, if they are once there, I believe it is much the fame thing) " un-" less he be first regenerated with water and " the Holy Ghost; if he that eateth not " the flesh of the Lord, and drinketh not 66 his blood, is absolutely deprived of eternal " life; and if it be by the ballowed and up-" lifted hands of the ministry, that all these " things must be done; how can either the " inextinguishable fires of hell be avoided, " or the radiant crowns of glory prepared se for men in heaven be obtained, without their help and affistance?" We have abundance of if here, and yet if any one be deficient, I fear our preacher's fine scheme is entirely destroyed; and according to Mr. B.'s usual manner of reasoning, it would be no great wonder, if they are all defective. By the first and second, I apprehend him to mean,

if none can enter into the kingdom of heaven except they are baptized, and receive the communion: his argument and manner of reasoning supposeth they cannot; whereas nothing is more true than the reverse, nay, our preacher feems to be an entire stranger to the principles of that church whereof he is a member and priest, which never esteemed bap. tism, and the receiving the communion, necesfary to falvation, and much less according to our preacher's manner of expression, that he who did not receive the communion was ablolutely deprived of eternal life: nor doth there feem to be the least foundation for this idle fancy of his in the holy writings, or in the nature or reason of the thing. Is baptism, or receiving the communion, recommended or enforced in any particular manner in the scriptures, upon christians? not in the least, there is no firefs laid on them, nor are they preffed upon us as our duty; mentioned as fuch they are indeed, and that is all. As to the euchariff. I do not remember, that throughout the whole gospel or epistles, the apostles do in a particular manner infift upon this as a christian duty; it is mentioned, I think, but once by St. Paul, and that is a parration of the method observed by Lord, in its primitive institution; whereas was the practice hereof necessary to salvation,

he would, without all doubt, have recommended it in the ftrongest terms, and have frequently preffed it upon Christians. And it is a yet wilder imagination, to suppose baptism necessary to salvation; for as infants themfelves are incapable of having it done, if they should die in their nonage, or when they are adult, they should omit it upon supposition they had been baptized, when at the fame time, we beg leave to suppose they had not, this necessarily makes their falvation to depend not upon their virtuous or vicious conduct, but upon the will and conduct of another; which is fo precarious and foolish a foundation, as is utterly unworthy the God of infinite mercy and wisdom. suppose we grant our orator his affertion in both these particulars, which, by the way, he ought to have proved, and not place the main stress of the controversy upon an if, and then presently tell us, he hath proved the point in debate; yet except his other if be proved true, which unfortunately for him and his cause is manifestly false, it will be to no purpose: " and if, says he, it be by " the hallowed and uplifted hands of the miss niftry, that all these things must be done," i. e. that baptism and the facrament of the supper must be administered.

In answer to which, I beg leave to observe. that there is not the least foundation in the holy writings, for us to suppose that baptism ought to be administred by the hands of the clergy only; nay, our preacher is condemned, if not by his own, yet by the church of Rome. which is too fond of power to share any part of it to the laity, but upon a just and proper occasion; which, though it prefers the practice of baptism by the clergy, as most agreeable to order and decency, yet doth not esteem this essential to baptism, she allowing it to be valid when administered by the hands of a midwife and certainly there is nothing in the nature of the thing, that it cannot be performed as well and effectually by the equally ballowed and uplifted hands of the latter as the former. The same holds good with regard to the other facrament; but as I defign to refume this argument before I conclude, I beg leave to dismis it at present, with this farther remark, that what hath been already faid, doth entirely destroy the imaginary force and strength of Mr. B's reasoning upon this head.

We are now arrived at our preacher's fecond observable, (any one but an univerfity orator, it is very probable, would have

been content with the old word observation) which is, "that all opposition to this mini-" flry, really is, and must be looked upon " as exceeding finful." He begins his proof of this point thus, " if the religion of Christ " cannot be duly propagated and performed " without a constant succession of preachers and " ministers; if the office and succession of the se ministry be actually implied and instituted " in the holy scriptures; if these very men, se who by God's own appointment are the se ministers of his word, are also the mini-" sters of his holy facraments; if they who *6 have laboured in the ministry, without be-" ing regularly appointed to it, have been constantly condemned by the whole church " of (hrift; then it is certain, that all op-" position to this ministry, is an opposition " to religion itself, and confequently must be --" a fin." But if all these ifs should prove to be falle, which it would be no difficult matter to make appear; nay, I doubt not but most of them appear so already, then the consequence drawn from them is weak and invalid; nay, if all of them are allowed to be true, yet no such conclusion can be justly drawn from fuch premiles: for upon fuppofition of their truth, how will Mr. B. make it appear, that all opposition to this miniflry, is an opposition to religion itself? None H 2 are

are so foolish to oppose a minister of the gospel, merely as such; for where is the wrong done to any people or party in being taught or instructed? or why should they oppose such for no reason? No; our preacher hath certainly mistaken the true state of the case. If the ministers of the gospel do not act agreeably to their character and profession, if instead of teaching and instructing, they are only defirous of rule and government, no wonder they are opposed, and certainly not without just reason, and consequently this is far from being an opposition to religion itself. which, in answer to his premises, I beg leave to add, that if these men had never been born, our holy religion would have been duly propagated and performed, with equal, or rather greater success; perhaps indeed, by perfons not regularly appointed, in the fense of our preacher; and perhaps, for want of fuch an appointment, they might have been condemned by some very weak and ambitious men; vet this would have done them no differvice, nor have been any hindrance to the progress of our holy religion.

But our author was perhaps conscious, that what he advanced was no service to his cause; he goes in his next section a step farther: "But farther, says he, if Christ has received " men to falvation upon terms and con-« ditions proposed and offered by him, not calculated and contrived by them, then it is ne-" ceffary that these terms and conditions should " be nicely weighed, and ferionfly regarded; " if Christ has a power of making any in-" flitutions, the impious consequence of dese nying which I dare not purfue; if Christ 66 (I fay) has a fufficient power, or a divine " right, of making any institutions, then cerss tainly these institutions ought strictly to so be observed. And lastly, if Christ has a es right to our obedience, he has undoubtedly a " right to prescribe the rules, the forms, the " measures of that obedience; and for men 66 to violate these rules, would be a profana-" tion of his laws and injunctions, and there-44 fore cannot but be a fcandalous contempt " of heaven." I cannot but remark, that this fection differs from the preceding; in the former, neither premises nor conclusion were true, but in this they are both fo; but at the fame time, they are attended with this unhappiness, that they are nothing at all to the purpose; therefore our preacher is disposed to try it again, to see whether he can mend the matter at the third trial.

[&]quot;Again, says he, if christianity itself entitles us to salvation, no otherwise than as it
H 3 "is.

46 is a covenant of grace, if the only ade-46 quate and proper obedience to christ's laws " is strictly obeying them in the very same " fense that Christ really intended them; if " for very weighty reasons we are obliged to affent to some of Christ's doctrines, in " the same sense in which he taught them. it will also for the very same reasons folse low, that we are indispensibly obliged to cobey some of his institutions in the very " same manner in which he has prescribed This fection is of the same na-" them." ture with the preceding, both its premises and conclusion are true, but have no relation to the present argument, wherefore our preacher is willing to try it ence more. " Once more, " fays he, either divine institutions are to be complied with, or they are not. If they '46 are not, (why I pray) may not divine re-" velation also be laid aside? This we are " fure of, they stand on the very same founse dation; the reason and nature of their " obligations are perfectly and entirely the se same, they are both the indisputable will of "God discovered to mankind; the one of them to be nicely observed, the other to be fully believed. If, therefore, we are 46 not bound to comply with his will in the one case, it will seem very difficult, to any impartial judge, to determine upon what " grounds "se grounds we are obliged to lubmit to it in "s the other."

Here, I must confess, I am somewhat at a loss to know what our preacher drives at : fuppose we grant, which I believe none will deny, that divine institutions are to be complied with; what then? What fervice will it do him? Why then, the order of the priesthood must be complied with; but what is meant by comflied with? Doth any one refuse to be taught or instructed? But perhaps this is not fufficient; for belides this, they must submit to be ruled and governed : but this is a thing of a quite different and contrary nature, which is by no means effential, proper, or fit for the office of the prieshood; no wonder therefore, if they are not complied . with here. But if any one should be so sullen to deny, that divine institutions are to be complied with; What then? fays our preacher, 66 why, pray, may not divine revelation also, be laid aside? And perhaps, the same persons may be willing to oblige him in this instance also; and what then? Why then - nothing at all. It was certainly our author's business, to have proved these principles, and then have applied them in a firict proper way of reasoning and argument, and not talk with his ifs and ands, in fuch a loofe, ram-

rambling way, about an affair which hath long been, and, I doubt not, ever will be, matter of debate.

Our preacher having trifled fo long under this head, is willing at last "briefly and ef-" fectually to dispatch it;" and, I confess, I think it time: let'us therefore attend to him. and fee how he acquits himfelf: he adds. "If the power, the mission, the authority of " the ministry be constituted of heaven; if " it be commanded of God for a perpetual " ordinance; if it be imposed upon us by " him, whom all things in heaven and earth " gladly obey; if it be appointed to be for ever observed in his church, woe! eterof nal woe be to him that fighteth against " God! The true, the humble, the or pious christian; can no more be the crea-" ture of his own frail * opinions, than he es can be the author of his own eternal falva-"tion." This is as little to the purpose as-

[•] It is certainly a very mean argument, either of piety or humility, for a person to be guided by the opinion of others; so that upon a stricter enquiry into this affair, I doubt not but our preacher will allow it to be the duty of every christian to be guided and actuated by his own sentiments, though really never so weak in themselves, or in the opinion of others.

any thing that goes before; our preacher feems to be contending only with some adversaries of his own fancy and imagination only; for, I dare say, no person living would oppose the preachers of the gospel so long as they kept within their proper province; his eternal woes might therefore have well been spared for those, who, for juster reasons, are the objects of his displeasure.

We are now at last happily arrived to our preacher's third and last observable, which is, "that no excuse can possibly be "found out by men, which will induce God "to pardon those that obstinately persevere." "in opposing the established ministry."

Tam really weary of following our author, step by step, through his several wanderings,. I shall therefore beg leave only to make some general remarks on this head, not forgetting to take particular notice of what appears most remarkable; with a promise, that if ever it be required, I will submit to the drudgery of examining every individual paragraph, and doubt not to point out the folly and inconfequence of his reasonings, I might have said ravings, throughout almost every sentence, to the satisfaction of any reasonable person.

In.

In the mean time I beg leave to observe, that our preacher is an entire stranger to the mature of schifm, which he makes to consist in a separation from the stablished church of a country, whereas nothing is more true, than this is false.

A separation, or the not joining in communion with the established church, is in itself a thing of an harmless innocent nature, and ought by no means to be considered in the odious light wherein our orator represents it. Is not the diffenter a christian equally with our felves? Doth not he equally believe that Jesus is the messiah? Doth not he equally dependupon the merits and intercession of the same common faviour and mediator, for his acceptance with God? Have we not one hope, one faith, one baptism? Where then is the difference between us, or where doth schifme lie? Why, it feems he differs from us about the use and fignificancy of some external modes and ceremonies, which, it is agreed on all hands, are not at all effential to our holy religion: but this difference in opinions is no matter of strife and contention, and though he difagrees concerning thefe leffer trifling things, yet he fill continues in peace and charity. with us, fo that here is no rending the body

of Christ, or destroying that harmony, union and peace which ought to obtain among the followers of the bleffed Jesus. But perhaps it may be objected farther, that he doth not join in communion with us, which, though granted, does not prevent, or cut him off. from being a member of the same undivided. body; for though he joins in communion with those, whose modes of worship are in his opinion, more agreeable to the will of our Lord,. yet he may in a strict and proper sense be said! to be in union with us, and that equally fo. as if he should receive the communion in our churches, and according to our manner. The: nature of schism, which the apostle so earnesly guarded us against, confists in a factions contentious temper, and disposition of mind, discovering itself in our malice, envy, or hatred against our brethren, against those members. of Christ's holy body, whom it is our dury to love, cherifh, and affift: this is truly schism. of which the members of the same particu-· lar religious fociety are as capable, as those of different communions; and this, according, to our preacher's description of schism, " is 44 directly opposite to that spirit of love andi " union, that meekness and goodness, that w candour and tenderness, that patience andi tong fuffering, which is the populian marks, Hich . AL LINE "the distinguishing character, the bright and effential badge of Christ's disciples."

A person of this temper and disposition of mind, is a schismatick, in the strict and proper fense of the word; but he that differs from his brethren in small and trifling matters, though we suppose him to differ in what are generally effeemed the fundamentals of christianity, yet if he continues in charity with his brethren, (and a meer différence in opinion hath certainly no natural tendency, to defirey peace and charity amongst mankind), dothby no means deserve the severe character, or treatment of a schismatick; for the bondsof peace and love are not broken, nor the body of Christ rent or divided, but the same divine harmony fubfifts, as though they agreed in every the most minute particular.

But to pursue this argument a little farther, the dissenters have an equal right to insist upone our agreement with their modes of worship, and our joining in communion with them, and to charge us with schifm upon our refusal: for what right or pretence have we to insist upon their compliance, more than they have of ours? Perhaps it may be said, that our modes of worship are preferable to theirs; but how doth this appear? We indeed think the

the one, and they, perhaps with equal reafon, think the contrary. But then our anthor fays, that we are the eftablished church, and they ought to comply upon that account: a weak argument truly, and if it proves any thing, proves too much; for truth is not established by number, nor reason by a majority; and though the minority in lesser indifferent matters, for the preservation of mutual peace and charity, ought to fabrit to the majority, yet when this end is not to be answered, as in the present case, (for why must any want of peace or charity be supposed to attend our different religious sentiments) then the argument is of no force, and the minority may as well preferve their christian liberty and freedom, there being no reason to the contrary.

But if the diffenter is obliged to pay that deference and regard to the established church, merely because it is established, I fear our preacher, if he had lived in 48, or goes but on the other side of the Tweed, must either renounce his religion, and those favourite principles on which he lays such a mighty stress, or else yield up his cause as entirely defence-less; for the same arguments on which he sounds the absolute necessity of conformity to the established church of England, are equally valid

valid in Scotland, with respect to the kirk; for, as he observes, though with what justice applied, I leave others to judge, "that the eternal and immuntable nature of things can." never be altered; and that it is absolute"I ly impossible that truth, always simple and uniform, should ever become falshood, or that faishood should become heavenly truth."

As long therefore, adds he, as the church-66 requires no terms of communion, but what er are in themselves lawful (and no longer " is it the true church of Christ than whenit does fo) as long as the church impofess no articles either of faith or religion, but 46 what are entirely confonant to the holy. fcriptures; as long as the authorized miso nisters preach no doctrines, but what are " grounded upon these very scriptures, so long will all opposition to the established ministry, " be a rending the body and bowels of our " bleffed faviour, be a destroying the peace, order and government of the church, bea promoting the defigns of hell, and en-66 larging the spacious kingdoms of intolerable. darkness."

But cannot this be pleaded with as good's grace by a prefbyter of the kirk of Scotland, as by a pricht of the church of England? If thefa-

these arguments, and this plea are valid here, they must necessarily be esteemed equally vadid there; for that the kirk of Scotland requires unlawful terms of communion, or imposeth articles of faith dissonant to the holy scriptures, or that their ministers preach docerines, which are not grounded upon these scriptures, is what, in my opinion, will not be asserted, much less proved in haste: or suppose our preacher should think so, yet he feems to have entirely precluded himself from the benefit of this plea, by telling us, " That " as for the plea of conscience, which mense so loudly trifle with in this important point. " it must be superseded by the only great and adequate rule of conscience, which is " no other than the scripture itself, which highly condemns all schiffers and separations, " and openly denounces the feverest anathemas against them:" by which he would feem to intimate, that in the present case, there is no possible relief, but that our obligation to a visible union with the established church, is absolutely and indispensably necessary, and that nothing can excuse it; though by reviewing the paragraph just above quoted, one would be apt to imagine, that this is not his fense and opinion: for there he feems to place our obligation to communion with the established church, upon this supposition, that

the requireth no unlawful terms of commu-But then, who is to be the judge in. this case, concerning the lawfulness or unlawfulness of the terms required? If the perfons themselves, then I think our author must admit, that their judging the terms of communion required to be unlawful, is a sufficient excuse for their separation. But I can hardly suppose, he will allow the laity power and authority to judge in spiritual matters; this power must certainly be lodged in the priesthood: but then, without all doubt, one priest who hath equal power and authority with another, hath an equal right of judging for the laity; fo that a French, a. Remish, a Spanish (or even a priest before the reformation) has a right of judging in the room. of the people equal to Mr. Betty.

But notwithstanding I have examined our author's meaning very exactly, I am still at a loss to know whether he doth allow any thing whatever, to be a just ground of separation from the established church; for though by the paragraph last referred to, he seems to do it, yet presently, as though he had made too large a concession, he seems to retract it, by telling us, "That the eternal nature of things is the same, that notwithstanding people's scruples and pretences, schism is schism

66 schism still, and can never be made to be " union;" and then he adds the paragraph last quoted, "that the plea of conscience must so be superseded by the scripture, the only " great rule of conscience, which highly condemns all schisms and separations." Here again, he feems to own and deny it in the fame breath : first, he calls the scripture the great rule of conscience, intimating, as one would imagine, that a christian ought to act to the guidance and direction of purfuant the scripture, which is the very plea that all our separatists use for their justification; and then immediately adds, that the scripture highly condemns all fibifms and feparations, which intirely destroys what he had just granted: for it is impossible, that the scripture should both justify and condemn men in the same individual action; for if, as our separatists assure us, that the scripture is the rule of their conscience in their separation (whether this be reality, or pretence, does no way concern us, that must be left to the great searcher of hearts) that fame fcripture cannot at the fame time condemn them for separating.

With regard to the truth and foundation of this plea, whether, I mean, in their separation they act according to the direction of the scripture, is a question of a different na-

ture; possibly they may be mistaken concerning the true sense and meaning of those particular parts of the holy writings, upon which their feparation is grounded; but if they have taken due and proper means to inform their judgment, and act in the integrity and fincerity of their hearts, nothing is either more true or more plain, than that they are excusable for their error; and our preacher himself, I doubt not, upon fecond thoughts, will admit the justice of their plea, and acquit them of this grievous fin of fchifm: for who, I pray, must be judges, whether they understand the scripture in its true and proper sense, they or we? they without doubt have the same right to judge for themselves, as we for ourselves, and an equal right to judge for us, as we for them.

The next thing which our preacher takes notice of, is episcopacy, and there he goes on in his usual ranting pompous strain: to give him his due, he doth not aim at an argument, I shall therefore only point out some of his stowers. He says, "episcopacy is the very pillar and foundation of all pure resiligion, and the best and greatest, if not the conly security of our present happy establishment." If this be true, I am very forry

for it; we are, I think, in a very unhappy condition, both our religion and the flate have . but a very slender pillar and support. This account of our religion and government, though perhaps it may be agreeable to the character of an Oxonian orator, is certainly unbecoming a christian divine, and a true Englishman: I trust in God our holy religion hath a much ' fironger pillar and foundation, and would fubfift in all its turity, and splendor, if there was no tishop in being: nay, I cannot discover any reason we have to boast of greater purity than our neighbours in the north, or our brethren of the reformed churches abroad. As to our present happy establishment, if etifcapacy was its only, or its best, or greatest fecurity, I should sincerely mourn over and lament its weak condition. Nor, by the way, can I fee any reason why our preacher should mention this, if he did not design it as a tacit reflection upon the diffenters for their want of byalty; and if so, he doth, in my opinion, deserve a severe rebuke; for they, to their bonour, and our Shame be it spoken, have always approved themselves to be hearty friends to the present happy establishment.

Much of the same nature with the foregoing, is what follows in the same page, the spiritual powers that be, are ordained

of God; to rebel against them, is to rebel against heaven; to invade their authority, is " to infringe upon Christ's peculiar property. " And we have demonstrative arguments, drawn " from the worth and excellency of the foul, " to prove that our obligations to ecclefia-" flical obedience, are stronger than those " that flow either from civil or natural re-" lations." Our preacher feems here to be got into the third heavens, or into the gloomy regions, where, furrounded with clouds of thick darkness, he is far out of our reach: what warth, or excellency there is in ecclefiaftical obedience, or indeed what obedience is due, or how any argument to this purpose can be drawn from the worth and excellency of the foul, is all above my comprehension; but as he thought it needless to mention his arguments. I think it equally needless to give any guess, or be at any concern about them. The next remarkable thing our preacher presents us with, is the character of those vile and wicked persons who have presumed to instruct their brethren, without episcopal ordination; and here he hath fet his invention on the rack to abuse and vilify his brethren. would think it impossible, that any thing in the shape of a man, much less a gentleman, (though upon fecond thoughts, there are not many

many priests who deserve the character) should discover so much malice, envy and rage against his innocent brethren, guilty only of the imaginary crime of teaching others their duty, without first receiving an order from a bishop to do what they can as well do with-"They profane, fays he, the facred " function, and make a trifle of the most es dreadful fin. They crucify their bleffed 46 Lord afresh, and put him to an open shame: they are incessant troublers and seducers of the people: they are infallible subverters and destroyers of fouls. They take. 4 away all distinction between the shepherd and the flock. They are usurpers of the broad es feal of heaven. Blind as Samfon, they exert 46 all their strength, to pull down the pillars of 46 our ecclesiastical constitution; and bold as " Phaeton, with a glaring ignorance, and unconse scious impudence, they burn up the spiritual " world." After our preacher hath painted them in these colours, no wonder he should add in the next paragraph, that " with regard to those presumptuously arrogant teachers. and their obstinately blind followers, charity " herself, that heaven-born virgin, repines 46 that it is not in her power to think fo 46 favourably of them, as Origen did of their 46 father the devil, who fally imagined he " might be faved." Much

Much of the same nature and frain is. the last which I shall take notice of: " Afse ter all, fays our preacher, how rigidly fese vere, or exalted foever, our notions of a " divine mission, or the absolute necessity of 44 church government may feem; yet in cafe es of a real and absolute, not a false and of pretended necessity (not the daring and presumptuous plea of the kirk, not the feign-" ed, but more plausible excuse of Geneva, s not the boafted moderation of those who 46 faifly call themselves churches reformed) we se would not willingly think those men, who, though unauthorized, pioufly preach the se religion of Jesus, to be guilty of facrilege, or to incur the dreadful penalty of dam-" nation. No; in pity to their unavoidable 46 misfortune, in compassion to their uncon-46 querable necessity, we confign them not to the indolent state of a gloomy depriva-" tion, nor shall we commit them to the 46 merciless and irreversible fate of eternal " mifery. They are in the hands of a mer-" ciful creator, we leave them to their guardian 44 angels, and to that providence which conti-46 nually preferveth all things."

I believe these three paragraphs last quoted are originals in their kind; I scarce think they are to be paralleled by any thing to be met with, in any controversial dispute, fince that famous one which the devil had with Michael the archangel: and it is possible, as being agreeable to his temper and character, that he might manage his dispute against the archangel, much in the same manner that our preacher doth against his brethren; but whether fuch conduct is confiftent with the character of a divine, a christian, or a gentleman, I leave to the impartial world to judge. As for myself, I profess I stand amazed at his confummate impudence, weakness and uncharitableness; for though I would. kindly draw a veil over every human ill, yet in vain I strive, in vain I labour to excuse him; and if this be a specimen of university reasoning and charity, God forbid it should have any admirers or followers.

Our preacher hath at one stroke consigned to eternal damnation about one third of the English nation, all Scotland in general, with only a very small exception, the church and state of Geneva, and the whole body of reformed churches abroad; and for what? Why only because they happen to differ from him in their opinion concerning the use, necessity, and divine institution of the episcopal order; wherein it is certain, except our preacher is

infallible, and I can hardly imagine him vain enough to pretend to it, they may be in the right, and he in the wrong.

As for those amongst us, who wickedly and impiously presume to instruct their brethren in the principles of our holy religion, with regard to such, I say, and their blind followers, it seems charity birself, that heaven born virgin, cannot think so favourably as Origen did of the devil; but I fear, that charity, which cannot think thus favourably of them, instead of being an beaven-born virgin, ought rather to be esteemed an hell-born where.

As for the kirk of Scotland, whose plea it seems is daring and presumptuous; and Geneva, though it hath a plausible excuse, and though the resormed churches have moderation, yet these are guilty of no less than sacrilege, and incur the dreadful penalty of eternal damnation. But our preacher is not willing to think (a manner of expression which seems to intimate, that he is somewhat dubious about it) thus hardly of those, who under a real, absolute, unconquerable, and unavoidable necessity, (pray observe how it is guarded) though unauthorized, do picusly preach the religion of Jesus "such he doth not configuration."

"confign to the indolent state of a gloomy deprivation, nor commit to the merciless and irreversible fate of eternal misery." but yet notwithstanding this great necessity, it is observable how unwilling he is they should be saved; for he only leaves them in the hands of a merciful creator, and their guardian angels, where I am in like manner desirous to leave them and our orator too; for I thank God I have at last done with him, and perhaps, gentlemen, you think it time, for it is not improbable that I have wearied you, I am sure I have myself, in following him through all his wanderings, uncharitableness, scandal and raillery.

I thought it improper to destroy the connection of the remarks, by any particular application to you, but now I beg leave to refume my address, and ask you how you think your orator hath acquitted himself? Has he, in the performance under our consideration, behaved like a scholar, or a divine? He himself tells us, methinks he might have had it more in view, "that the gentleman, the scholar, the "wit, and the politician, the philosopher and "the christian, should complete the character, "and exhaust the idea of a divine;" but what there is peculiar to either of these characters in this discourse, lies, I fear, in a very nurrow

row compais. Are fuch harangues as these any credit to the university? or rather, if they are encouraged, will not our nobility and gentry fear to fend their fons thither, lest their tender minds, capable in their worth of almost any impression, should be poisoned and corrupted with fuch permicious principles? Principles not only false in speculation, but when reduced to practice, having a fatal and natural tendency to destroy the peace of every fociety. What encouragement, or rather what discouragement, doth this give our gentry, for the endowment of schools, or places of kterature, or to join in the expence, or say way promote the education of one of their poor neighbour's fons; when they are no fooner fent to the university, but presently they imbibe falle and pernicious notions of the granddeur, power, and authority of a priest? Upon which account, it ceases to be a wonder, that after they have been instructed in these principles, by perfons for whose superior knowledge and learning, they have entertained a great veneration and effects, and at an age. when they themselves are incapable of judging between right or-wrong, truth or falthood : I fay, it is no wonder, that when once they get orders, they should be puffed up with pride, felf conceit and arrogance, and upon account of their imaginary power and authority, should look down with scorn and contempt upon

upon the laity, thinking themselves superior to their patrons and all mankind; and it is this, that doubtless gives rife to the bickerings and quarrels, to common between the esquire and the parson in most of our country villages: this very easily and naturally accounts for the 'small progress of our holy religion, and the fmall fuccess which attends the preachers of it: for when their heads are turned with fancied powers, and instead of inthructing their parish in their duty toward God, their discourses tend only to direct them in their duty toward themselves, no wonder. that they meet with that foorn and contempt. which their arrogance and pride, and that manifeft abufe, and perver fion of their office, do fo juftly deferve.

Would it not, upon these accounts, have been more agreeable to the character, of a christian divine, and an Oxonian orator, instead of attempting what he calls, the proof of his mission, and the divine institution, of the ministry, to have proved what is certainly of vality more importance; I mean the mission and messiabship of our Lord; and to have vindidicated the divine institution of christianity it self, which at present, with grief and concern I speak it, seems to be the only subject of controversial debate? If our preacher had done this, he had acted worthy of his character,

and had deferved the thanks of every christian: but instead of this, he hath done all within his power to weaken and destroy it, and hath given the adversaries of our holy religion an unanswerable argument, if true, against its divine origin: nay, upon the supposed truth of our author's principles, I will at any time undertake to demonstrate the falshood of chritianity, and shall think it no hard task; for his principles, when purfued through their just and natural confequences, which I have charity to think Mr. B. might not fee, would introduce nothing but confusion and disorder into the world, are directly contrary to the peace, bappiness, and good of fociety, and are entirely destructive of all the civil and religious rights and privileges of mankind. therefore guilty of any wrong or injustice to fuch a religion, in calling it diabolical, instead of divine, and in judging it impossible, that fuch an institution should come from God, which is fo contrary to the purity and perfection of his nature, who is a God of peace, and in all his dispensations consults the good and benefit of his creatures? For it is inconfistent with all our notions of infinite wifdom and goodness, that the divine being should fix the happiness and salvation of mankind upon a foolish foundation, and make it so precarious and uncertain, as to depend upon

the

the will of a proud and ignorant priest: for suppose, what has often happened, that a man should not be able to procure sponsors for his child, or that he mistakes the use of the cross in baptism, as savouring, in his opinion, too much of popery and superstition, it being, without all dispute, no essential part of baptism, neither appointed by our Lord, nor for. aught appears, in use amongst the apostles; and suppose the above mentioned person should address himself to a priest of Mr B's temper and complexion, and he should, as is very likely in either of these instances, refuse the child baptilm, is it possible for any man to be so weak as to imagine, that this child should be damned for want of it? Or suppose, which is another very common case, that a christian should be disposed to receive the communism. but should have some scruples, relating to the eesture. esteeming a table posture most proper, (it being evident that our Lord and his disciples, at its first institution, received it fo) and should be unwilling to comply with kneeling, not only for the reason just mentioned, but because, in his opinion, it might feem to countenance the doctrine of transubstantiation, or the corporal presence, which, I make no doubt, first gave rise to the change of the posture; and suppose this person should offer to receive the communion from the above-

mentioned piest, and he, which is not unlikely, should refuse him; can any imagine that the fully of our priest, should occasion this man's eternal damnation? The very mention of these instances without farther reasoning, may suffice. Res ipsa loquitur.

Once more: would it not have been more agreeable to the character of a minister of the go/pel of peace, (of that dispensation which recommends nothing more to its profession than charity and love, infomuch that it feems to make that the criterion and diffinguishing characleristic of a christian) to have preached us peace and charity, that greatest of all virtues? Might he not very agreeably have entertained his audience with a particular description of the person and character of that beaven-born virgin, set her forth in all her shining graces, and made her appear as lovely and amiable to them, as the is really in Larfelf? Here his oratory and rhetoric would have been well imployed to his own credit, the honour of the university, and the advantage of his audience: but instead of this, he breathes forth nothing but fury and rage, ffirs up the coals of wrath and contention, preaches up entry and batted among christians, rails against, and abuses his brethren, with all the cloquence he is master of, miscalls them febifschismatics and biretics, and, configns them over to eternal terments and damnation; and doubtless, if he had power equal to his inclination, would confign them over to temporal burnings as well as eternal: nay, it is very probable, this is one of the powers which he expresly claims, but if not in words, injust consequence he doth : for if the peace and fecurity of the church should require it, of which they, and they only, are the supposed judges, it would, without all doubt, be reckoned expedient and necessary to have such obflinate adverfaries to: the church's: peace removed: but though as yet, he hath not thought proper to speak his mind fully and. plainly, yet he hath made a very bandfome. beginning, and hath one paragraph in his fermon, than, in my opinion, looks very, much this way; where he tells us, that "it was, a wery ferious confideration of this important affair, i. e. the dreadful nature of " fchism, that animated the first christians to " the practice of fo laudable a custom, that " whenever * h.retics, or schismatics were " pro-

The fame reasoning holds good with respects to the promotion of any heretic and schismatic in the state, as in the church, and, I doubt not, our preacher would be understood in this sense; but as he hith only pointed out the promotion of

- of promoted to any eminent post in the church.
- 66 both clergy and laity remonstrated to the
- emperor, and the patriarch or metropolitan
- " piously refused the confecration.

It is no difficult matter to know where our preacher, and those of the same mind with him, would ftop; for the same principles, viz. the dreadful nature of fchism, and the good of the church, which justify the one, would quickly leave them, if other milder methods should be found ineffectual, and not sufficiently answer their end entirely to root out and destroy their adversaries: these principles, and these alone, are the main support of that grand mystery of iniquity, the papal inquisition; for if once the clergy are allowed to direct and govern, there is nothing left for the laity but a state of mere slavery and bondage, and how or by what reasons to account for

of beretics and febifmatics in the church, he doubt-. less had his eye upon some particular person, or persons, under this character, who have been promoted; and defigned this observation (for it cert inly answers no other end) as a tacit reflection on his majesty for promoting, and on the bishops for not pioully refufing to confecrate, some partical beret cal and schismatical bishop. now leave it with him, whether this ought not to be eftermed high treason and rebellion against the spiritual p wers.

it I know not, but by fatal and constant experience throughout all ages and nations, it hath been found that the clergy are the least fit of any persons whatever to be entrusted with power and authority.

Having done with our preacher, and his performance, I beg leave to subjoin my own sense and sentiments concerning the institution of the ministry, and some incidental remarks about the nature of the christian religion.

When the divine being thought proper to make choice of the Jews to be his peculiar. people, whom he would in a particular manner favour with the knowledge of himself, as the only true and living God, in opposition to, and distinction from, that vast variety of idels and gods, whose worship obtained throughout the several habitable parts of the earth *, he found it necessary in compliance with the froward temper and genius of that perverse generation, to give them a religion full of

Nothing but this can I think, reconcile the divine inflitution of the Jewish religion; a religion, I was going to had, unworthy of its divine original, and fit for no other people, but those to whom it was given, and to whose genius it was in a particular manner suited and adapted.

numerous rites and pompous cerementes; and as God himfelf tells us, to " give them ftatutes that were not good, and judgments whereby they mould not live:" for the Jews, by being fo long converfant with the Egyptians, whose priests were famous, I mean infamous, for their boly jugglings and pious trumpers, had entertained fuch a fondness for a ritual scheme of religion, that even the divine indulgence above mentioned, could fcarce restrain them from idofatry: but itt order to preserve them from it, and keep them within the proper boundaries of their duty, he fent them one prophet after another, to teach, guide and direct them, but these they abused and evil entreated, and their religion they rendered wholly void, by the neglect of the miral and truly riligious part thereof, and an attendance to nothing but its mere rites and bergarly ceremonies. Now therefore, when the fulnels of time was come, it pleased the almighty, from a tender and compassionate regard to the weakness and ignorance of mankind to fend his beloved fon and our bleffed Lord, to retrieve the languishing dying state of religion, to teach and instruct the world in their duty toward their God, their fellowcreatures, and themselves: having received his divine commission, the blessed saviour of mankind came to dwell amongst us, and not only give

gave us a pure and perfect religion, but was himself a bright pattern, and example of that purity and perfection which his religion recommends. He abolished the numerous rites and ceremonies of the Jewish polity, and substituted in its place, a religion every way worthy of its divine original, worthy of a deity to give, and of rational creatures to receive and observe; for the christian religion, like the great founder and author thereof, is holy, just, and pure; its doctrines, those I mean which relate not to practice, have nothing dissonant

Such as the reformaction of the body, or & might even add the divine mission and mestiahship of our Lord; for the truth thereof being supposed, which, by the way, admiss of as easy, proof as any, fact at equal diffance of time, yet it cannot, I think, be faid in a Arich and proper fense to have any other influence upon our practice or conduct in life, than that we have a divine tellimopy, that the practice of those duties, which arise from the eternal nature and reason of things, and the relasion we fland in to a desty, manking and ourselves, are agreeable to the will of God: and it is in this light, that christianity, as a fiftem of religiou, ought to be considered as an improvement, and enforcement of natural religion only, from which it differs merely in the institution of the two factaments, of which mose hereafter; fo that separate from these, nothing can be faid to be the duty of a christian, which was not the duty of a men, prior to the inflitution of chailtianity.

dissonant to the reason of mankind; its precepts, or the duties which it recommends, are sounded upon, and conformable unto the eternal

As for those doctrines of a mere speculative nature, peculiar to the christian institution, they cannot in a ffrict and proper sense be said to be any part of religion, the belief, or difbelief of thefe being no otherwise religious, or irreligious, than as a person is open and disprsed to conviction, and gives a greater, or smaller attention, to the evidence on which the truth of the doctrines depend: for a mere belief or difbelief of any principle, argues neither virtue, nor vice, because neither the one, nor the o her depends on our will, or any thing within our power; the very make and confisution of the buman mind being such, that when the evidence of any truth appears great and strong, we cannot, how much foever we may be disposed to the contrary, refuse our belief or affent to the truth of that principle; and on the other hand, if the evidence appears weak and defective, our inclination, how frong foever, cannot supply the place of evidence; and in that case, it is absolutely impossible for us to believe, or to affent to it: whence it appears, that we are no otherwise commendable for our belief, or blameable for our difbelief, than as we are more or less willing to attend to the evidence on which the truth of these doctrines depends.

The confiderations above mentioned, give us a clear infight into the nature and importance of the present controversy concerning the truth of christianity, and which all our writers seem to have taken no notice of; though one would ima-

eternal nature and reason of things, and are perfective of the human mind. His religion, even as our blessed Lord did himself in person, recommends nothing more than peace, charity and * love amongst his sollowers: would to God, that a greater regard was paid to the example and precept of our Lord

gine, that when they were difputing concerning the truth of christianity, they ought first to have · defined and fettled what christianity was; which considered under its proper character, as to its sum and substance, is not at all affected by any objections brought against it by its adversaries: and if these persons designed their present attack only as introductory to their future defigns upon true and real religion, I mean the pradical part of christianity, which, for reasons just mentioned, may not improperly be called its fum and fubflance, better they had began here, and not have vainly amused both themselves and the world. with what is entirely foreign to the main intention and defign which they have in view; for by their plaufible objections against some particular parts of the christian system, they have artfully misled some weak and inconsiderate persons to doubt concerning the truth and reality of religion itself.

• A new commandment, fays our Lord, I give unto you, that you love one another: a manner of expression which seems to intimate, that besides the practice of those duties, our obligation to which arises from the nature and reason of things, it was the design of our Lord, that his followers should in a very particular manner express a regard to the

doty of charity and love.

Lord in this inflance. But as our Lord himfelf was but a fmall time on earth, that he might complete his great and good deligny. and diffuse the knowledge of his divine religios throughout the world, he gave particulas directions to his apolites to: teach and in-Aras manhind in the knowledge of the deity. and of himself their saviour; and that their mission might be attended with suitable and defirable fuccefs, amongst the great variety of barbarous nations, who in all probability would be fondly tenacious of the rites peculiar to their own religion, he qualified the apostles in an extraordinary manner; for they were divinely inspired by the Holy Ghoft, and endowed with a power of working miracles. And thus qualified, they went and preached the gospel to various people and nations: and their fuecels, as is eafy to imagine. was different, according to the different tempers of the people to whom they addressed themselves: some of them despised the apostles, and the boly religion which they saught; others, persuaded of its reasonableness and purisg, forfook their former folly and idolatry, and became professors to the christian religion a but as it was impossible (it being inconsistent with their defign of visiting other people and nations) that the apostles should reside wholly with any particular city or province, they, left

lest their labous should prove vain and ineffectual, appointed fome particular persons amongs the people, who had a superior knowledge in the principles of their holy religion, than in their absence they might confirm and Arengthen their brethren in the faith, and that by their pious conduct, and the murity of that religion which they raught, they might make converts of others. Thefe, as is very natural to suppose, were chosen from amongs the leniors of the people, which probably gave rife to the name of preflyser or sider; and that doe care might be taken of the port, that office was affigued to some or other particular perfores, called deacens, left, if both offices were joised in one, they might be burdeniem and inconvenient. That these officers were appointed by the apostles, under the notion of their conferring diffinct powers or authority upon them, or of their giving them any particular commission to do what others were not allowed, or were forbid to do, doth by no means appear. Another plain and obvious reason may be assigned, why they were appointed, or at least approved, by the apostles, because they were certainly the snost competent judges, who were the properest perfons for fuch an office, I mean the office of an elder; for I think any man of tolerable fense and common honesty, is sufficiently qua-

lified to take care of the poor; nor does there feem the least occasion for an apostolical appointment, or approbation of fuch. Nor indeed is it at all improbable to fuppofe, that the people very often made choice. of their own * elders without the privity of the apostles; for doubtless it very often happened, that they had no opportunity, or conveniency of consulting them; and that one elder upon his decease, bequeathed his church as a legacy to another, is what I cannot fee the least foundation for. That there was a particular form made use of, when these elders. were appointed, or fet apart for that office, is. not unlikely to suppose; it being very probable, and certainly very proper, to implore the diwine bleffing upon their future instructions: but that any circumstance obtained, which should denote their receiving any distinct powers, or proper authority, which they had not before.

It is certain and undeniable, that when the deacens were first instituted, they were chose by the people, on whom the apostles praying laidstheir bands, which in the present case had something particular in it, and ought not to be considered as a mere empty form; for it is immediately added, that Stephen, who was one of them full of faith and power, did great unnders and miracles. This indeed is power in the strict and proper sense of the word, and which in all probability was conferred by the laying on of hands.

fore, more than by fuch a form it was evident that the elder was disposed to instruct, and the people disposed to be taught, is a mere groundless conceit, a conceit fraught with nothing but pride and vanity.

It is not at all improbable, to suppose it to be the will of our Lord, that these officers should continue to the end of christianity, if we consider the corruption and degeneracy of mankind, how prone they are to vice and impiety, how regardless of their duty, and unmindful of their obligations to the. practice of virtue; whence it appears, if not absolutely necessary for the good of mankind, yet very fit and expedient, that there should be fome particular persons, whose more immediate business and design it should be, to: teach and instruct their fellow creatures, and remind them of their duty. This account of the nature of their office, reprefents the clergy in a just and proper light, and convinces us of the service and advantage which that order is of to mankind; and fo long as they act agreeably to their character and . profession, they not only are, but doubtlefs would be effeemed by all persons worthy of double bonour: and those libertines, both in principle and practice, who make the clergy the constant subject of their insipid jests and raillery

railiery, only discover their own folly and want of judgment, in making that the subject of their form and ridicule, which; in itself is not their contemptials nor ridicultus, but when performed as it ought, is both useful and homourable; and tends to promote the happiness and good of society; upon which account it must be acknowledged, that the legislature: after a wary wife and prudential part, and consultant the beautic and advantage of the nation, in making such a provision for the clergy; as should set them above poverty and want, which would necessarily expose them to do some things unworthy of their characters, and beautic the dignity of their office.

But then on, the other hand, if the clergy, forgetting their duty, and the nature: of
their office, inflead: of preaching peace, charity and love, fith up easy, firife and; contention: amongst christians, they are then the
midtless of farm, and not preachers of the
gospel of peace. In inflead, of infracting and,
tenching manhind their duty, their discourses
are full of famile degrandour and power, and inflead of reasoning, they rant and rane about
government and authority; is they misselave
thomselves in so standalous a manner, and
add a part so very disagreeable to their character and profession, it is no wonder that they

meet with that form and contempt which their conduct to justly deferves; for, bleffed be God! the mists of error and fuperstition, which formerly darkened and overshadowed the land. are now vanished and gone; truth seems tohave refumed her empire amongst the sons of men; we no longer now are fond of a state of darkness and ignorance, but a dispofition to a free and rational enquiry into the names and maken of things feems univerfally to prevail. The English clergy have it no longer in their power, (would to God that: none had an inclination!) to abuse and deceive the people with their pieus, frauds, and conferred toumpery; for they feem determineds tor make a proper use of their faculties, and foe that with their own eyes, which none can for well fee for them, and to judge and think for themselves (the indiffrutable and unalice. mable sight of markind, and which it is now in their own power to give away) in memorerelating to their eternal falvation, in meters which concern none but themselves, and wherein no men's judgment can be of any fervice to them, because they much eranally food and fall by their covn.

That the three orders of bifliops, priests and deacens, did obtain in the apostolical ages, or were designed to be continued in the future,

is fo far from being certain, that it is not even probable. The two latter we have already accounted for; but then it must, I think, be allowed, that the office of our deacons is vastly different from theirs; so that we have retained the bare name only, and given their office to officers of our own choice and appointment, I mean the church-wardens; but if we rightly consider the nature and reason of the thing, the office of a bishop seems to have no foundation in the holy writings, or in the truly primitive practice.

When christianity was first preached in any particular place, and the apostles substituted one or more elders amongst the people, to teach and instruct their brethren, it must be supposed, that these persons were best skilled in the principles of our holy religion, and yet doubtless their knowledge was but; comparatively fmall; no wonder then that in matters of difficulty they should apply to: the apostles for their advice and direction. or if they had no opportunity of confulting them, or after their decease, that they should apply to some particular elders of neighbouring churches, who, by their longer standing ia the church, by a greater acquaintance with the apostles, or other intelligent christians, had attained to a superior knowledge in the prin-

principles of their religion: but that they ap-. ply to thefe, I mean the latter, under the notion of their being a different order of priests. or having fuperior powers, is a vain and filly opinion: and yet doubtless this gave rise to the order of bishops. Men are fond enough of power and authority, and defirous of lording it over their brethren; no wonder then that some more ambitious than the rest, tho' perhaps less knowing, made a handle of this. and usurped a power, which neither God nor nature designed them: for when all inspiration ceased, and one elder was upon a level with another, what possible reason can be asfigned, why one should be obedient or subiect to another? But suppose this was fo originally, and fo designed by the apostles, yet when one bishop died, what became of the clergy? I hope the bishop did not bequeath them by will, as a man doth a flock of sheep; it is very likely, in that case, that the beople made choice of another to supply his place, or that the clergy agreed amongst themfelves, upon a proper person to preside over them, and fet him apart to that office by the laying on of the hands of the presbytery; but in either case, I fear, we have an instance of persons conferring a power, which originally was not in them.

ago The Pillars of PRIBSTORAFT

But before we close this account, it may not be improper to fettle the affair of the divine inflitution of a gospel ministry.

We will absertiose suppose, that it was ithe will of our Lord, and that will of his exparafaly seveded in the holy muritings, the only rale of our faith and obedience, that there should throughout the feveral ages of the world, be fuch cofficers as bifbeps, priefts, sad deacens, in the christian schurch; and this is a general sense may be called the divine institution of the three orders, in the very fame Lenfe in which it may be faid, that the authority of princes is a divine infiltration : for, no doubt, it was equally his will, that for the general good and peace of feciety, and so prevent the ill effects of mens impiety and wickedness, there should be fuch persons as princes and governors; for the powers that are, fays the apostle, are of God, and we are to be obedient to them for confrience fake. But then having granted it to be the will of our Lord, that there should be fuch officers in the christian church, wet how doth it appear that any power or authority was defigned to be lodged in the hands of fuch persons: there is nothing in the nature of the offices themselves, which includes or comprehends heads any power of any kind whatever, except that the bilhop must be supposed to have some power over the inferior alergy, but this is vally different from any imaginary power supposed to be lodged in the elergy, over the larty: they are indeed to usuah and instruct them, but this argues neither power nor authority; except we must consider them under the character of school-masters that if the people will not be taught, they must be corrected and chassissed.

But suppose we advance a flep fasther, and grant all that can be defired of us, that some powers of an odd unaccountable nature, neither At or proper in themselves, nor agreeable to the nature of the office, were deligned to be annext so the priethood, then this fpiritual power hath the same faundation, and is exactly upon the same footing, with temporal government, there being a divine institution of both powers alike; but who should be she particular persons with whom these powers thould be intrusted, must be left to the people to judge and determine, so that at last the power in both cases is derived from the londs the people: for we may with equal reason suppose, that one king should hand down his power and authority to his faccesfor, without the confent of his kingdom, and so on to the

the end of time, as that the priests, without the concurrence or consent of the people, should bequeath theirs to whom they please.

This account is not only agreeable to the nature and reason of the thing, but likewise to the very constitution of our church itself. and the laws of the land. Is not his majesty supreme in all causes, and over all perfons, eccl-fiastical as well as civil? Are not the powers which our clergy have, derived from him their supreme head? For it is he who makes bishops, who ordains them, and by their orders gives them these mighty powers which they are so proud of: for except his majesty first granted the conge d'estier, what follows confequent upon it would be but trifling and ineffectual; for the whole bench of . bishops without him are not able to create another, whereas he by his fole authority can do it without them; for all, excepting his choice and appointment, that is done, ought to be confidered, firifly and properly, as no more than a mere form and empty pageantry. Nay, we have had a late instance, not only of his majesty's power to create, but even when created and conferred in all its due and proper forms, of the state's power to destroy this episcopal power. Is not bishop Acterbury .

Aterbury a melancholy and recent instance, of this truth? Was not his bishopric taken away from him? His power to teach and instruct in the British dominions entirely destroyed, all relation between him and his clergy dissolved, and all their obligations of obedience to him superseded and cancelled? Nay, I much question whether a deacon's order, granted by him in his present unhappy condition, would be valid in Great Britain.

And though our orator hath told us in his curious fermon, that " no human laws can se give a person a title to teach others," yet if we advance a step higher, and review the common and well known case of Dr. Sacheverell, that dear brother of his, both in his reasoning and divinity, it will be very evident, that though no human laws could give the title, they could take it away; which, by the way, is fomewhat strange, that they should have a power to destroy, what they have none to create: the legislature thought proper to suspend him for three years; and the very same power, if it had been agreeable to them, and if they had punished him equal to his crimes, might have done it for his whole life, have taken his orders from him, and have entirely filenced this authorized dispenser, VOL. I.

notwithstanding his pretences to a divine miffion and institution: but what need we recur to these particular instances? It is, I think, a principle universally acknowledged, that by the laws of the land, a clergyman may be dégraded for some crimes of a heinous and particular nature; and if a sentence of this, or the like import should be pronounced against him in a civil court, it would be altogether valid and effectual, though it should not pass through any particular forms in use in the spiaritual court.

Upon the whole, it appears impossible, that any person, who is but tolerably acquainted with the constitution of our church, with the laws of the land, and with the nature and end of an ecclesiastical ministry, should run into any error concerning its divine institution, or whether any, or what powers are annexed to its respective offices.

Before I dismiss this point, I desire that nothing which I have said, may be understood in such a sense as to suppose me to be an enemy to our ecclesiastical constitution, or to episcopacy in particular. With regard to the order of the priesthood, or the inserior clergy, I have I think, sufficiently explained myself already; to which I beg leave to add, that I have a

great regard for the episcopal office and character: and though I may not entertain the fame high opinion of it as others do, nor believe it to be, in the first and proper sense of the word, a divine institution, and consequently think, that an undue stress ought not to be laid upon this order, nor that it should be matter of strife, or contention among christians, yet I esteem it highly useful and expedient, of great service to our church, and in a particular manner fuited to the temper and genius of the English nation: and though feveral may not agree with me therein, yet there are few, I believe, but what will allow it to be of use, if for no other reasons, yet for this, that it may be a check upon fuch preachers as our orator.

I could eafily point out some of that venerable order who are a credit and an onnament to their profession, who are an h.neur to the British nation, who are hearty friends to their country, and the present happy establishment, and steady advocates for our civil and religious liberties. I believe no protestant, or true Engl shman, but what will agree with me, that this character doth in a particular manner suit the great and good bishop of Sarum *, for whom, I must consess, it was principally drawn.

Dr. Headly, late bishop of Winchester.

Perhaps some persons may be surprized, that in our account of the institution of the christian religion, I have taken no notice of the two sacraments of baptism and the eucharist; but these I have reserved till last, that we may make a more distinct and particular inquiry into their nature, and the design of our Lord in their institution.

It will be very eafily granted, and indeed I believe denied by none, that the author of our holy religion, had a right to appoint some positive institutions, which it is for that very reason, (I mean, because instituted by him) the duty of a christian to observe: but then, as the obligation of our obedience in these instances, is not founded upon the nature or reason of things, there being no natural goodness, religion, or virtue in the actions themselves abstracted from, and prior to, their institution, but is resolvable entirely into the fole will of our Lord; it is necessary that we inquire into the nature, end, and defign of these institutions, lest we lay an undue stress, and pay a greater veneration and regard to them, than was ever defigned by our Lord.

The mere actions themselves, separated from the circumstances, which, according to usage and

and cuftom, generally attend them, and which ought not to be considered as effential to them, are of a common indifferent nature: what is there in washing the body, or in eating bread and drinking wine? Neither goodness nor virgue: when therefore these actions are adopted into our religion, and the performance of them required of christians, we are to carry our views farther, to consider the nature and defign of the institutions, and what are the principal things fignified and represented to us by these ceremonies; it is this that we are chiefly to attend unto, for the mere outward action was inflitted, and is performed, for the take of that only, which At fignifies and denotes. If therefore the thing fignified is fufficiently attended unto, and regarded by us, we do, I think, answer the great end and design of the institution, though we omit the outward action. Thus, for instance, we are to eat bread and drink wine in remembrance of our faviour, and of his body brok n like bread, and his blood poured forth like wine, for the remission of our fins; but if this be done as well and effectually (and without all dispute it may) without the performance of the outward material action, is not the end and defign of our Lord in the institution of this ordinance, as well and effectually answered, as with it : I fay K 3

fay this, not that I think, that if it is the express will of our Lord, that these outward actions should be performed, we may dispense with our obedience, and refuse the performance of them; but to abate and take off that undue stress which persons place upon the mere actions themselves: and if we make a strict and narrow enquiry into this affair, I doubt not it will appear, that christians generally lay a greater stress upon these ceremonies, than our Lord himself did, or ever designed they should: for it is not at all improbable, that our Lord instituted them, principally and chiefly, in compliance with the temper of the Jews, the ceremonial part of whose religion he having entirely abolished, he knew it would be almost impossible, to prevail upon that people to accept of a new institution, so contrary to their former, that should be perfectly fimple, and without any rite or ceremony whatever; for we find, notwithstanding the institution of the two sacraments, how fondly tenacious they were of the law of M. fes, and that they would have imposed the observance of it on the christian converts, infomuch that the apostles found it necessary to comply with this froward temper of theirs in other more material instances.

Thus much is certain and undeniable, that our Lord took the two facraments from the Tews: baptifm is allowed by all our best writers, to have been in use amongst them, which custom of theirs, is Dr. Wall's chief and principal argument for infant-baptism. That the feast of the supper, with all the minute particular circumstances attending it, were taken from the custom and usage of the Jews, in their religious feafts; that the particular appointment of bread and wine for this facred repast, the method of their being confecrated, the breaking the bread, the diftribution of it to the company, the giving thanks, and lastly, the finging a plalm or spiritual fong; that thefe were feverally taken from the customs and usages of the Jews, will appear plain and evident to any who will give themselves the trouble of reading Mr. Godwyn's account of the Jewish feasts. Upon these accounts it feems not improbable to suppose, that our Lord's chief end and design in the institution of the sacraments, was, as I hinted above, in compliance with the temper of the Jews, and to recommend christianity to them, by making it more agreeable to the Jewish institution, and to their ceremonial temper and disposition.

It is very certain, however, that neither our Lord, nor his apostles, laid any great stress upon the facraments: baptism seems to be mentioned by them only en toffunt, and we never find the observance of the supper recommended by him or his apostles, as necessary to salvation, or as what in any particular manner was required of christians. to the former, as our Lord never gave any particular directions concerning it, the custom of the Iews must, I think, be necessarily supposed to be the rule of christian baptism, with whom, as it was customary to baptize their profelytes only, it is not at all improbable, to suppose it to be agreeable to the will of our Lord. and confistent with the original design of the institution itself (which doubtless was to make a distinction between a christian and a gentile) that the afe of it should be * discontinued. when a whole people and nation became christians; for if the root is holy, so are the branches.

This matter is fet in a very clear light by the author of Dr. Wall's history of infant-baptism improved, printed in the year 1709, an author of indisputable learning, and good sense. Vid. also Mr. Em/ya's previous question, which, in some parts of it, seems unanswerable.

As for the facrament of the supper, it doth by no means appear, that our Lord laid that stress upon it, which his followers have done since; the notion of the corporeal presence, which obtained in the early ages of the church, (which doubtless was a contrivance of the priests, in order to promote their own power, and advance their office and order in the opinion of the people) was what first gave rise to the manifest abuse and perversion of the nature and design of this religious feast.

It doth not appear, from its original inftitution, from any part of the holy writings, or the nature of the feast itself, that it was the will or defign of our Lord, that the admini-Aration of it should be confined to the priestbead. As our Lord left this affair undetermined, nor gave us any particular directions concerning it; the custom and usage among the Iews, from whom the inflitution itself was taken, ought alone to determine this matter, I mean, what is effential to it; and it is certain, that the mafter of the house, or any other indifferent person, presided in their religious feast; he consecrated the cup and the bread, and gave thanks. And what reason can be assigned why this feast should not be performed in the same manner? What hinders, KS

ders, when any number of christians are met together, that they may not eat and drink in remembrance of Christ, and that any one of the number may not confecrate the elements. and return thanks? And this feems to have been the practice amongst the primitive chriflians in the apostolical ages, according to the account which we have in the holy writings, who feasted in this religious manner as oft almost as they met together: neither, by any thing which appears, did they apprehend it necessary, that these feasts should be confined to the place of their religious assemblies, or confecrated churches, or that their teacher fhould prefide over them, though it is not improbable to suppose, that when their teacher was one of the number, they paffed the compliment upon him in defiring him to confecrate the bread and wine, and return thanks; (in like manner as is usual amongst us, when any clergyman happens to be in company with us at our common meals, for the master of the house to desire him to crave a bleffing and return thanks) and from hence it is not unlikely, came the custom of their teachers conflantly officiating at these religious feasts, till at last for the reasons above-mentioned, they thought fit to deny this power to the laity, and confine it to their own order. i. 1 4

Having now finished my account of the origin and nature of the christian institution, and of the office of the priesthood, as it stands opposed to Mr. B's, I leave the world to judge whose is most agreeable to the general nature and reason of things, to the particular institution of christianity, to the constitution of the church of England, and the sense of mankind. For some reasons I have not thought proper to subjoin my name at length; though, as on the one hand, I have not the vanity to imagine, that my name would have been of any service to the cause wherein I am engaged; so, on the other hand, I am far from thinking that it would do it any differvice or discredit.

I have only farther to observe, that if Mr. B. will apprize me of having either through haste or inadvertence omitted any material argument of his, or that in any part of his performance, I have neglected to give his reasonings their just weight (which may not be improbable, if we-consider the short distance of time between the publishing of his sermon, and the sending these remarks to the press, the far greater part of which was taken up by more necessary business). I say, if he will apprize me hereof, I assure him, that I will take a more accurate review of the argument, and will consider his principles.

204 The Pillars of PRIESTCRAFT, &c. in their full extent, and the feveral confequences arising from them. In the mean time,

I am,

GENTLEMEN,

With great regard,

London, Octob.
29, 1729. Your most humble servant,

I. W. L.

Confidered in a

DISCOURSE

Preached before the Right Honourable

Sir George Thorold, Knt.

Lord-Mayor of the City of London,

AND THE

Court of ALDERMEN,

AND THE

Liveries of the several Companies,

PARISH-CHURCH of St. Lawrence-Jewry,

On Thursday, September 29, 1720.

Being the Festival of St. Michael the Archangel, and the Elecsion-Day of the LORD-MAYOR for the Year ensuing.

By BENJAMIN IBBOT, D. D.

Rector of St. Paul Shadwell, and Chaplain in Ordinary to his Majesty.

NE QUIÉ RESPUBLICA DETRIMENTS CAPIAT.

Cic. pro Milone,

First printed in the year 1720.

le le 2 × 200

AcTS XVIII. 14, 15.

And when Paul was now about to open his mouth, Gallio faid unto the Jews, If it were a matter of wrong, or wicked lewdness, O ye Jews, reason would that I should bear with you: but if it be a question of words and names, and of your law, look ye to it; for I will be no judge of such matters.

HE crime which the Jews here laid against St. Paul, and for which they brought him before Gallio, was * blasphemy against their religion, affirming, that the religion established by the law was now no longer obligatory, and professing a religion different from that, and persuading others to embrace it. For thus they reprefent the case to Gallio, at the 13th verse, saying, this fellow persuadeth men to worship God contrary to the law. To which accusation the apostle was going to reply; but Galio prevented and faved him that trouble, and put an end to their pleadings on both fides, by declaring at once, that the case did not come before him, nor fall under his cognizance.

Acts xvi. 13, 144

Gallio faid unto the Jews, &c.

This chapter is the only place of scripture, where we find any mention made of Gallio; but from the account which we here meet with of his behaviour upon this occafion, as well as from the character which other writers have given us of him, we may justly conclude, that he was a man of great candour and humanity, as well as a wife and difcreet magistrate.

He was the Raman præfect of Achaia, a consular province under Augustus; and a brother of Seneca, who gives him this character, * that he was a man of a sweet temper, universally beloved, free from all vices, and the greatest hater of flattery. Tacitus † also makes mention of him to his advantage, and Statius gives him the same testimony. ‡.

Solebam tibi dicere, Gallionem fratrem meum (quem nemo non parum amat, etiam qui amare plus non potest) alia vitia non nosse, hoc etiam (viz. adulationem) odisse, ab omni illum parte tentasti——Nemo enim mortalium uni tàm dulcis est, quàm hic omnibus, &c. Senec. Nat. Quest. l. 4. Initio.

[†] Annal. 1. 15.

Aut dulcem generaffe Gallionem. Statius, Sylvarum 1. 2. Genethlia.an.Lagani.

Notwithstanding this, some have severely censured his conduct in this affair, as if it proceeded from carelessness and indifference in religious matters; and to render him the more infamous, have invented a new name for this sin, and called it Gallionism. But I hope to justify the Deputy's behaviour and to shew, that what he spoke on this occasion, was wifely spoke; and that if he had acted otherwise in this matter than he did, he had transgressed the bounds of his duty.

It is worth while to take a nearer view of his words, and examine more closely into their drift and meaning.

If it were a matter of worms, or wicked lewdness, O ye Jews —— If you could accuse this man of any injustice, whereby he had invaded any one's right and property, or could lay to his charge any other flagitions and villainous action, done with a mischievous design, and whereby he had disturbed the public peace; † reason would that I should bear with you. It would be but right and just, that I should bear with this trouble which you would now give

Αδίκημά τι η ςωδιύργημα στοτηρός.
 Τατά λόγου αν ηνεσχόρευ υμών.

me, and hear with patience what you have to fay. I should then be obliged by the duty of my place, to take cognizance of your matter. But if it be a question of words, and names, and of your law. If the centroverly as it feems to me, be, not about civil, but r. ligious matters: as about the word which Paul preached, and the truth of that word, and whether it be agreeable to your law; or about names of different fects in religion, and of their founders; as whether the name of meffiab, or Christ belongs to that Jesus whom Paul preaches, and what appellation is to be given to his followers; or about the sense and meaning of those prophecies which Paul applies to-Christ: or if the dispute relates to the rites and ceremonies of your law, as whether circumcifion be still in force, and all that are uncircumcifed are out of God's favour: Ifay, if the matter about which you are at variance be concerning your meffiab, who he is, and what is agreeable, or contrary to your law, or any thing elfe of this kind, look ye to it. Make it up among yourselves, or dispute as long as you please about it. For I will be no judge of fuch matters. It is none of my business to determine such disputes. These things no way affect the public peace and quiet, which it is my duty to take care of: of; nor do they make any one guilty of any crime against the law of the land.

And this was a wife answer, and shewed, that he was well acquainted with the nature and extent of his office; and he was too good a man to list himself in any party, and to abuse the power which was lodged in his hands, by applying it to purposes foreign to the original design of it, and executing wrath upon them who had done no evil.

The words thus opened, naturally lead me to treat of the nature and extent of the office of the civil magistrate. And because this is a subject, which would take up more time, than is usually allowed upon such occasions as this; I shall confine myself to that distinction which Gallio here makes between matters of a civil and a religious nature; between the affairs of civil government, and those of religion. The former, he lays claim to, as falling under his cognizance, and belonging to his jurisdiction: but the latter, he disclaims, as wholly foreign to his office, and what he had nothing to do with.

This difference between civil government and religion, is what I shall endeavour to illustrate and confirm, and to settle the just bounds that

that lie between the one and the other. And this I shall do, by considering distinctly what the end and design of civil government is, and what is that of religion.

I. Then let us consider the end and defign of civil government.

It is plain, that civil government was instituted for the preservation and advancement of men's civil interests, for the better security of their lives, and liberties, and external possessions.

Men soon became sensible of the necessity of civil government, for these ends, from the inconveniencies they suffered by a private life independent on each other. For in such a state, unless every man would keep strictly to the rules of justice and equity, which the pravity of human nature, and long experience forbid us ever to hope for; the weak would become a prey to the strong, every one would lie at the mercy of him that was mightier than himself, and the world would be full of fraud and injustice, cruelty and oppression.

No fooner did mankind begin to multiply, and to contract new relations and new duties but their interests interfered with one another, and gave rise to those wrongs and injuries

injuries which daily increased in the world, and quickly moved men to enter into focieties, for the mutual security and defence of their perfons and properties, both against violence from abroad, and rapine and fraud at home. For these ends and purposes, societies were at first erected, and grounded upon the mutual compact and agreement of those who entered into them, to stand by, and assist each other, both against foreign violence, and domestic wrongs. To repel the first of these, there must be external force and strength, which consist in arms, riches, and multitude of hands; the remedy of the other, lies in wife and wholefome laws, agreed upon by the fociety; and the care of both is, by common confent, committed to the civil magistrate, who is moreover armed with the force and strength of all his subjects, in order to put these laws in execution *.

From this brief account of the nature and design of civil government, it plainly appears, that the proper business of the magistrate is to preserve the external peace of the world, and the temporal good of the community over which he presides; to protect every man in

^{*} Letter concerning toleration. Mr. Locke's works, V. 1I. p. 249.

his just right and property; to see that * no man go beyond, and defraud his brother in any matter, or do any wrong of any kind to his neighbour; and to this end, to inslict proper punishments, and † execute wrath upon them that do evil; to restrain and chastise those who are unruly, who transgress the laws, and violate the rights of others; who are guilty of any of those sins, which are injurious to the fociety, which disturb the peace and quiet of the government, and endanger mens lives and properties; such as fraud, injustice, and oppression, lying and perjury, thest, murder, adultery, and the like.

All these fall under the censure and cognizance of the civil magistrate; and it is bis office and business to restrain men from such outrages as these, by bringing the offenders to condign punishment.

But then it is to be considered, that these transgressions are subject to be punished by the civil magistrate in a civil sense or capacity only, and not in a religious one. They fall under his cognizance, as they are injurious to mens civil interests, and destructive of the good order and government of the world;

^{* 1} Thef. iv. 6. † Rom. xiii. 4.

and not as they have an inherent turpitude in them, and are immoralities and transgrefsions of the divine law: for in that capacity, I conceive, they are out of the magistrate's power, and not cognizable before any courts of human judicature.

The not observing this distinction has introduced no small consussion in this subject. For since the same actions, which are violations of the divine law, are also prejudicial to human society, and so many breaches of the public peace and quiet; hence it has been thought as much the magistrate's duty to prevent the one as the other, and that religion was as much his care and concern as civil government.

Whereas, in truth, if the ill influence which these vices have upon the peace and welfare of human society, could be separated from their immorality, and their being transgressions of the laws of God, the magistrate could have nothing to do with them; his business being nothing else but to preserve the public peace and quiet, and to protect men in their civil rights and properties, and to take no other notice of the actions and behaviour of his subjects than is necessary to this end.

But because such a separation is impossible, and those vices which are so many transgreffins of God's laws, have also a natural tendency to injure our neighbour in his civil interefts, and to diffurb the good order and government of the world; (it being hard to instance in any vice, which does not some way or other, immediately or remotely, do this;) therefore it unavoidably happens, that the magiftrate, in the due execution of his office, does indirectly intermeddle with religion. I say indirectly, because religion is not his proper bufiness, nor ought he directly to intend it in the execution of his office. For THAT I shall shew is the care and concern of a bigher power, and is to be promoted by rewards and punishments peculiar to itself, and fetched from another world.

But though we cannot actually separate the ill influence any vice has upon the society we live in, from its being a transgression of some divine law; yet in our minds we may make this separation, and consider every vice as a mixed action, as a transgression of the laws of man, and of the laws of God. In the first capacity only, it is subject to human judicatures; in the second, it is cognizable only before the tribunal of heaven. As it is a

matter

matter of wrong, or wicked lewdness, i. e. as it is an injury to any private person, or a breach of the public peace, it is certainly the magistrate's duty to restrain and punish it. As it is a transgression of the rules of morality and virtue, of any of the laws of naral or revealed religion, it is equally certain that it belongs only to the supreme law-giver, even God himself, to exact an account of it.

For this reason, because vice and wickedness are punishable by the civil magistrate only upon a civil account, fins are differently estimated and indifferently punished by buman, and by divine laws. Human laws make an estimate of sins from the damage they do to private persons, or to the publick good, and inflict the greatest punishment upon those fins which are most injurious in this respect. For there being no standing law of God, which has annexed any civil punishment to any fin-(if, perhaps, we may except murther) this is the only rule the magistrate has to direct him in his punishing offenders. And therefore, if there be any fins wherein the fociety is no way concerned, which it neither feels, nor is affected with, the magistrate has nothing to do to punish them. And even those fins. which in their own nature, are prejudicial to VOL. I. L mens

mens civil interests, if they could be so circumstantiated, as to do no prejudice to any. nor to have any ill influence upon the welfare of fociety; they could not, in those instances, be the proper subject of civil punishments. Nothing is fo, but what does fome way or other injure a private person, or the public weal. Confequently, fecret intentions and designs of wickedness, if they never break out into act: treasonable thoughts, rebellious wifnes, and feditious purpofes, can never be liable to civil punishments. Nothing but overt acts, whereby the fociety, or any member of it, actually fuffers, or is brought into danger of fuffering, can lawfully be punished by the civil magistrate.

But with regard to the laws of God, the case is far otherwise. He takes an estimate of our sins by other measures, from those degrees of light and knowledge against which the offence was committed, and often punishes those sins most, which are least, or not at all, censured by the civil powers. Thus anger and revenge, with him is murther, and lust ful thoughts and desires, adultery; and the determined will and intention of committing any sin, with him, amounts to the sin itself, though through fear, or shame, or want of opportunity, it was never actually committed. And

those fins which the civil magistrate does not punish, because they do not prejudice men's civil interests, do yet render men highly guilty before God, and will be severely accounted for: fuch as covetousness, pride and vain boafting; fenfuality and voluptuoufness: murmuring and discontent; surliness and ill nature; difrespect to superiors, and ingratitude to benefactors; envy and malice; calumny and detraction; fraud and circumvention; I. fay, these, and numberless other instances, which human laws can take no hold of, can neither punish the sinner, nor prevent the sin, are expresly condemned by the laws of God, and have fevere penalties annexed to them. And other actions there are, which though justly punishable by the civil powers, are in their own nature guiltless, and do not displease God, but by being transgressions of that general law, of paying all due obedience to theje whom he has fet over us.

To which we may farther add, that criminals may fatisfy the law, and so stand clear before human judicatures, and yet remain as guilty before God as ever; and on the contrary, they may have made their peace with God, and procured his pardon, and yet be equally guilty in the eye of the law, and equally liable to civil punishment.

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From all which, it is abundantly evident, that the end and design of civil government, is wholly taken up with the care of men's civil rights, and consequently, that the office of the civil magistrate, is confined to this one thing, and that religious matters, as such, lie out of the verge of his power. But if this wants any further light, it will receive it from what comes next under our consideration, and that is,

II. The end and design of religion.

Though religion is a great friend to civil government, and the practice of the duties which that enjoins, tends very much to our present happiness, and makes this world a much more easy place than it would be without it; yet all this is but remotely the effect of religion, and makes no part of its main and principal design.

Religion, in a true and proper sense, and as the word itself imports, is an obligation upon us to God, and was designed to recommend us to God, and secure an interest in bis savour, by performing acceptable service to bim, and doing those things which are well pleasing in bis sight.

And

· And therefore, though men formed themfelves into focieties for civil reasons, such as have been already mentioned, they did not do it upon any religious account; because religion, as it relates to God, is transacted between a man's felf and God, and is what no body else is concerned in. So that it is neither necessary in itself, nor essential to true religion, that great numbers of men should meet together, and be incorporated into focieties, for the better discovery, or the more due exercife of it *.

Hence it is, that they who lived before the institution of civil government or the foundation of commonwealths, were as famous for their piety and religion, as any who have been fince. They who lived in the first ages of the world, when the earth was but thinly inhabited, were not therefore destitute of true religion, but performed it in a manner that was acceptable to God: and fo may any fingle person, or any small number of men, who happen to live in a defart place. They are not to be looked upon as having no religion, because they do not live in towns and cities, because they cannot make up a great assem-

[·] See Puffendorf of the relation between church and flate. Sett. 3, 5, 6.

bly, and are not formed into a civil flate. For religion, as I before faid, is transacted between God, and a man's felf, and equally obliges us at all times, and in all places, in folitude as well as fociety, under whatever povernment we live, or whether we live under one at all. And that which makes religious worship most acceptable to God, is open to his view alone, as he is a discerner of the beart; and that is fincerity and integrity, the worship that is in spirit, and in truth. This religion took place before fecieties were erected, and is of an older date than any civil effablishments, as well as of a different origin. commenced the moment we were created: it is contemporary with human nature, and began with the race of man, though it came not from the will and invention of man; but is grounded upon the will and law of God, who fees men in the dark, has in his bands rewards, and punishments, and power enough to call to account the proudest offender. Whereas commonw alths were founded, and government instituted long after, by the will and invention of man, and for quite other reasons, and different ends.

In this state of nature, I mean before the institution of civil government, religion, as it related to God alone, had no other hold upon

men, but from the fear and reverence of God, and was a perfect stranger to all hmman power. and outward force; and every one embraced that religion, which either his own reason dictated, or revelation discovered to him, and had a right of ordering for himself the external circumstances of religious worship. In all these things, every one was left to his own liberty, and was accountable to none but God. In this state, no man whatever could require me to conform to his judgment in religious matters, nor could I require him to conform to mine. But if any man out of charity to my foul, and because he believed himself to be in the right, had a mind to bring me over to his opinion, he must convince me by proper arguments, that he was in the right, and I in the wrong; but must use no outward force or compulsion of any kind; and that for this plain and short reason, amongst others, because the care of every man's own foul which is the whole concern of religion, belongs to himself alone, and is to be left to himself; and to use any force or violence here, is not only unjust, but, as shall be shewn, wholly useless and insignificant.

This was the case of religion in a flate of na ture. Let us next see, whether any alteration was made in this case by the inflication of civil government.

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Now fince those wrongs and injuries which men daily received from one another, and which first moved them to enter into focieties. did not affect their religion, but their lives and liberties, and goods; it follows, that when they waved their natural freedom, and combined together, they did not at all fubmit themselves in religious matters to the will of the civil magistrate, as they submitted their persons and properties to be disposed of by bim, for the obtaining the end of fociety, the mutual defence and preservation of one another. Men might, and did still retain their natural freedom in religious matters, very confiftently with all the ends of civil government, which oblige them to give up their natural right in other things. For there is this remarkable and effential difference between mens civil or temporal, and their religious or spiritual rights, that the former are alienable, and may, by their own consent, be restrained, or remitted in some cases, for the better fecurity of them in others: but the latter, their religious or spiritual rights are their unalienable property, in which they cannot be restrained, and which they cannot give up in any case, or upon any account whatever. Men cannot abandon the care of their fouls, as they may that of their bodies and estates, and blindly

blindly leave it to the magistrate to prescribe what faith or worship they shall embrace. For besides that the care of every man's foul belongs to himself, because every one of us: must give an account of himself to God, Rom. xiv. 12. And the nature of religion is fuch. as makes it a strict personal duty incumbent upon every man; and whatever of this kind is done, must be done by ourselves: I say, besides this, we cannot, if we would, conform our faith to the dictates of another, and believe just as he believes, and because he believes fo; nor can it ever possibly be lawful, upon any account, to comply with, or agree to any thing in religion, that is contrary to our judgment, and the inward perfusion of our minds; to profess for truth, what we believe to be a wrong faith, or false doctrine; and to worship God after any other manner than that which we conceive to be most agreeable to the divine wifl. In these matters, we can neither give, nor can another usurp any aushority over our consciences; nor can we submit them to any other ruler, but God', and our own reason. And therefore the magistrate ought not to infik upon terms of purely a religious nature, with those who are under his government; or exercise his power and authority over shem in this respect.

This will quickly appear, by taking a view of the chief and principal parts of religion.

To begin then with merality and virtue, which though unhappily distinguished from religion, are the chief and main things wherein it confifts. These are founded in the eternal and immutable nature and reason of things, whereby fome things are evidently fit, and others as evidently unfit to be done, whatever the confequence of them be here. This being plainly the nature of things, and there being this effectial difference between them, we justly conclude it to be the will of God, who made us what we are, and puts this difference between some things and others, that we should observe this difference in our. actions. And herein we are to be directed by our own reason, or conscience; which is nothing else but the opinion or judgment of our mind concerning the moral pravity or rectitude of our own actions, for the conduct of which we are accountable to God alone.

If then I be satisfied in my own mind of the lawfulness or unlawfulness of any action; and do, or forbear it upon that persuasion; the civil magistrate has no right to lay any restraint upon me in this case, because he judges

judges me to be in the wrong; for one man's conscience is no rule to another, and therefore * one man's liberty-should not be judged of by another man's conscience; but in all such cases as these, every one must judge for himself, such take care to be fully persuaded in his own mind, and not to † condemn himself in that thing which he alloweth.

But what if any one upon pretence of conficience, and to shew his liberty, should commit any matter of wrong or wicked lewdness, invade any one's property, or disturb the public peace? Why then, I say, no pretence of religion or conscience can shreen him from the civil powers. He ought to be restrained and punished. But then he does not suffer upon a religious, but upon a civil account; he suffers as a 1 murtherer, or as a thief, or as an evil doer, or as a bust-p-body in other men's matters.

If we place religion in the belief of any fet of doctrines or in the practice of any particular forms or modes of divine worship: here too, every man must judge, and chuse for himself, must believe those doctrines which he thinks to be true, and worship God in such a manner, as he is persuaded is most acceptable to him. The magistrate has nothing to

^{* 1} Cor. x. 29. † Rom. xiv. 22. ‡ 1 Pet. iv. 15.

do to interpose in this case, to apply force of any kind, to bring them over to any particular persuasion. This is plainly foreign to his office, and stepping beyond the bounds of his duty. The peace and quiet, and good order of the sciety, are the only points which he is to take care of; and since these are as consistent with mens holding different opinions in religion, as they are with their being of different sentiments in other matters; the magistrate is no more concerned to intermeddle in religious disputes, than he is in those of philosophy, law, or physic.

Indeed, if men hold any opinions in religion, which are destructive of the peace and quiet of the world, and undermine the government, and act in pursuance of these opinions, their actions then are of a civil, and not of a religious nature; and they render shemselves obnoxious to the civil powers, and justy deserve to be punished. Or if men manage their religious disputes with such heat and eagerness, and carry their differences fo high-as to fall foul upon, and offer violence to one another, it is the magistrate's duty to interpole, to defend, and avenge him that fuffers wrong, and to punish him that did it. And therefore Gallio was certainly to blame in taking no notice of that infult, which the Greeks Greeks committed upon Softhenes, the chief ruler of the synagogue, by beating him in open court, v. 17. This is what he ought to have prevented or punished, both as an affront to himself, and an injury to one of his subjects. But in this case, the magistrate does not make himself a judge of controversies in religion, nor use his power and authority to decide them; but he acts in his own proper character, as a guardian of the public peace of the society, and of the civil interests of his subjects; both which are invaded in the present case.

And therefore, where men demean themfelves quietly and peaceably, and their different faith and practice have no such effects, and concern only God and their own fouls, the magistrate is no judge of such matters; and whatever their errors be, must use no outward force or violence to compel them, but leave them to the just judgment of God, as to their own proper master, to whom they are to stand or fall.

For the magistrate to interpose, and make himself a judge and a revenger in affairs which are purely of a religious nature, is to transgress the bounds of his duty, and to invade the prero-

prerogative of God; it is (to borrow the words of an incomparable * author) to judge and mifuse the servants of another master, who are not at all accountable to bim. For nothing can be more clear or certain, than that as religion has God only for its author, so it is properly bis care and concern only. The laws of religion are the laws of God only, and be himself has appointed rewards and punishments for the observers and transgressors of them. He has taken this whole matter upon himfelf, and referved it to himfelf, and has no where authorized any man, or any number of men upon earth, to be his deputies, or wicegerents in this behalf. So that it is highly wicked and unjust in any man, to usurp any authority over others in cases of a religious nature, in matters of fuith and conscience. For here God himfelf has laid down the rule of our actions, and not left it to others to preferibe to as. He himself has fet before us our duty, and has told us; that he will judge of the performance: and for any man, after this, to pretend to any power over us here, is to forestall the judgment of God, and to take God's cause out of his own hands.

Mr. Locke's letter of to'eration, p. 238. Vol. IR

But fuch attempts as these are not only wicked and unjust, but very foolish and fruitless, as will appear, if we consider, that the nature and the virtue too of all-religion, con-Afts in a free and willing choice, in the confent and approbation of our minds, in the Sucerity and integrity of our hearts, in our being fully persuaded of the truth of what we believe, and of the goodness of what we practife. Whatever we do in religion, we must do it heartily, as unto the Lord, in obedience to his commands, and compliance with bis will, and because we believe it will recommend us to his favour. Whatfoever is not done with this affurance of faith, is neither well in itself, nor can it be acceptable to God.

But of what use can human laws, enforced by civil penalties, be in all this? They may make me do things which are in my power, and depend upon my will: but to believe this, or that, to be true, is not in my power, nor depends upon my will, but upon the light, and evidence, and information which I haves And will civil discouragements and incapacities, sines and confiscations, stripes and imprisonment, enlighten the understanding, convince mens minds of error, and inform them of the truth?

Can they have any fuch efficacy, as to make men change the inward judgment they have framed of things? Nothing can do this, but reafon and argument. This is what our minds and understandings will naturally yield to; but they cannot be compelled to believe any thing by outward force. So that the promoting of true religion is plainly out of the magistrate's reach, as well as beside his office: and though temporal rewards and punishments are very proper means to produce an actual external compliance with buman laws, which is sufficient to answer the end of their institution; yet these are very improper motives to be applied to the laws of God and religion, because they cannot produce that inward obedience in fincerity of beart and conscience which these laws require, nor that thorough persuasion of the truth of what we believe, and of the goodnels of what we practife, without which no outward compliance with the divine laws, nor any thing which we do in religion is of any account.

And therefore, if the magistrate interpoles here, and either chuses a religion for me, or enforces that which I have chosen, with temporal rewards and punishments; he destroys my religion, and spoils the virtue of what-

ever I do under that name. If he imposes upon me, and forces me to profess, (for he cannot make me believe) a religion, which I do not think to be true; he makes me a bypocrite and a dissembler, and exposes me to the reproaches of my own heart, and the just vengeance of God: which is highly abfurd and unreasonable, considering that the end of all religion is to secure the favour of God, and the peace of our own consciences. If he forces me to profess and practife what is true religion, and what I myself believe to be so, he at the same time destroys the virtue of this religion, and deprives me of my reward in heaven. For whatever I do in religion out of force and constraint, upon worldly motives and confiderations, out of fear of the civil powers, or the like, is no religion at all, nor is there any virtue in any actions which are performed upon fuch principles as these. religion must be built upon our regard to God; and whatever regard we pay to men in the performance of religious duties, takes off fo much at least from our regard to God, and fo far diminishes' the virtue of what we do. So far as temporal motives and temptations prevail with us, and are the fprings and causes of our professing or practifing religion; so far most certainly we are not influenced by the love of God, and fear of offending him, which

which is the only foundation of all true religion, which confifts in internal fincerity, in the obedience of the heart and confcience, and in worfhipping God in spirit and in truth. And for this reason, no doubt, God thought fit to annex no other penalties to the transgression of his laws, but the spiritual and invisible terrors of a future state; and no other rewards to the observance of them, but the joys and happiness of the world to come; because prefent and temporal rewards and punishments, the countenance or terrors of men, have no tendency to promote those things wherein true religion confifts, can neither convince the understanding, nor rule the heart, nor lead men to the truth with fincerity; but are much more likely to have the direct contrary effect : and if they were applied to religion, might make men outwardly comply with it, merely for the present temporal benefit they received from it: but could never make them fincere in the belief or practice of it. And what our faviour faid to the people who fought for him, · John vi. 26. might fitly be applied to such converts and disciples as these, verily, verily, I say unto you, ye seek me, not because ye saw the miracles, but because ye did eat of the loaves, and were filled.

But further; as religion consists in such a belief and practice, as we, in our confciences are perfuaded to be best, and most acceptable to God, as it lies in the fincerity and integrity of the heart, as it is truth in the inward parts; fo it can be subject only to the judgment of the great God, whose prerogative it is, to be a fearcher of the heart, and a tryer of the reins; who fees the fecret fprings of our actions, and knows our thoughts and intentions afar off. Upon which account, no man upon earth can be a judge in religious matters, nor take upon him the cognizance of this cause. He knows not the thoughts of our heart, cannot tell upon what principle we acted, or whether we were fincere in our religion or no; and therefore if he should undertake to dispense rewards and punishments; he, through passion, weakness, and frailty, might easily err, and instead of executing righteous judgment, might confound right and wrong, by punishing the innocent, and rewarding the guilty. The apostle's advice therefore is very feafonable in the prefent case: * Judge nothing before the time, until the Lord come, who both will bring to light the hidden things of darkness, and will make manifest the

[.] Cor, iv. 5.

236 The Pillars of PRIESTCRAFT counsels of the heart: and then shall every man bave praise of God.

By this time, I hope, it appears that Gallio acted a wife and confcientious part in this affair, and that if he had proceeded to the hearing and determination of the cause which the Jews here brought before him; he had done what he could not justify by virtue of his office, and had given himself much trouble, without doing any good to himself or others, but possibly much hurt to both.

For most certain it is, that the duty of the magistrate is confined to the care of the civil and temporal good of his people, and does not extend to their spiritual and eternal affairs. And as long as men behave themselves quietly and peaceably in the government under which they live, as long as they do no wrong or injustice to their neighbour, nor prejudice any one in their civil rights, they may and ought to be left to themselves in the choice of their religion, and be allowed to worship God in that manner, and after that way, which they think best and most acceptable 40 him. This is their natural right, and there can be no greater instance of injustice and oppression, than any ways to abridge it, or deprive them of it.

So that toleration, or absolute liberty in matters of religion and conscience, however it has been vilified, and exclaimed against, is as much every man's just right, as any other thing which can be mentioned: and persecution, however meritorious blind zeal and bigotry have made it, is as flagrant an instance of cruelty and oppression, as any of those things which are often practised in consequence of it, plunder and devastations, sines, imprisonment and murther.

The magistrate ought to be so far from thus perfecuting any of his-fubjects, upon account of their differing from him in religion, that it is a principal duty incumbent on .himto take care that different fects and parties do not persecute, or treat one another ill upon this account. His business is to protect people of all opinions and perfuasions, not inconfistent with the ends of government, from being insulted by those from whom they differ, or fuffering any thing on the score of such difference. It is nothing to him, what false and erroneous opinions men hold, what ridiculous and abfurd doctrines they profess, or, in a word, what they believe, or disbelieve in religion, fo long as hereby they do no prejudice to their neighbour, nor make any alteration:

ration in men's civil rights, nor disturb the public peace and quiet. For the end and design of civil government, was not to provide for the truth of men's opinions, but for the safety and security of their goods and persons.

But here it may be objected, is the magiflrate to shew no zeal or concern for the
honour of God, and the authority of his laws?

Is he to be altogether indifferent what religion his subjects are of, or whether they be
of any religion at all? Is he not to exert his
power in favour of the true religion, and to
see that the rules thereof be duly observed
and practised?

To this I answer, that since God, who is most certainly the properest judge in this case, and best knows what are the sittest means to be made use of for these ends; has not thought sit to enforce his laws with any other functions, but the rewards and punishments of a future and invisible state, nor to promote his honour and true religion by any other motives but these; what authority has any men to make any alteration in what God has established, and to enforce his laws with any other sanstions than what he himself has appointed? God has given no man this authority; and

and men cannot give it one another. And therefore for any one to assume it, is not only encroaching upon God's prerogative, and invading men's religious rights, but it is calling in question the divine widom, as if God who made man, and gave him these laws, knew not what fanctions were most proper to secure man's obedience to them, and what motives and arguments were most likely to prevail with him, to be truly good and virtuous.

And as to true religion, and a right belief, every man is orthodox to himself, and thinks his own religion to be true; and therefore if this be any argument, why the magistrate should use force in promoting his own religion, it will plead as strongly for false religions, as for the true one: it will hold as well for popery in popish countries, for Mahometanism at Constantinople, as for protestantism in Great Britain. But is not the honour of God to be consulted? And are not vice, and immorality, and prophaneness to be restrained and punished? Most certainly they ought; but upon a civil account, and because they are prejudicial to mens civil interests. As for God's benour, he himself is the best guardian of it. and will most certainly take care of it in his own time and way; for he is a jeakus Ged. But then I add, that for men to be

restrained from these vices by the power and authority of the civil magistrate, and out of fear of his fword, is no honour to God, whatever it may be to Cafar: it is obeying men rather than. God, and shews that we are more afraid of men than of God. It is indeed for the interest and honour of the civil government, that all vice, immorality, and prophaneness should be suppressed, because they are prejudicial to it, and the contrary virtues tend to the good and welfare of fociety; and fo far the magistrate ought to interpole. And because all manner of wickedness, even in those instances, where it does not directly injure any private person, nor disturb the public peace, has an ill influence upon fociety, tends to make men bad subjects, and worse neighbours, and indisposes them for the due discharge of the relative duties of life; it were much to be wished, that human laws could be so contrived, as to take in a greater compass here, if that could be done without any public inconvenience. For the wife man's observation is founded in the nature of the thing, as well as in the decree of almighty God, that righteousness exalteth a nation, but fin is a reproach to any people, Prov. xiv. 34. As the virtue of a nation increaseth or diminisheth, so does its strength at home, and credit abroad.

And further :- as they who fear and honour God most, are likely to make good subjects, and do discharge their duty best, while they do it, not only for wrath, but for confcience fale, Rom. xiii. 5 So most certainly, upon this account also, it is incumbent upon the civil magistrate, and one great end of his office, to maintain and support the fear and honour of God, by pun fling those who do evil, and praising them that do well, 1 Pet. ii. 14.

But then it is plain, that these considerations are of a pol tical, and not merely of a religious pature: for the hn:ur of God, confidered abstractedly from the good of civil fociety, and as it concerns himself only, cannot be thus promoted; and is, what he has infinite ways of maintaining and taking care cf. without being beholden to the fecular arm.

To conclude: fince religion and civil government are, in their original, end, bufinefs, and in every thing elfe belonging to them, thus perfectly diffinct, and entirely different from each other; it would put an end to many controversies, and make very much for the peace and quiet both of church and state, if men weull observe this distinction, and each party would keep within their respective bounds.

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This would hinder them from clashing and interfering with one another, and would prevent those heats and animosities, those acts of violence and sapine, cruelty and oppression, that have abounded in the christian world upon account of religion,

Let the ministers of the gospel keep, or be kept, to their duty. Let them preach the gospel of peace, and not found the trumpet of war. Let them mind their own business, which is the falvation of men's fouls, by teaching and persuading them, both by their doctrine and example, both publicly and privately, to deny ungodliness and worldly lusts, and to live righteovsty, soberly, and godly in this present world: and let them not stretch themselves beyond their line, by meddling with the affairs of state, and making themselves more ministers of the government, than ministers of the gospel of Christ.

And let the magistrate too confine himself to his own proper business, and attend to the worldly welfare of the commonwealth, and instead of exercising his power in binding other men's consciences by human laws, let him take care to conform his own conscience to the laws of God, and direct all his counsels and endeavours to promote universally the civil welfare

welfare of all his subjects. * And let him not think that he bears the fword in vainunless he employs it in the cause of God and religion. It was not put into his hands for this use, nor can it be applied to this purpole with any good effect. It was given him for quite other ends, and he will find work enough for it is deciding civil controversies, without meddling with those of a religious nature; + in executing judgment and justice letween one man and another; in breaking the jaws of the wicked, and plucking the spoil out of his teeth; in checking and controlling the arrogant and ungovernable, in preventing or punishing all fraud and injustice, violence and oppression, and in suppressing faction and tumult, fedition and rebellion. I fay, these and fuch like particulars will afford the magistrate sufficient exercise for his sword, without turning the edge of it against falle dostrine, berefy, and schism.

And if civil magistrates, and ministers of the gospel, would thus contain themselves within their own bounds, there would be the most exact harmony and agreement between them; and we might hope to see the prophet's prediction sulfilled, concerning the happy state of

^{*} Letter concerning toler ation, toward the end.

[†] Job xxix. 17.

the church or kingdom of Christ; * when the wolf shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid; and the calf, and the young lion, and the fatling together, and a little child shall lead them. When the cow and the bear shall feed, their young ones shall lie down together; and the lion shall eat straw like the ox. When the sucking child shall play on the hole of the asp, and the waned child shall put his hand on the cockatrice den. When they shall not burt nor destroy in all God's boly mountain. † Then would mercy and truth meet together, righteousness and peace would kiss each other. Which God of his infinite mercy grant, &c.

* I'a. xi. 6, 7, 8, 9. + Pfal. lxxxv. 10.

ENQUIRY

INTO THE

CONSEQUENCES

OF

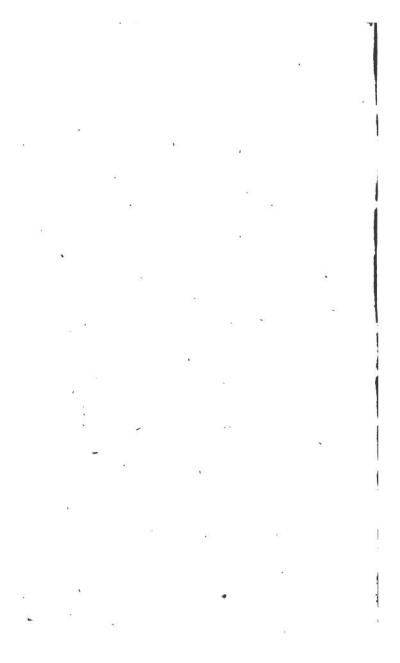
Supposing that BAPTISM makes INFANTS, dying in Infancy, Inheritors of the Kingdom of Heaven, or is of any Advantage to them in the World to come.

WHEREIN

Is clearly demonstrated, that such a Doctrine did not, nor ever can, proceed from a Merciful and All-wise Being; and therefore not from God, Go.

By a Member of the Church of CHRIST.

The foul that finneth it shall die; the son shall not bear the iniquity of the father, neither shall the father bear the iniquity of the son, Isa. xviii. 20.



TOTHE

READER.

IT is the custom of most persons, when they profess to prove the principles or practice of others erroneous, to use more words in exclaiming against them, than would express the whole of what they bave advanced, which might be called reason or - argument: but as I have always judged it better for fuch perfons to learn bow their own paffions may be governed, than to attempt the correction of others mistakes, while they write with a temper quite reverse to the charity and meckness of a true follower of Christ; I have therefore, in the following enquiry, used no more, nor no other words, than what were necessary to give the reader a clear view of the arguments there used, and the matter enquired after ; my d fign being to lead others into a true notion of their own opinions, and thereby, in a friendly manner, to convince them of their mistakes, and not to cast any uncharitable reflections upon them; and to this end, I defire every one to read the following lines with fincerity and calmness of spirit, to consider that God views their hearts, and discerns their secret thoughts; and that M 4 be

he will punish them in a future state, who are careless of truth, or all not according to the persuction of their own minds, but are biaffed with fashionable opinions, and aim more at wealth and grandeur, than at truth and the real knowledge of the dostrine of Jesus Christ; and when they have thus read it, to let their own conscience be judge, wether my arguments are too weak, or whether they have not fifficient strength to prove what I advance, and to demonstrate my affertions. For t'o' no: bing can feem more c'ear to my understandirg than the truth of the following conclusions, yet I would have no man believe them without examination, or be convinced of their truth, otherwise than by reason or scripture. Far be it from me, eren to wish any one to turn unto mine opinion, from any other motives but only as scripture and reasen move him.

The reader is desired to take metice, that this erquiry was written originally in a trivate letter to a member of the church of England, and is now published with some additions, for the perusal of persons in general.

AN

ENQUIRY.

S. I am perfuaded your delign toward' me was good, when you began verbally to attack me for differing from you in opinion concerning the baptizing of infants, I think myself under an obligation to have the same good will toward you; and as mine own opinion could never appear more unreasonable in your judgment, than yours does in mine, I think it is my duty to be free with you likewise, and to give you my thoughts concerning your opinion: whereby you may perceive, that infant baptism hath not so good a foundation as you imagined, before you knew the arguments that may be brought against it.

By what conversation we have already had upon this point, I am persuaded you find that I have many more and much stronger arguments to urge against the practice of pædobaptism, than ever you expected; and I make no doubt but when you read the following arguments (if you are calm and rightly under-M 5

stand them) you will perceive yourself mistaken, and confess that the practice of infant baptism is contrary to the very first principles of things, as well as not taught by Christ or his apostles, in any plain passage of scripture.

But as I delight not in many words, I shall now proceed; and to prevent any mifunderstanding, shall begin with the following definitions.

DEFINITION I.

That being whom we call God, is of himfelf perfect, and could not be made better by any alteration.

DEFINIT. II.

Cruelty is either the afflicting of an innocent person, or the punishing of an offender with more pain than his crimes deserve, without designing either of them a reward for the same. But,

DEFINIT. III.

Mercy is the omitting to punish a guilty person according to the full desert of his crimes. And,

DEPINIT. IV.

Justice is the rendering to a person whatsoever is his proper due. But;

DR-

DEFINIT. V.

Injuffice is the withholding some good from a person, which he has a right to enjoy; or the causing of him to feel some pain, which was not due unto him.

But these definitions being sufficient (I think) in the present enquiry, and because I would express every thing in an short and clear a manner as possible. I will now lay down some plain propositions.

PROPOSITION I.

God is supreme over all beings, and governs them according to his own will; agreeable to the words of Isaiah, personating God, I have made the earth, and _____ stretched one the heavens, and all their best have I commanded. ____ For I am God, and there is none else. Isa. xlv. 12, 22.

PROP. H.

God is merciful, and not cruel to those whom he thus governs: or, as David expresent it, the Lord is good to all; and his tender mercies are over all his works. Pia. cxlv. 9.

M 6

PROP. III.

He is also a God of truth, and doth not deceive his creatures: Deut. xxxii. 4. Hath he said, and shall he not do it? Or bath he spoken, and shall he not make it good? For God is not a man that he should lye. Numb. xxiii. 19.

PROP. IV.

He is likewise just and righteous, and no injustice is to be found in him: For all his ways are judgment, a God without iniquity, just and right is he. Deut. xxxii. 4.

PROP. V.

He is the fountain of wisdom and know-ledge, and nothing is, or can be hid from him:

O the depth of the riches, both of the wisdom and knowledge of God! How unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways past finding out!

For of him — are all things; to whom he g'ory for ever. Amen. Rom. xi. 33, 36.

PROP. VI.

The things which are contained in those books called by us the scripture, proceeded originally from God, and contain so many undoubted truths; as saith the apostle, God who —— spake in time post by the prophets, hath in these last days speken unto us by his son. Heb. i. 1, 2.

The affertions contained in the preceding propositions, being such as are believed by almost every protestant christian, I think it is needless to use any arguments to prove them; and therefore I proceed.

PROP. VII.

Whatsoever appears clearly unto us, by plain reason, as truth, is certainly so. The truth of this proposition I am persuaded you will not call in question; because thereby you would also question the truth of the holy scriptures: for we have no other way to prove the truth of them but by reason; and therefore, if reason cannot be depended upon, we cannot depend upon the scripture.

And that we are capable of discovering truth by reason, is plain from Christ's own words;

And why even of yourselves judge ye not what is right. Luke xii. 57.

From these two last propositions it necessarily follows,

First, That the true meaning of any part of the scripture, is not, nor can be, contrary to any proposition which may be proved by plain and clear reason. And,

Secondly,

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Secondly, That all interpretations of scripture, which have been or may be made by men, and which are contrary to reason, are false.

PROP. VIII.

All consequences necessarily slowing, or which are truly drawn, from any true proposition, are true. And,

PROP. IX.

All fuch consequences as do necessarily follow upon the allowing any false proposition to be true, are false.

From hence it necessarily follows,

First, That if any consequence truly drawn be itself true, that proposition from whence it was drawn, is also true. And,

Secondly, That if any consequences necesfarily stowing from any proposition be false, that proposition from whence it proceeded is also false.

It is needless (I think) to use any arguments in proof of the two last propositions, or of what I have inferred from them; it being clear to the meanest capacity, that knows what

what reason is, that is these affertions were false, there could be no such thing so reasoning. I therefore proceed.

PROP. X.

An all-wise and merciful being cannot act, or order any matter in an unwise or cruel manner; for thereby such a being would itself become unwise or cruel: and therefore as it is morally impossible for God, who is of himself omniscient and merciful, to change his nature, and become unwise and cruel; it therefore follows, that it is morally impossible for God to act or order say matter in an unwise or cruel manner.

PROP. XI.

The actions of parents cannot make their infants any more out of favour with God than before, or procure to them any torment in the world to come. For it is evident, that infants are no ways concerned in their parents actions; they can neither affift or prevent them: and as they are no ways concerned in the operation of such actions, they cannot in any respect become guilty by them; for to say, that they become guilty by them, is the same as to say, that some infants are guilty of very wicked ace, tions, which they were never able to commit; than which nothing can be more absurd. But,

if parents commit the vileft and worst of actions, yet as their infants are not therein concerned, they are innocent (for it is felf-evident, that all persons are innocent of all actions in which they have no ways been concerned;) and to fay that God doth cast infants out of his favour, or will torment them in the world to come, because of their parents actions, is the fame as to fay, that God doth cast persons, while they remain innocent, out of his favour, or that he will punish them in the world to come: which would make God act, either unjustly, cruelly, or without true wisdom. will God cast infants out of his favour through their parents actions? God forbid; yea, let God be true, but every man a lyar.

But having laid down these (which I judge are undeniable) propositions, I shall proceed to the following

ENQUIRY.

Whether it is possible for infants by baptism to be made inheritors of the kingdom of heaven?

And first I shall suppose it possible, and obferve what consequences will arise from such a supposition.

CONSEQUENCE I.

If infants are by baptism made inheritors (or have thereby a right given them to an inheritance) in the kingdom of heaven, then it follows, that before baptism they had no such right, neither were inheritors of that kingdom. This is plain and perspicuous at first view, and also that

CONSEQ. II.

God has then given men power to make infants inheritors of the kingdom of heaven. And that

CONSEQ III.

Those many infants which die unbaptized, die without having a right to inherit in the kingdom of heaven; and that only because men are ignorant and careless, and do not baptize them.

CONSEQ. IV.

It also follows, that all men have power to prevent all infants dying in infancy, from a proper right to heaven. And,

CONSEQ. V.

That those persons who are so wicked as to kill unbaptized infants, do thereby not only pre-

prevent their living in this world, but do also hinder them from having a right to an inheritance in the kingdom of heaven, and as it were, kill them in the world to come.

CONSEQ. VI.

And if the preceding supposition be true, it is true also, that though a man who is appointed to baptize infants, be never so wicked, and guilty of the most enormous crimes, yet, if he be able to administer baptism to them, he can give them a true and proper title to an inheritance in the kingdom of heaven, though he himself has right to no such inheritance, but perhaps entirely out of the favour of God. But,

CONSEQ. VII.

Yet the death of Christ, and whatsoever he has done for mankind, is not sufficient to give so much as one infant a proper title to an inheritance in the kingdom of heaven, without some help from men.

CONSEQ. VIII.

I may also add, that according to this supposition, God hath lest infants in a very dubious and uncertain condition, to be prevented from, or have permittance to go into, the kingdom dom of heaven, according to the fickle humour of frail and oft uncareful men.

Thus you fee, what unreasonable affertions you are obliged to believe, fo long as you entertain the doctrine of infant baptism, and are persuaded, that infants by it have right given them to inherit the kingdom of heaven. You must believe and confess, that God has left fuch infants, as are to die before they arrive at the knowledge of good and evil, in a very ambiguous state, and has given men great power. over them, either to prevent them from inherriting in the kingdom of heaven, or of giving them a proper title to fuch an inheritance: that the death of Christ is an imperfect facrifice, and cannot give fo much as one fuch infant a right to an heavenly inheritance, without fome help from men : that fuch infants as have right to inherit in heaven, obtained it, however, partly by the actions of men, whatfoever good the death of Christ might do them: that some men, who have no right to inherit heaven themselves, can yet give such infants a true and proper right thereto: that many infants, some through their parents ignorance, and fome through their negligence, cannot inherit heaven, though they are the creatures of God, and are as impocent, and as waluable of themselves, as any of whose infants

are that will inherit therein: and that men have not only power to kill unbaptized infants here on earth, but thereby to prevent them also from having hereaster a proper right or title to inherit in the kingdom of heaven.

How frightful foever these things may appear, when viewed in a clear light by an unbiaffed mind, it is plain and evident, that they are no more than necessary consequences, which do clearly flow from the preceding supposition; and therefore if you believe the suppofition, you cannot deny the confequences: for if you disown so much as one consequence. you deny the supposition, and all the other consequences: for by the foregoing eighth and ninth propositions, and from what is there observed from them, it appears, that the supposition and its consequences, are either all true or all false; and therefore, if you give up one, you give up all: and that they are not all true, I think plainly appears by comparing them with the propositions before laid down.

For, if infants are by baptifm intitled to an inheritance in the kingdom of heaven, it will follow from our own experience, if we observe how many infants die unbaptized, as well as from what I have observed before, that infants are lest in a very ambiguous state, and their title-

mitle to heaven left, as it were, in a careless manner by the deity.

Now the giving to, or procuring for, the many thousands of infants, which die in infancy, an inheritance in the kingdom of heaven, either is, or is not a matter of great concernment: to fay it is not, is the fame as to fay, that the kingdom of heaven is of fo little value to infants, that it matters but little whether they possess it or no; which I am perfuaded you are far from thinking: and if it is a matter of any great concernment, the merciful and all-wife being has not, nor ever will entail the kingdom of heaven on fuch dying infants only as men have pleafed to baptize. For that is the same in words, as to fay, that God (who is perfect in wisdom) has left a matter of great concernment, no less than the giving or hindering of thousands of thousands of infants, to, or from an inheritance in the kingdom of heaven, into the hands of men who are frail creatures; and many are ignorant of having this power, fome uncareful, and the greatest part wicked, and out of the favour of God. And by the matter being left thus, many thousands of infants will never have a proper right to heaven, not because they are guilty of any evil, but by reafon men are ignorant and careless, and do not con-

convey to them that right: which I think, upon a ferious confideration, differs but little from affirming, that though God is perfect in wisdom, yet sometimes he acts, or orders things unwisely. And as it is impossible for an all-wise being to act or order any thing unwisely, without becoming thereby imperfect and unwise; it therefore follows, by a plain and clear demonstration, that God, who is perfect in wisdom, has not, nor ever will order things in such a manner, that infants dying in infancy, will have, or will not have, a right to inheria in the kingdom of heaven, according as they have, or have not, been baptized by mea.

But if you object, that your opinion is not that infants are made inheritors of the kingdom of heaven by baptism, but that they will have only some privilege or greater degree of happinels in heaven, by virtue of their baptism: and if you affert this to be your opinion. I could draw much the same frightful consequences as the preceding, and bring it to the same absurdity as before.

For if baptized infants have right to more happiness in heaven than unbaptized infants have, then God has given into the hands of men, power to dispose of some part of the happiness of heaven, at least to infants; but it

is clear, and evident to every rational person. that giving men such power is leaving a matter of great importance in an ambiguous, and, as it were, careless manger; and as an allwife being will never leave a matter of any great importance in a carelels ambiguous manner, (for that would be acting or ordering a enatter unwifely;) it therefore follows, that God: who is an all-wife being, will never increase the happiness of infants in heaven. because of baptism, or decrease their happiness therein, for want of it, or any ways vary their eternal happiness through the actions. of men. I might fay more of this opinion, and confute it in other views, but judge it needless.

However, I think it proper to insert one argument more, which sufficiently overthrows either of the preceding opinions concerning infants being benefited in the kingdom of heaven, by baptism; which argument is as follows.

In the great day of judgment, when the allwise and omnipotent God comes to pass sentence upon infants, who went out of this world in their infancy, before they could discern between moral good and evil; I say, when he comes to do this, either, he will distinguish between,

between, and put into different conditions, those which have, and those which have not been baptized, or he will not. If God makes no difference betwixt them, then baptizing of infants will in no way whatfoever increase their happiness in heaven, and therefore it is not proper to baptife them, except the fame was plainly commanded by God: and if God will make a difference at the day of judgment between baptized infants and others, then it clearly follows, that God will pass different judgments upon creatures equally innocent, and that from other motives than their unequally fuffering in this life, which is abfurd to think, and daring to affirm. And what can deprive God of wisdom, more than afferting, that when he will judge the world, the neglect of men toward infants, who died in infancy, will be a prevailing motive with him to determine the eternal condition of such infants, and set bounds to his own attribute of mercy, and the meritorious sufferings of Jesus Christ? And yet this is what they do necessarily affirm, who affert, that infants dying without baptism, will on that account, be deprived (in the life to come) of even the least benefit whatsoever.

I do not in this enquiry pretend to limit the power of God, but all that I affirm, in short, is this, that God is a wise, just and merciful being

being; and as the doctrine which teacheth that the eternal happiness of infants dying in infancy hath any dependance upon their being baptized before death, is inconfistent with the foresaid attributes of God, that therefore God never did, nor ever will teach men such a doctrine: and in affirming of this, I affirm no more, than that God never acts, or orders any thing in a manner contrary to his own nature, or inconsistent with what is truly perfection. But before I conclude, I think it proper to take notice of that which some learned men have thought an argument sufficient of itself, to prove the lawfulness of infant-baptism, which argument they draw from the innocency of infants, and from the words of Christ which he spake concerning infants, related by St. Mark in the 14th and 15th verses of his 10th chapter. They fay, if infants are fit to be admitted into the kingdom of Christ in heaven. they are certainly qualified to be received as members of his church on earth. But I take this to be a very wrong way of arguing, and am perfuaded you will think fo too, when you have considered the following arguments. For,

First, such infants as are permitted to go into the kingdom of Christ in heaven, will enjoy the blessings which are therein enjoyed, which I think no christian will deny (for, if VOL. I. N when

when infants are in heaven, they do not enjoy the bleffings thereof, what good will being there do them?) then according to the foresaid way of arguing, such infants as are capable of eating and drinking, ought to partake of the Lord's supper; for I might say, if infants are fit to partake of, and enjoy the bleffings of the kingdom of Christ in heaven, they are certainly qualified to partake of, and enjoy whatsoever they are capable of enjoying in the church of Christ on earth, and therefore of being partakers at the Lord's supper.

From hence it appears, that this argument is of as much force to prove infants qualified for the Lord's supper, as for baptism; and therefore according to this way of guing, if infants ought to be admitted to baptism, they ought also to be admitted to the Lord's supper. And,

Secondly, I would have you judge, whether, it is not more reasonable to say, that because infants are already fit to be admitted into the kingdom of Christ in heaven, that there is, therefore, no manner of occasion to baptize them; than to say, that because infants are sit to be admitted into the kingdom of Christ heaven, that therefore they ought to be

baptized in fo folemn a manner, as the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, when it is not commanded, neither can it be of any advantage to them. But,

Thirdly, to argue for the baptizing of infants from their being fit to enter into the kingdom of Christ in heaven, is not an argument to prove that baptism ought to be administred to infants, but only an excuse for such a practice : for I think none will be so unreasonable as to pretend, that because infants are fit to be admitted into the kingdom of Christ in heaven, that therefore they ought, but only that they may be baptized. And here I might observe, that if those who baptize infants, excuse themfelves by faying, that it is lawful to baptize and admit them into the church, because they are fit to be admitted into the kingdom of Christ in heaven, may not they who are against the baptizing of infants, fay (and that with as much reason too) since infants are already sit to be admitted into the kingdom of Christ in heaven, baptism is unprofitable for them, and therefore we judge it proper to defer it until we know it may be profitable unto them? But further for every one to take upon him to prove . that infants may be baptized, and at the same time not to prove that they ought, is to take upon him an useless task: for as baptism is performed N 2

formed as an ordinance of Christ, and in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, it cannot be a matter of such indifferency, as that infants may or may not be baptized; but I think it is very obvious that they ought not, without it can be proved that Christ commanded, or that his apostles practised it. But,

Fourthly, If you observe the reasons given by the church of England in the book of common prayer, for the admitting infants to baptism, you will easily perceive, that those who plead for the baptizing of infants, because they are fit to be admitted into the kingdom of Christ in heaven, do strictly oppose the church of England, and argue in a manner inconsistent with her arguing, and in a way which (if it really proved that infants ought to be baptized) would entirely destroy the reasons given by the church of England, for her baptizing of them. I might add more concerning this argument (or rather excuse) but judge what I have already written sufficient, and therefore I shall now proceed to the

CONCLUSION.

I now intreat you, as a friend, to weigh impartially the preceding arguments, and if you do, I am persuaded, you will confess, that infant-baptism is not so reasonable as you formerly.

fup-

supposed, if you do not entirely change your opinion, and for the future oppose such a practice. You know I can have no advantage in writing on this matter to you, but only your good, but only a defire to convince you of error: for fo long as I have liberty to worship God according to mine own conscience, it is much the same to me, whether others agree with, or differ from me in opinion or practice. But as I think myself greatly obliged to any person who endeavours to convey truth to my understanding, so I think it is my duty to be as serviceable as time and opportunity permit, in conveying truth to others. But to be short, I have clearly demonstrated in the preceding enquiry, that those who teach, that infants by virtue of their baptism, will enjoy any more happiness in the kingdom of heaven, than unbaptized infants; or that unbaptized infants, merely because they are unbaptized, will be deprived of the least degree of happiness in heaven: I say, I have proved to a demonstration, that this is a doctrine irreconcilable with perfect wildom and goodness, and therefore contrary to the very attributes of God; and therefore God never did, nor ever will teach men fuch a doctrine. Which in mine opinion entirely everthrows the practice of infant baptism: for this proves that it will be of no benefit in the world to come, and we all know, that in this world it is no advantage to them; and there-N 3

therefore it follows, that baptizing of infants doth them no manner of good whatfoever: and why then should men baptize them, especially since no man could ever yet prove that Christ commanded, or that his apostles practised it?

I would here ask those what they mean who call the baptizing of infants a charitable work, and speak against us as uncharitable, because we do not baptize them; and I would have such consider, which is of the most commendable opinion, they who believe baptism necessary to make innocent infants happy; they who believe unbaptifed infants excluded from the merits of Jesus Christ, and thereby, as it were, confine the mercy of God toward infants to the actions of men : or we who believe, that as infants are all equally innocent, they are therefore all equally valuable in the fight of God: or we who believe that the merits of the death of Jesus Christ, are not extended towards infants by the actions of men, but by the mercy of God, whose mercy is as extensive toward all the offspring of Adam as is confishent with juflice. I have also by several arguments overthrown the reason, or rather the excuse which fome make for the baptizing of infants, drawn from their innocency, and from their being pronounced by Christ inheritors of the kingdom of heaven; and have observed that according to thefe

these mens own argument, baptism is of no benefit to infants, and therefore (as it is performed in the name of God and Jesus Christ) it ought not to be practised without a command from God the father, or his son Jesus Christ. Besides, what excuse can they make, who perform a thing in the name of God, and as if it were commanded by him, when he hath not commanded it? Will it not be said unto them, who bath required this at your hand? Moreover, it may deprive many of the benefit designed by God, to man, in the ordinance of baptism.

From, &c.

NOTE.

In the preceding lines, it is always taken for granted, that every thing concerning this world, will be fo regulated in the life to come, as not to require any further regulation.

A

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LETTER

O F

Confolation and Council

To the Good People of

ENGLAND,

Especially of

London and Westminster,

Occasioned by the late-

EARTHQUAKES.

By a LAYMAN:

i. e. Mr. GORDON.

First printed in the Year 1750.

e e * A

LETTER.

Friends and Neighbours,

FTER two late convultions of the earth, or the air, or of both, and after a third alarm from a late folemn address, perhaps spreading more terror than either, give me leave to offer you some comforting considerations.

One earthquake is not always followed by another, nor a fecond by a third, nor a third by one still more terrible; neither do their havoc in one country imply the same in any other country. Where one of them has swallowed a city, or pushed the sea over the continent, how many have been remembred only by being selt? Nobody is frighted at the sight much less at the sound of a shower; yet inundations caused by rains have ruined countries and communities, lest more extensive desolation, and produced more frequent calamities, than earthquakes, at least here in Britain, and all over Europe.

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Earth-

Earthquakes too are produced from natural causes; fire and sloods in the cavities of the earth, violent explosions or rarefactions there, such as no weight or bulk can resist, not a shell or globe of iron a thousand miles thick; and as the smallest spark will blow up a thousand powder mills, a small ferment in the earth, even in the center of the earth, will shake it to the surface.

We are not to feek for, or to suppose supernatural causes, where natural ones are obvious and certain: the latter will satisfy every reasonable mind, and supernatural causes are only sought and urged by visionaries, dealers in judgments, and by sharpers in theology, such as pretend to foretell wrath to come, and to avert it; nay, some of them have threatened to bring it.

These men of prophecy and foresight account for all awful and striking events, by intelligence from heaven, and are, or seem, consident, that the almighty will do whatever they think he ought to do, reserving to themselves a right to prevail with him to change, or suspend his measures; as if they could repeal his decrees, even such terrible decrees as they had foretold he would terribly

and ORTHODOXY Shaken.

ribly execute, but for their interposition and charms.

They therefore hate, and pretend to defpile, the tracing of any tremendous appearances from nature and reason; a course that would spoil their warnings and importance. No wonder that they treat the most learned and able inquirers into the powers of nature, as little philosophers; as men who would usterly spoil and disgrace the theory of judgments, and sink the solemn character of judgment-mongers.

These last have this advantage, that the judgments which they threaten, are not obliged to fall, nor even their most flattering prophecies to be accomplished; for if the people who are threatened, escape, their escape is derived from the warnings and prayers of their monitor, and from his credit and intercession above; and if their hopes from any of his kind predictions fail, the people have not repented enough, or sinned too much.

Many a noted prophet, chimerical and pofitive, and almost all pious impossors, have persevered in foretelling and mistaking all their lives, yet still passed for authentic prophets:

fo safe it is to foretell what will never happen,

happen, provided the foreteller be clothed with proper folemnity and colours.

If there were no philosophers, great or little, then might grave augurs monopolize all interpretation, and derive every earthly, every moral event, from revelation (a rare acquifition!) nor would they then be obliged, nor indeed concerned, to offer facts or reasons, or circumstances, to prove the truth of their predictions, but would justify their omission, by charging infidelity upon all who blamed them for it, exposing them to the wrath of Men, by representing them to be under that of God.

Here is a warrant for power and controul without bounds or end. Whoever has the art or luck to gain the reputation of explaining judgments, or of applying judgments, may create judgments, and is thenceforth able to subdue and govern mankind without a sword, and to convince them without an argument. Whence comes the force of false miracles, but that they are afferted by men whom we believe, and are therefore received because they are afferted? What false miracle would stand a moment's examination? None would.

The fame is true of false judgments, as all are but such as God himself declares to be true. And it is agreeable to his divine nature to declare them as often as he sends them. But who dare to examine, or even to doubt, after they are frighted or bewitched? Who would lose the merit of faith and devout submission, when faith is a divine gift, submission a divine duty; and when reason is no more than the common lot of human nature?

Judgments and miracles are the daily topics of the jesuits, and other popish emissaries, to cheat the Indians into popery; fome of their great engines of conversion, are eclipses and comets, with whatever can frighten ignorance. and terrify dupes. Whoever can read, must have found what dreadful alarms have been raised in armies and communities by eclipses, and how improved by artful men, amongst weak and credulous men; nay, what dreadful doings have followed dreams, mistaken for vi-Gons and inspiration? Even astrologers have caused the death of princes, by pretending to foretel it. For then the prophecy warranted a conspiracy, and prompted the conspirators. He, therefore, who could hire a mercenary astrologer to predict the murder or deposition

280 The Pillars of PRIESTCRAFT of an emperor, had thence a call to commit it, and a chance to succeed him.

Besides, credulity, and even peevishness, are as quick in foresceing judgments. as anger, or ambition is in applying them. Such tempers with for judgments, and are always extremely clear-sighted to perceive them.

A clown threatened a gentleman with a fevere judgment for ordering a poaching dog to be shot, then set fire to his stable, and when it was burnt, declared that he had foreseen it. He was tried and condemned for the sact, but perceived another judgment overtaking the judge, who past sentence upon him: as the judge died of a sever before the sentence was executed, the incendiary comforted himself, "That he had again proved a true pro4 phet, and that providence had visited his "enemies."

To raise frightful apprehensions from imaginary dangers is at best officious zeal; to dress up natural and fortuitous events in dreadful colours, is worse. It is to be lamented that the meanest instruments, and the weakest impostors can scatter terrors, and alarm nations; old women and astrologers can do it, and do it daily. No man, not the wisest

man, can guess, no modest man will affirm, against whom, or for whom it is, that the powers of nature are at any time particularly displayed; why black clouds frown, and where lightning is to dart destruction; whose grounds a flood is sent to entich, or whose sheep to drown. Such doctrine would discredit the deity, and infer notorious partiality in him, if one city or country were thus destroyed, and another, not better, escaped.

His almighty providence is undoubtedly ever armed with equal power to crush hardened offenders; but not blindly, nor is his thunder launced at random. He not only fees guilt, but more or less guilt, and doubtlefs fpreads the wings of his mercy over innocence, and even the degrees of innocence. To advance the contrary doctrine, feems blafphemous, and is maledictio supremi naminis, a reproach upon divine justice. Let not those, who are not hardened against his mercy, be exposed to his avenging justice. Divine warnings against particular places and particular sins cannot be dumb and unintelligible; cannot be fent by God to men, yet not be understood by men, like a law made not to be understood, therefore impossible to be observed, yet fraught with penalties, and worthy not only of a tyrant, but of the worft, the

282 The Pillars of PRIESTCRAFT the most cruel tyrant. Would it not be blasphemy to father such a diabolical ordinance upon the merciful God?

To fay, that in all nations there are fins enough to merit and invite judgments, would imply, that every day calls for judgments upon every finner; and thus every pot of ale too much, and every idle word, invites an earthquake to fwallow every man who drinks, and every idle woman who talks: a judgment, which would not only imply no equal providence, but no providence at all.

God may fend his judgments; and we ought to believe them to be fent by him, when he declares them so fent. When he does not, it is daring impiety in a human creature (uninspired) so to declare them. Are such blind warnings to be believed, yet cannot be explained, or explained by proofs that rather darken than convince? Who will undertake to unfold the unsearchable purposes of God, or even all the designs and casual operations of nature?

Vulgar and superstitious minds discover judgments in the smallest accident, especially if it be bad; and in the most unmeaning appearances, if they be but striking. A waterman's

waterman's wife in an angry tone, fuch as generally accompanies the denunciation of judgments, " bleffed God for fending a judg-" ment upon Westminster-Bridge, in fink-" ing the pier; declared she had foreseen it, " and owned that she had prayed for it." She did not flay to confider, that the remaining piers were full as guilty, and that, had the whole bridge funk, the calamity would not have been fo foon removed, and therefore more pleafing to her praying spirit. A mafon who heard her, contradicting, and thereby enraging her, the curfed him copiously, " for 46 having a conscience as hard as the flones, " and the tools he worked them with." The man laughed; that laugh incenfed her more; she swore, and threatened him " with the vengeance of heaven for laughing at " judgments," and called him atheist.

Jane Wenham, tried for witchcraft at Hertford (I think in Queen Anne's Reign) was
acquitted. This alarmed the profecutors,
chiefly clergymen, and so incensed them, that
they threatened the country with some remarkable vengeance, particularly the judge
and jury, for not believing the lying marvels and miraculous transformations sworn
against the poor wretch. They published
invectives against judge Powell particularly,
and

284 The Pillars of PRIESTCRAFT and represented him as an atheist, as he was too able a man to be their tool and dotard.

Witches are accounted by the mob, and the leaders of mobs, the instruments of divine wrath, and judgments are derived from nonentities. Old women, poor, and peevish, are always unpopular. A law was made to murder them, and King James the author.

Self-flattery is extreme: the lowest, the meanest, and such who have no one good quality to make them liked, often like themfelves, though they please nobody else; perhaps the more for that very reason: they conclude their merit is too shining not to be envled; and their spite being equal to their other defects, they hate all who do not love, or not enough love them; and being sure that God loves them equally, and equally hates all whom they hate, they are continually and diabolically awarding divine judgments to all around them. Such a devilish spirit may have marked out old women for witches to vulgar and superstitious eyes.

Old women, scolds, and bigots of both sexes, have been always forward to see and insict judgments. Their language is, like their spirit, peevish and positive. Their wish that

that God may reward you, is a prayer to God to curse you. Yet the lowest of these wretches, so blind and rancorous, are just as sit as the learned and dignissed, to ascertain what no man can ascertain. Mother Shipton could foretel public calamities, and explain why they were sent, as well as both houses of convocation.

In general distress people are generally humble, and their fears furnish them with caution to fly to the safest courses. But when that distress is to befall them, or how, no soul can inform them, unless God first informs them, as he did for as and Abraham. The contrition and humiliation of the Ninevites saved Nineveh, and their escape enraged the prophet, because it contradicted his prediction: his pride touched him more than the escape of many thousands.

The state of Sodom was singular, as their pollution was shocking. Yet no man fore-faw any judgment approaching till God declared it in person to Abraham, who even them persuaded God to spare it, if there were ten righteous persons found in it. But it was consigned to slames, being not blessed with

286 The Pillars of PRIESTCRAFT that scanty number; it was consumed by fire from heaven purposely sent.

But there is no arguing from the calamity and overthrow of one city, that the like, or any will befall another: though ill deserving, it may not perhaps be equally ill deserving. All nations are not alike; all people of the same nation are not alike; and, as I have before observed, the creator, preserver, and judge of men will not equally punish pious and impious men, punish a whole city, because some, perhaps many, in it deserve to be punished. Thank God, the universal guilt of Sodom, is not the univerfal guilt of London. What inference alarming London, can be drawn from the fate of Sodom. or to Englishmen from that of the Fews, ever prone to apostacy and idolatry; a spirit not feen here?

I have the comfort of being perfuaded, that there are more than ten times ten righteous persons in *London*, even among the laity; besides several hundred clergymen: are not clergymen righteous persons, and is not *London* safe?

I remember, during the late rebellion, when a fermon was preached and published by an eminent eminent prelate*, full of warning to this nation, from the judgments which once befell Judea; a learned divine †, in another fermon, removed our terrors, by shewing to us, that as there was no analogy between our case and theirs, we might reasonably hope to escape their punishment. He likewise shewed, how groundless, how iniquitous, yet how usual it was to draw such contrary unresembling parallels.

Whatever vicious habits, however various fins may abound, numbers are innocent. There are ladies who do not intrigue, nor game; there are men who do not fwear, nor riot. God's mercy is equal to his difcernment. His wrath is not blind, like that of foolish passionate men. When he intends a general visitation, his goodness will give warnings that are distinct and intelligible, and not puzzle us with cracking in the air, or the nodding of houses. If a volley of thunder maim a church, and spare the parish (as I have known it happen) is it to be construed a divine rebuke to the parson, as a worse man than his parishioners? Or if, in the late concussions, any of the churches in Lon-

Dr. Sherlock, then bishop of Sulisbury, late of London.

⁺ Mr. Warburton.

don should be hurt, and the playhouses escape, would it imply any fanctity in a theatre superior to that of a cathedral?

Rome, the center of the catholic religion. is perhaps the most debauched, the most polluted city in Europe, and the religious men the most vicious men in Rome: I would humbly ask any casuist in judgments, who obferves, "that a city without religion, can " never be a safe place to dwell in," whether the Romifo fystem of impostures be religion? I could ask another question, whether the bible be not a sufficient system? Is Rome a fafe city to dwell in, where all iniquity, all impurity prevails, and where no bible is permitted? It is my own firm opinion, that true religion cannot prevail, nay can hardly fubfift, in a city where all religions are not tolerated, and none punished. Laws against conscience make men criminals, when the men obnoxious to them do not observe them, and often make them hypocrites, when they do. In matters of mere conscience men should be subject to no fear, but to the fear of the Lord.

Moral actions are proofs of religion; morality is religion, and every man truly religious will be for tolerating every religion; and, whatever any man thinks religion, in religion to that man, whatever grimaces and fanaticism may attend it. London and Amfordam abound in religion, because they tolerate all religions. Let us bles God, that London is a safe place to dwell in.

Rome too is subject to earthquakes. Have these earthquakes only, or chiefly afflicted the monks and priefts, men who are principally immersed in the sim of Sodom, and other iniquities as shocking to religion, as that is to nature, immerfed in continual frauds, superstition, and idolatry, preaching the same, practifing the fame, crushing and burning all gainfavers; yet fuch bold hypocrites, that, engroffing the trade of false prophecy and imposture, they are the most early to foresee judgments, and the most zealous to apply them; never to themselves, but to their enemies; chiefly to protestants, men of reason and inquiry, who are for rescuing truth from imposture, the word of God from the frauds of monks, defending conscience from constraint, and the children of the gospel from the fires of the inquisition.

The everlasting lies and judgments upon Luther and Calvin, and upon all the lights of the reformation, were rung loudly and VOL. I.

incessantly in the ears of Christendom, and are still rung, and believed by all blind catholics; and such as are not blind catholics are not good catholics. I should not wonder to hear that the same inventors of calumnies and judgments had sent one against Cambridge, for Dr. Middleton's unanswerable writings against popery.

I have often thought that the common preachers and discoverers of judgments were of all men the most obvious marks for judgments. Who could be more so than those English doctors, who had long persecuted protestant dissenters, and flattered lawless power; enemies to conscience and law, confequently to fociety and their country before the revolution, and to legal government after the revolution? Did not the famous Oxford decree, in the reign of King Charles II. feem to be a call for divine vengeance, as it was a doom pronounced by that university against the constitution, surrendering, or rather fentencing law to will? That no judgment befell a college there fince, for the fin of Sodom, was less to be admired, as the same was personal and limited. The earthquake was not felt there.

"The men, who fee but little into natural causes, yet offer to account for the

operation of nature, are furely linke phise losophers?" But able philosophers, indeed any sensible man, may find obvious natural causes for such operations, for thunder and lightening, and inundations; nay for earthquakes. Sir Isaac Newton particularly has done it, and has even taught us how to make an earthquake. He was no li tle phito/opher, nor small divine; he did not pretend to derive crazy warnings from fortuitous fignals, but professed to promote conviction, as he had received it, by reason and figures, and the express word of God. Fortune-tellers and jugglers take another method, and instead of speaking to the reason of people, speak to their credulity and fears.

The northern lights, though always known in Europe, had been so little observed in England, that about thirty years ago, appearing very singular, as they were very remarkable, indeed amazing, the colours so various and glowing, the agitations so violent, and the rays so pointed and rapid, that, without the aid or declaiming cant of dealers in prophetic wonders, the people were greatly alarmed, and some of them possessed with horror: some search public calamities, others rejoiced, as they saw such judgments

declared against the persons, or party obnoxious to them; for so angry and credulous vulgar minds argue: they were sure of approaching changes, national vengeance and a general revolution, from siery dragons, nay armies embattled and encountering in the sky. Some hoped, some dreaded the restoration of popery; and to many, especially in the north, heaven was seen manifesting its wrath for the execution of rebels. I do not remember that any boding sermons, or doleful addresses followed those lights.

Loose books, lewd women, and brothels abound in Christendom much more than in Turkey. Is Christendom less under the protection of providence than Turkey? The christian clergy indulge in wine infinitely more than those of Turkey; are the Mahometan mollahs less obnoxious to divine judgments than our Christian doctors?

Do loofe books fwarm? It is a bad, a common, I doubt inevitable effect, arising from a good cause, public liberty, and the liberty of the press. Take away public liberty, and you check the public progress of books: but with the suppression of the bad, the good will be suppressed. Who can settle the bounds and distinction between

them? The worst are sometimes liked and encouraged; sometimes the best are offensive and decried. Who can fix the standard? None but the Pope, or the great Turk; the only officers sit to abolish the constitution and loose books, the licentiousness of the press with that of the pulpit; though there be some objections to be made to the great Turk, by the advocates for rigid uniformity, since the Grand Seignor allows liberty of conscience.

France abounds with free-thinkers, no kingdom in Europe more, nor so much: Holland, above all countries, abounds with printing-presses, with free-thinking and obnoxious books, which are from thence dispersed all over the world. France and Holland are not alarmed with earthquakes, at least more than we are. Yet Amsterdam far exceeds (or perhaps it will found more archand satirical to say "beats) all the world, beats even London, in the traffick of in-

This word infidelity, which is little understood, is for the most applied angrily, indeed at random, to asperse and reproach allmen who differ from bigots: it is become ascolding term in crast and bigotry, as other

O 3 grofs

gross words are in markets and mobs. No man, who is not an infidel in the fight of God, ought to be treated as one amongst christians, nor is so treated amongst candid, well-bred pagans; yet the best men are often marked and blackened as fuch by craftimen. and pious railers, who having first given them an odious name, boldly deliver them to fome doleful doom here, and then to devils and flames hereafter. There have been few great men, of distinguished talents and ability. but have fallen under the rage of bigots, and the obloquy of craftimen; witness Raleiph. Lo ke, Bayle, Tillotfon, indeed all who laughed at holy donces, and left the beaten track of their important whims and grimaces. The charge of infidelity, were it not fo common, would appear too ridiculous to be believed: and the daily instances of it are too contemptible to be repeated. The vulgar notions of it are agreeable to the priestly notions; fo are the vulgar apprehensions of judgments.

All the public calamities befalling the Roman empire for some ages, hurricanes and earthquakes, invasion, slaughter, pestilence, and war, were derived by the pagan priests and divines from the anger of their Gods against the christians, who disbelieved

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believed the Gods, and contemned the facrifices; a popular charge amongst the pagans, and blindly swallowed by the pagan mob. Orofius wrote a large volume to confute that prevailing calumny, thoroughly refuted that popular sander, and demonstrated, by a copious deduction of facis, that public calamities of all forts had usually and equally, afflicted the Roman state. The christians afterward returned the charge upon the pagans, and perceiving infinite guilt and horror in the supersition of the pagan worship, priests, and idolatry, boldly derived every public miffortune from that fource, and pronounced every public misfortune an evident effect of divine judgment; and every phænomenou, however natural, passed for a warning of terrible events to follow.

This wild spirit was found in christians against christians; and every sect of them saw judgments threatening and overtaking a different sect; and it produced higher barbarities than ever was produced by the superstition of pagans. The pagan priests chiesly atoned their angry deities with the blood of bullocks: christians sacrificed christians in pious sury, invoked wrath divine, and applied it to satiate their own wrath; thus the strenzy of christian zeal proved more sierce

and pestilent, than the stupid superstition of heathens.

The misleaders of christians and of pagans (for the thoughtless many will always be missed by the crafty few) had one eternal advantage and temptation: they were always fure, by any firange tale or any awful found, to make the people stare and tremble, and thence subject to any impressions, especially those of blind reverence, obedience, and liberality to the clergy; no wonder the clergy fattened and multiplied, and took a thousand shapes, hatched a thousand creeds, and had ten thousand disputes. Monks, at first, fingle and folitary, inspired by craziness, encreased by craft, sed by credulity and lying wonders, appeared in holts, covered countries, darkened and fubdued them. at last engroffed them; always raising devils and terrors, always exorcifing them, yet never fuffering them to be laid: fince a final conquest of Satan would have finished the lucrative and important trade. An end of the enemy would have put an end to the army: he was therefore growing every day stronger, tho' they were every day routing him, yet every day magnifying his power, and the dreadful increase of his empire.

Equally

Equally politic was their conduct about judgments. It was they who foretold them. thence they were prophets! an exalted character: it was they only who could deprecateand avert them: this was a miracle, and it was they who worked it. What could be more god-like? Was it any marvel that men. fo divine, controuled all men? and thatholding mankind by the ftrongest ties, their hopes and fears, they governed mankind, and gained the wealth of the world; anothernowerful means of fwaying it? To fecure: their importances, or retrieve their finking credit, they need only raife fome public pan-Bic, or improve it when it was already raised: a blazing star, a hurricane, weather too hoter too moift, markets very low, or very high, were fertile subjects for declamation and denunciation, a manifest warning to reverence : the friars, and a divine rebuke for not doing: it enough. Heaven was in wrath whenever, they were, and there was no way of pacifying heaven, but by pacifying them: then they opened their infuring office, and warranted public fafety and exemption:

I have heard of one of these declaiming.
heralds, who having lost some apples, scolded this parish for six Sundays successively, and in overly.

O 5 every.

every fermon threatened them with fome angry judgment from the Lord, unless they averted it by discovering the prophane robber of his orchard. And if the good man had not been preferred to a richer living, it was thought the same zeal might have animated many more fermons. His eloquence and terrors had already fo prevailed, that many of the good wives were earnest with their husbands to leave that wicked parish, just ready to be swallowed up. He had before given a specimen of his prophetic or denouncing spirit against a young gentlewoman in a neighbouring village, once very comely in her person, but afterward terribly marked with the fmall pox. The good man declared it to be a judgment upon her for her pride. The doctor had courted her in her bloom, and was refused. A reverend doctor in Nottinghamshire, when the distemper amongst the cattle raged most there, and all over the county, yet faw the cows in his parish swept away by a particular judgment. for that the farmers would not pay him more tithes than were due to him, and had cast him. at the affizes. He observed it particularly befalling a farmer who had loft fix cows more than any of the reft; for that he had been the ring leader in the opposition. He forgot to remember

semember that the farmer had more cows than any other parishioner.

The Scatch covenanters, an hundred years ago, were for ever perceiving judgments falling upon the matignants, that is, all who differed from their peevish divinity, and narrow politics. The covenant was the cry, and wherever the covenant did not prevail, the saints saw nothing but irreligion and universal prophaneness. The danger of the church was a cry like it, and followed by all virulence, slander, and a call for divine judgments. Both those cries are now despited, but new ones will every now and then be arising.

Do loose books swarm? So do, or may, books against them. Let books answer books. Is there any other way of answering? The press is open; so is the law which punishes unlawful books. Pains and penalties only would be remedies worse than the discase, and destroy all books at last. The clergy have all encouragement, all advantages; great and exclusive advantages, laws, revenues, and learning; they engross the pulpit, and surgish an army of answerers. It would disgrace them to get all books restrained, and none to be read but their own. Besides, another

law would still be wanting against all places of resort, coffee-houses, the Exchange, the Park, and at last, another against speech and conversation. Enthusiass armed and let loose, and the most raging persecution, even the fires of the empission, which is only a higher degree of persecution, could not effect such a thorough reformation. But popish priests, and those who are like them, find nothing too high or impracticable, to gratify their spirit, whenever their frowardness is piqued; not power without bounds, nor slames and punishment without mercy.

Does it not reflect fome fcandal upon the clergy to complain of infidelity, with fuch infinite fuccours and champions for orthodoxy? If writings be false, truth will confound them: If ablurd, reason will expose them. hate all immoral writings, as I do all falle and immoral fermons. Surely, there have been many fuch; and I have heard of times. when the immorality of the pulpit has been plaring: it has done more harm; it must have done more, than any infidel productions amongst the mistaught vulgar can do. Were Sacheverel's mad mob, or the mad man at the head of the mob, ever suspected of infidelity? No; they were poisoned by mad fermons against peace and dissenters, and lived in the constant practice of drunkennels.

was not infidelity that filled the high-church rabble with gin, and the streets with swearing. Drinking and swearing are not the vices of dissenters; some of them have been discovered and abused for being dissenters, because they refused to drink and swear. Is not this a remark worthy the attention of the bishops and clergy?

Perhaps the greatest good that Laud and his brethren ever did to religion, was, that by their headlong rage against conscience, they multiplied puritans, and by preaching against law, roused patriots to defend law; and thus saved the state, whilst they laboured to destroy it. If these prelates had been insidels, and preached insidelity, they could have made no converts (for the people had an opposite turn) and consequently could have done little hurt; but, as surious zealots and time-servers, they brought upon the nation the heaviest national curses, oppression, misery, and exile, and made war upon civil and religious liberty.

Few men oppose the truths of religion, or opinions really pious; but all men, who esteem truth and sense, will strive to hinder the sale masks and disguises of religion, senseless systems of rituals, and incredible mysteries,

ries, from being imposed for religion. And for such virtuous and laudable endeavours, the best men are branded with insidelity by hypocrites; the eternal principles of truth and liberty, are called atheism, and the maintaining such principles, blasphemy. Instances of this would be endless. The thing is notorious, and ever has been; as it is, that for the highest publick blessing, misrepresented and blackened by bigots and crastismen, the public hath been threatened with divine vengeance, especially for the revolution, and the act of toleration, religion and conscience secured, and the state restored.

There can be no certainty that there is any religion in a country, where none but one is suffered: for all men, and the worst men, may comply with it; but where all religions are tolerated, one of them is likely to be the true one, at least the true one has access there. Conscience and sincerity are the true criteriops and trial of religion. Whoever annoys the priests any where, is sure to be an inside. Enthusiasm and imposture are more pernicious to religion than insidelity, at least the insidelity commonly imputed. He who allows others to think and pray as they list, will hurt no man for his thinking and praying, however different from

the mode: he who would hurt any man for so differing, is a bad member of society, and would distress it if he could.

All that differ from a bigot, even in whims, and grimaces, are obnoxious to his frowns and detraction; nay, often configned to Tophet. He fets up a standard of belief and forms, and whoever do not blindly submit to it, are marked with bad names; that of infides and deists is a current calumny.

We live in an age of light, and confequently of inquiry; an age of liberty, confequently of knowledge. No marvel the age is vilified by narrow and defigning men, railed at for incredulity, and menaced with judgments.

The French clergy, and the deluded bigots their friends and followers, saw divine vengeance just impending over France, for the damning sin of the reformation, and growth of the Hugonots, and ascribed to those causes every public calamity, even the calamities of their own bringing. Every event salutary to the kingdom, passed with these madmen for a curse, and every curse of the pope, inferred the curse of God; and they paid their court to the almighty by sa-crificing

erificing men. For all bigots would be perfectuors, and all perfecutors are champions for human facrifice.

The Hugonots too, thought the crying national fins called for a divine visitation; but it was only for the fins of the French clergy, their worldly pursuits, the turpitude of their lives, and their implacable spirit.

The cities of London and Westminster, doubtless abound in vice, lewdness, licentiousness and luxury; so do other, indeed all, great cities. Wherever there is wealth, it will always be abused, and men will riot when they can, even when they are little able. Continual ill examples, and their own wanton inclinations, will be continually prompting them; and in a free country no restraints will be found sufficient; nor can the most arbitrary government extinguish corrupt mature, without extinguishing society.

Here in *England* we want not restraining laws, sines, and stocks, for drunkards and swearers; pillories, jails, and gibbets, for thest and fraud; as also for unnatural pollution; an enormity shocking to nature, expensive and ruinous, and generally abhorred.

Even

Even without laws, all vices bring cortain retribution, even in this world: distress and poverty follow idleness and extravagance, as infirmities and pain do debauchery. Disgrace attends knavery; every enormity has its checks, and, what ought to be the strongest of all, we have the ties and terrors of religion; we have a numerous clergy, nobly endowed to preach religion, which stourishes most, and perhaps is only safe, where every one enjoys his own.

The teachers too of religion are so many, so endowed, and so protected, that perhaps it becomes them the least of all men, to be inveighing against the morals of the age, as it may probably imply some failure in themselves. Where they are sober, diligent, humble, and disinterested, wedded to souls, and not to the world, siberal, charitable, patient, and meek, they must soon see glorious fruits of so many virtues, and so much labour. A minister who hardly ever sees his slock, is not likely to mend them by railing at them once a week. The influence of his conduct will be stronger than that of his preaching.

The country fellow had greatly the advantage of his parson, who having just preached a Facobite fermon, and feeing the fellow in the church porch, charged him harshly with some breach of promise, "Sir, says " the clown, I have kept my word, as well " as you have kept your oath: did not you " fwear to King George?" A dreadful reproach; the more fo, as the parfon was confrant and loud against the growth of irreligion and impiety, yet had committed the greatest that a man can commit! I hope fuch crying examples are very rare. The time has been when there were many fuch, fince the revolution. What could be more provoking heaven to visit the land with judgments, if heaven poured down its judgments promiscuously?

Were such men sit to combat popery, to recover strayed protestants, or to inveigh against any vice, or sin, when they had committed the highest, the sin of perjury, and lived in the course of that sin?

Can loose books be so crying a crime? We have had many such; many from the hands of clergymen. This was boldly afterted by a reverend doctor in convocation,

even in the good reign of Queen Anne. His words were strong and remarkable: "With "what conscience can we complain of the solicentionsness of the lay-writers, when if all the books against religion and the scriptures, against the laws of the land, and the constitution of the church, were packed together, I would undertake to pick out the worst, by pointing at those writes ten by clergymen, even of the most prossible the solice of the most prossible the solice of the most prossible therefy?"

How glad must we all be to find from a great authority, that though guilt and prodigacy, and bad books prevail amongst us, they are all confined to the laity, and the clergy are clear of all, utterly blameless, and assiduous in their duty?

The books chiefly complained of were mostly imported from abroad, or claudestinely printed at home. So were the pictures; especially from Italy, where lewdness and priestcrast have so long reigned: the clergy there are not so pure and pious as ours are. Here these detestable performances were sold by stealth, and some of the venders taken up and punished. Such books and pictures never sell in my way, though it seems they might,

might, with some pains, have been found. I cannot think any virtuous man would take such pains. I know some magistrates who were inclined to seize and prosecute them, but could not come at them. It is plain some very reverend persons have fully perused them, doubtless to learn how detestable they were.

Brothels are not confined to this country: They are found in all flates, and even tolerated in some of the best, to prevent evils fill greater. Haunts of idleness, and places of pleafure are found in all great cities, and encouraged in all rich cities, vet do not always invite earthquakes. The two late shocks were not more felt at Ranelagh and White's, than in the Abbey. Extravagant gaming deserves to be exposed, but will not, I hope, bring an earthquake upon fuch who do not game extravagantly. The fame may be faid of other diversions. Even the multiplicity of churches and religious houses, have been frequent subjects of complaint and declamation. In truth, feditions fermons to inflame, and false doctrines to mislead the people, and bad examples from holy characters, whereever they happen, are matter of inft forrow and indignation. A declaiming angry pen can never want a theme, even in favour of the the popish lent in a protestant country! Nor can the bishops and clergy always escape the upbraidings of a warm haranguer. How many eloquent investives were made after the revolution by the nonjuring doctors against all the churchmen who took the oaths and kept them? (for all the Jacobites were not nonjurors). The same raging declaimers were daily threatening judgments upon the nation, for the national submission to the government; and the earthquake after the revolution was reckoned a judgment for it. To the conforming clergy, who still remained disaffected, the same angry orators gave great quarter.

The increase of popery is a great and growing evil, to the missortune of protestants, and to the disgrace of papists, who buy converts at so much a head. But this evil doth not lie at the door of the laity only. Much of the remedy depends upon the clergy, their diligence and doctrine. They must drop all the selfish tenets, all the wild claims of popery, whatever is derived from popery, or resembles popery. The contrary conduct hath had a natural effect, kept popery in countenance, and poisoned protestants. Whoever would curb conscience, and denies toleration to conscientious opinious, is a papist; who-

are not all guilty, at least equally guilty; but as crimes are contagious, and as debarchery and riot may have hurtful confequences, even upon such as abhor them, and upon the whole community, it is encumbent upon every man to curb and discourage them.

It is therefore your duty and interest to make the office of the magistrate useless, or less wanted; your vigilance for the public is vigilance for yourselves: and then great officers may be useless without being pernicious; and so may great churchmen be decent and industrious; there are many such amongst you: would to God you were all so! The good are security to the bad, and will find their account in correcting and reclaiming them.

Swearing and imprecations are shocking habits, a disgrace to society, and make men worse than savages: they are proofs of impiety and gross morals (so is drunkenness:) surely they require a speedy cure, and every man is called and interested to work a cure. Let every one mend as many as he can; and in order to it, mend himself first. Without such a disposition, and such zeal, sermons.

mons, invectives, and even laws, will be in-

You of course frequent such preachers as you find most edifying. Shew that you are edified by them in the sobriety and integrity of your lives. A good life is the sure proof of a good man; without it, pious professions, repeated devotions, and all the parade of ordinances, surnish no solid proofs; for the worst men, and great hypocrites, may act the same part, and wearing a religious mask, may pass for religious men.

It is far from being an affront to religion to try it by morality, which is the law of nature; and the law of nature is a perfect law, as many able writers and divines have amply shewn, particularly your present bishop in a sermon preached many years ago, before the society for propagating the gospel in foreign parts: he there avers, and thinks he has proved, that christianity is as old as the creation, and, when it appeared, was no more than a republication of the law of nature.

Agreeably therefore to his lordship's doctrine, whatever is not warranted by reason, ought not to be received as religion. A noble VOL. I. P principle!

principle! which had it been attended to, would have done infinite good to the world, by preventing infinite evil in it, Mahometanism, and all other impostures, enthusiasts, crazy systems, and false zeal for them; that zeal, which is always keenest when blindest, monks, persecution, and spiritual tyranny; all lying prophecy, false alarms, and pious panics from the common works of nature

Upon an earthquake in queen Elizabeth's time, the bishops applying to her, to appoint a general fast, had a negative answer, and her reason for it: she told them, "her people "were frightened enough already."

During an earthquake in Catanea (a city in Sicily, destroyed by it) the inhabitants, crouding first into the street, then into the fields, were persuaded by the priests and friars to return, and repair to the churches, particularly to the great one dedicated to St. Agathe, and to pay their devotion to the reliques of the saint, for deliverance. The poor people did so, and all perished, above eleven thousand, most of them under the ruins of the church. Had they followed their first guides, their eyes and their senses, they might have saved their lives. The monks were then certainly satal acuses, and always are when their guidance is

and Orthodoxy shaken. 315 not warranted by common sense and reason, more especially when it contradicts both.

Let us all live good lives, and then we need not fear death nor earthquakes.

I am,

My good friends and neighbours,

With affectionate zeal,

Your sincere humble servant,

A LAYMAN.

P 2

A



SE ASONABLE

APOLOGY

FOR

*Father FRANCIS

CHAPLAIN to

Prince PRETTYMAN

THE

CATHOLIC,

But now lying in Durance under the Suspicion of secret INIQUITY.

In which are occasionally inserted some weighty arguments for calling a general Council of the Nonjuring Doctors, for the further propagation of Ceremonies, Unity, Dissertion, and Anathemas; and for the better Improvement of Exorcism and March-Beer.

Noctem peccatis, & fraudibus objice Nubem.

Horat. Ep.

First printed in the Year 1723.

- a Francis Atterbury, late bishop of Rochester.
- b The Pretender.

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A SEASONABLE

APOLOGY.

T is not every one that is dubbed a knight, but every man ought to have the spirit of knighthood in him, and valoroufly do all the good he can. In this sense I myself am a considerable hero; my pen is my spear, my inkhorn is my arms, and for my creft, I bear a barning tobacco pipe, with this dreadful motto, - which in a, time of conspiracies is not safe to be uttered. I live in a lonely room, frightful and high, and when there is any fun, I have my full there of it; I wish I could not boast the like civility from the rain. Here I spend my time in the defence of the distressed, and in obstinate fasting. All the unhappy are under my protection, and myself among the rest; invisible to all the world, but a certain hobgoblin, who will be mentioned in the beginning of the next paragraph. I have already half finished my apologetic differtation upon Sally Salifbary, with a manifesto in favour of the Sophy of Persia; as also an elegy upon the defeat and losses, and mournful flight of P 4

the northern hector the enfuing campaign; and moreover, Lord N---'s last dying speech and confession; likewise an amphibious speech for a noble lord and commoner; a speech of two fentences and a half; besides a certain general's lamentation for his difgrace next Michaelmas: to which is added, an appendix upon politics, embroidery, and good eating. There is too this minute upon my table a quire of paper close writ, entitled, A vindication of a great dead minister, from the unjust calumnies of some ill informed Jacobites, as if he had been their enemy. N. B. This vindication is clear and full; as is likewise my letter to Sir John Blunt, proving that himfelf and his brethren of the South-Sea, though reduced by the parliament to great poverty, will fuddenly be full as rich as they were before. But I am particularly fond of my advice to the pretender, recommending to him John Barber and Mrs. Manley for his first ministers, Mr. Alex. Pope for publishing and correcting the memoirs of his reign, and a certain university for a dry nurse for his son. I shall only add here two more performances of mine, viz. a confolatory epiftle to those who have profitable places and small fallaries, with a reproof to fuch as have free quarters upon certain offices; and a word of comfort to the public creditors four years hence.

All

· All these are elaborate pieces, and gasping to fee the light. But Mr. Curl, who let me have half a crown upon my note this morning, besides six pennyworth of paper, insisted upon my dispatching this jobb first, and invited me to dinner. There was no anfwering this argument, and therefore in hopes of a dozen meals, and half a dozen editions, with a joyful heart, and a watering mouth, I fet about my work. Mr. Curl, who is an eminent critic in authors, not to mention hisequal skill in procuring them C--- and a cure for C--- told me, that a haughty author now in town that overlooks his brethren. began his fame with an apology of this kind, an apology which happily degraded him from the fummit of the house to a first floor; a downward preferment, which I must aspire to. and would willingly exchange my long acquaintance with the cold tiles, for the comfortable smell of a warm kitchen.

Pray, says Mr. Curl by way of encouragement to me, did you not know two secretaries once upon a time who became considerable ministers from the pure merit, the one of writing ballads, and the other of singing them?

Sir, you have as keen a genius as either of them, and for your external conduct, it is in P5

your own power to freak as humbly as Joe, and to make mouths as successfully as Jammy, whenever you shall think fit to put forth those laudable and thriving talents.

I knew all this before; but as it is a piece of flattery, it weighed more with me than my own knowledge. For as bishop Beveridge fays, with his usual force, O what a bad thing is flattery! O what a bad thing flattery is! But I doubt he borrowed this from St. Chrysosom's persuasive to humility in the laity, or from the late pious Mr. Nelson's devowt manual against eating breakfasts on Fridays.

I now proceed to offer to my countrymen fome confiderations in behalf of father Francis. And first let it be tenderly considered, that a conspiracy without a bishop in it, would have been a thing incredible. A plot without a zany is a contradiction, and no man who judges by history and experience but would laugh at it. We have heard of miracles done once in seventeen hundred years, and the appearance of a phænix once in six hundred; and both are believed, because they sometimes happen; but the other would be a miracle beyond all belies. That what has never happened.

happened fince the creation, will never happen to the end of it, is according to all a probable opinion, and according to some a certainty. We often find that fatan's work does not thrive half fo fuccessfully as when it is carried on in the name of the lord; nor is that name ever successfully used and abused, but by his fworn and forfworn - Some grave divines and deep casuists maintain, that the father of lies endeavours to ape the father of light in many things, and works by fecond causes; and lo, cry they, the devil has his deputies and ministers too! by which they mean his To prove this hierarchy of fatan's, they affert, that all God's ministers, in every church which differs with theirs, are the devil's ministers; and these ministers say the same of them; and some too (particularly the quakers) are wicked enough to believe both, especially when they see so many scriptureproofs pretended to on each fide for the faid doctrine. Others keep themfelves neuter till they fee the two heritages fairly parted, and therefore go from day to day to their grave, alas! without any extreme unction at all.

But beside all these advantages, which the above reverend caluists compliment fatan with,

P 6 (whether

(whether as a friend or an enemy, I leave himself to judge) and by which they seem to make him more than an equal match for Gc. - They likewise hold, and bring proofs for it; that he has numerous female deputies in every corner of the univerfa: for what are witches but the devil's embaffadresses, the zealous pastoresses, who feed his familiars and his daily negotiatrixes to win people to him, and bring in his harvest? For this end, he has an old withered journey-woman or two in every district, The learned Jane Wenham was one of them : the was tried fome years ago at Hertford, for holding a schismatical conventicle of cats and goffips, who were great heretics, and went a caterwauling from the church. The neighbouring foothfayers were the profecutors; for as the proverb fays, two of a ---can never agree. Let us remark two marvellous things on this head: first, how very cheap fatan maintains this branch of his administration: their only equipage is a broomflick, and their only revenue is now and then a cold treat in the church-yard. Marvellous facrilege, that fatan and his haggard curatesses, should prophane a place dedicated to better purposes! we see they thrive accordingly, and are never the fatter; whereas the rightful owners are in rare case, and as plump as you

you please. Secondly, let us remark the marvellous diligence and fuccess of these lean and unhired doctresses, even according to the testimony of their own casuists, who are daily lamenting, as well as combating the devil's great and growing power; which looks like a confession, that though they themselves have good artillery, and the best cause, yet satan has very formidable forces; perhaps, because they are not over-fed: a remark which furnishes an instructive moral. This puts me in mind of a faying of the famous Daniel Burgefs; Sirs, fays be, what trow you may be the cause of Belzebub's prevailing interest in the world? Why I will tell you: the greatest part of the world maintains an army against bim, of whom he flandeth not in awe. Think ye that he is to be bullied with a Lord rebuke thee, from fuch fellows as they? No no _____it becometh none but a christian to take the old hestor by the beard, and kick bim down stairs.

Behold we here likewise two probable reafons why satan's wizards do not, like our nonjuring sort, intermeddle in plots and conspiracies: First, because the other sort save them the trouble, and appropriate that work particularly to themselves, with unrivalled industry and zeal. Secondly, because these, his shegentry, are eminently modest as to their secular

cular claims, and even filent about them; they do not pretend to the riches and dominion of the globe, nor even to revenues and dignities: nor do they publicly curse and swear at those who resuse to surrender them their wealth and their wives, and to hold their stirrup.

From all this reasoning, I think it is plain that the plot, how fully foever proved, would never have been fatisfactorily proved, had not my client been at the head of it: fome gentry of that faculty in popish countries, have been such regular and constant combiners against the peace of states, that all considerable and extensive treasons have been almost engroffed by them; and lay-traitors only admitted collaterally, and as accessaries: nay. matters of blood and affaffination, the glory of the whole scheme, both in the projection and execution, has been generally theirs; and all this in a succession so uninterrupted, that plotting feems to be of clerical institution, and fecured to them by a right of possession: nor is fuch a claim more wicked and abfurd than fome others of theirs.

In truth, those of them who, either abroad or at home, are acted by this spirit, (how many they are, let others determine) have in effect set up an office for licencing rebellions;

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for what else means their haranguing and inflaming their votaries to be rebels; and then not only absolving them from the crimes of perjury and rebellion, but making those horrible villanies, marks of fanctity and orthodoxy? Is not this a declaration, that virtue and vice derive their existence from the fiat and good pleasure of these gentlemen? Are not all the enemies to the establishment. and all the scorners of oaths, their staunchest friends? And do they not mark as their enemies, all who adhere to it? And is not reverence for an oath, a mark of disaffection to them; and an honest conscience a proof of schism? It is certain, that the christian religion lays indispensible ties upon the minds of believers: now what fort of religion must they have; what fort of believers must they be, who mock and break all the bonds of christianity? They have a religion pro re natâ, an occasional religion, which varies with the weather and their passions; a religion which prompts and warrants all ungodlinefs, and damns all piety and common fense !

Their reasoning is like their religion; the reasoning of an almanack, never two days the same, or steadily wrong. Once it was downight damnation to rebel, nay to resist upon any pretence whatsoever: now it is dampable

not to rebel without any pretence at all. Formerly kings were vice-gods, and to be obeyed and reverenced with submission, and refignation due only to God, and had they honoured their maker but as devoutly as they did some princes, who resembled a very different being, they would have been no fcandal to christianity: but now a days they exceed porters in the brutishness of their language and behaviour toward a prince, whose greatest crime is, that he thinks that his lay fubjects have as good a right as themselves to be used like freemen; and that the unsearchable heart of man is only subject to the cognizance of the infallible tribunal of God, and not to any angry faction of pedants, who would make the authority of God truckle to their paltry ambition, and facrifice reason to delusion, and religion and peace to grimace and fury.

If the liberties of the nation were in danger, as I hope they are not, (from him I am fure they are not) yet still it would be impudence in them to hold up a finger in their defence; they who have eternally been a dead weight upon liberty, and at all times, made formal and professed, and canonical libels against it, concerted registered libels! as to King James, their behaviour to him is no exception;

ception; for meddling with Aaron's bells, they rung him out of the kingdom; fo much more prevailing with them was rage, than the fear of their own anathema and damnation, fo frequently denounced against resistance.

But this, perhaps, is foreign from the talk which I have undertaken, to write an apology for father Francis, and therefore I beg, fecondly, that it may be confidered in his behalf, that there are diffenters in England, a fort of people he could never bear; and fince the king and the two houses, would not in duty destroy them, he conceived a zeal in his foul for destroying those who would not destroy them : D-me, fays the captain of a man of war, if the admiralty will not hang my rogue of a lieutenant, by G-, I will fink the ship. Diffenters were not hanged; and my client found himfelf provoked, that men of fuch plain and clumfy behaviour, who made no fine bows to the east, and approached it in no birthright garments and furtout thirts, were fuffered to eat and drink, and live as well as he who was a great beau in devotion, and the very pink of courtely toward a place which our homilies very uncivilly call superstitious. It was indeed a diverting shew to see with how many pretty airs, crosses, cringes, forms, and coopees, he

afted at the house-warming of a certain new building at Greenwich, and made it thereby holy. Whereas the differences were enemies to the mode, and met in pieces of ground, which, for want of holy water, remained still in a state of paganism.

Thirdly, my client had taken the oaths, and this is no uncommon reason for breaking them. There is a reverend society of men in a neighbouring church, whose authority has never wanted weight with many who pretend to be of ours: they hold the doctrine of probability, that is, that any man may with a safe conscience do what any grave doctor holds to be lawful. Now an eminent high churchman has declared himself very fully in this point; for, says he,

Oaths are but words, and words but wind, Too feeble instruments to bind, _____

And again

He that imposes an oath, makes it, Not he who for convenience takes it. And how then can a man be said To break an oath be never made? Fourthly, my client had got the keys of both worlds at his girdle: and it was firange, if having them both in his power, he could not make bold with a small part of one of them. It would be as if a monarch who had all Europe, could not dispose of Brentford. My greatest wonder is, that my client cannot with this master-key of his, open the sublunary lock that holds him fast in durance, especially when they say, even witches and necromancers can do it.

Fifthly, my client has an indelible character; a character which, his holiness says, will render the priest free, secure, and invulnerable, though the man may be imprisoned and degraded. We must distinguish betwixt plain Francis, and doctor Francis. The former Francis is really a human creature, and fubject to all the infirmities of humanity; but the faid doctor Francis is not of earthly mould, but of a contexture and quality altogether mysterious and incomprehenfible to mortal understanding. therefore carry the same distinction along with us, when we judge of his guilt and punishment. As a Person, no doubt, he may be criminal, but as he is a representative of and all that, it is atheifm to charge him

him with guilt, let him be as black and as guilty as he will. His head may be taken off, but the indelible stain (which stain is invifible) can never be wiped off. But because this doctrine, however orthodox and prevailing, may feem difficult to minds not thus illuminated, I will explain it beyond a possibility of cavilling. Let us suppose, if you please, an indelible clock; that is to say, a clock which cannot be unclocked. You may indeed take away its weights, flop its wheels and its motion, and prevent its going, and make it entirely useless, yet still it is a true clock, though it performs none of the offices of a clock. Here now is a familiar illustration, which puts this matter in a true light, and out of dispute. Thus my client, if he is degraded, may be a very good B-p of the universal church, though he cannot be one in any one part of it. Just as a soldier may be a foldier, though he never go to war, nor does any duty. What can be plainer than this?

Fortified with this indelible character, his aforesaid holiness holds, that any person may forswear, plot, and rebel, and assassinate, and commit whatever sins he will, and yet be quo ad box perfectly sinless; or if a spot now and then slick, he could scour it off in a moment by a certain sovereign wash of absolution.

He may be a traytor without lessening the privileges, and reputation of a faint. Could mortal man have more tempting qualifications for perjury and treason?

Posses'd of absolute dominions
O'er people's purses and opinions;
And trusted with the double keys
Of heaven, and their warehouses;
And cast in fitter model for
The present use of church and war!

In the opinion of casuists abroad, a popish bishop may be a very good and unexceptionable bishop, let the man be ever so filthy; so that though he may be unqualified by his crimes for every office of civil society, yet he can never be disabled by the worst of crimes from serving at the altar. Complebantur templa pessions servitiorum.

Behold in the following lines, what is faid of the posish clergy.

— Hoe omnes tanquam ad vivaria currunt, Queis res nulla domi,

Quos ant plagosi dextra magistri Territat, aut legum timor, aut quos dedita somne Exercet nullis lethæa ignavia curis:

Deinde

234 The Pillars of PRIESTCRAFT Deinde quibus gridus circum pracurdia fanguis Obstitit ingenio; quos facro a sonte camana, Quos Pallas Phoebusque fugat; quos sidere sorvo Aspicit infausto volucer tegonicus ortu. Hi cum insrug fera spatium trivere juventae Musarum in studiis frustra; jam mollibus umbris Sic fracti, nec bella pati, nec ducere remos, Nec terram incurvo norunt suspendero aratra: Hic sibi desidiae portum atque ignobilis esi Esse rati, huc properans.——Franciscanus.

A worthless fry of cubs, in quest of food,
From orders feek a laxy livelihood;
The spann of beggars, wanting bread and name,
The refuse of the school, the hangman's claim,
Sluggards in social life the la'ty's shame,
The oofs of nature and the muses sern,
Doom'd dunces by their stars; in duluss dorn;
Prosume companions for the saved nime,
And only accomplish'd for their trade divinu:
All these (in books mispent their youthful years,)
Nor hinds, nor scholars now, but idlers,
And drones for life, unmeet for cour or trade,
To ply the oar, or the stern soe tinvade;
A slothful resuge from the alter find,
And fatten on the sins of bumankind.

So that according to this character of the church of Rome, the king of kings is eafilly pleased in the choice of his ministers; and accepts of fuch as most kings would reject : they ferve him accordingly. Their most important business often lies still for a bottle and a game at backgammon. Nor dares any man amongst them, take the part of the master against these his privy counsellors, for fear of being reckoned an atheist. For whoever reproves the priests, has denied the faith, though he has the bible on his fide; a book which is full of threatnings against laymen; but is never angry forfooth, at the clergy for the time being, or to come. And in this respect, the antient prophets are according to them difcourteous old grumblers: they make the priefts of old the fadest dogs, and liars, and cheats, and whoremasters in their generation, and yet never prophefy as if the world were often to expect much better. St. Paul too tells us of ravenous wolves of this fort in his time, and heavily complains of the reverend impostors, who were to come after him, and would be right or wrong his fuccessors. I hope he did not mean my client Francis, and a few nonjuring doctors; for I am fure he could not intend to blemish the reverend Jacobites of our time; for whom the fathers of old had a particular affection, as you may fee in the works of the reverend doctor - and the reverend Mr. - According to them, the faid antient fathers fully explain and vindicate the

the new discipline and ceremonies of the nonjurors, and are fadly out of humour with the diffenters. Nothing especially can be finer than their invective against John Calvin, and their defence of king Charles I. But I am still more charmed with their vindication of white fleeves, and of good perferments: and with their exhortation for restoring the church lands, and for bowing to the east: nor is their afferting divine right in the priests to the peerage, less remarkable. The encomium of the fathers upon Dr. Hickei's litany, and others like it, is really fine; and fo is their recommendation of the repeal of the statute of Mortmain, and their plea of excommunication for a groat. What can any diffenter fay to their differtation against extempore prayers, and praifing God without book, and to their many rules for flewing plumbs, and keeping Christmas? What zealous fon of this same church can forbear to mention, with exultation, the fevere reproof given by the fathers to Dr. Hoadly, as the same is set forth at large by a reverend dean. The fatires made by f-t, and $f \longrightarrow t$ and $f \longrightarrow t$ and $f \longrightarrow t$ in folio. upon round-heads and the modern whigs are likewise admiráble, with their curious distinctions about rebellion, and fwearing and forfwearing, recommended to a venerable nonfitting

Assembly *, whom I need not mention, the same being out of England. The apology of the sathers for the morals of the sacred brotherhood of the catholic free-masons, is well worth reading; as are moreover the marks laid down by them for distinguishing their genuine successors, whom they have dubbed all great lords and princes, endowing them at the same time with high-crowned hats, and trusting them more especially with the keys of the cellar. (N. B.) There is nothing said about their resembling their founder.

Sixthly, A certain great prince † would not put himself into father Francis's hands, who perhaps had a mind to enrich the kalendar with another martyr, by the same counsels and measures that father William ‡, about sourfcore years ago, had sollowed before him; and since he could not make him a martyr one way, he was resolved to do it another. No prince who would leave the laity any thing, but the leavings of the clergy, was a nursing father of the church, to father Francis's mind. The late reverend Mr. Lesley, in his book of the divine right of tythes, in answer to this question, says, Of what species of our

[.] The Convocation.

I Archbishop Land.

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fubstance we are to give tithe? Even of all that then haft, quoth he, without excepting one's wife. But besides all this tithe of bread, and bed, and beer, and cuftard, and all that a man has; Mr. Lefley made a modest demand of all the good lands in the kingdom, for the temporal good of the clergy, and the spiritual good of the laity; so that his way of feeding us lay-sheep, was to take all our food and pasture from us, and put them into his own belly. I hope he did not mean that we were to have all our good things hereafter; but for him and his brethren, their only hope was in this life, and that having their only portion upon earth, they were to be the only happy men in it. So that here was a divine right in Mr. Lesley's clergy to starve us, and woe to the prince or subject who hindered them. I hope my client was not entirely in this holy scheme.

Seventhly, The Convocation has not lately fat, and lay-parliaments have made laws, and given money without them. This pierced the foul of my client, who thought all authority upon earth, nay, above the earth and below it, ought to be vested in a parliament of priests, or derived from them: and that when he swore to the present government, he swore to a —— and that therefore his swear—

ang was ___ and his forsweaping ex fore senscientie, &c.

We have a new church risen up amongst ms, which separates from the established church, and sets up against her, and which holds all oaths to the present government to be unlawful. These nonjuring doctors do not think at convenient to meet together to rectify abuses, though it is said that there are manifold uses of their meeting, and that much remains yet to be done by them. They have already indeed furnished us with a system of their saith, called Dr. Hickes's thirty-nine articles; but they have omitted a great many other things equally necessary to be done, and which require their meeting again in an holy synod. I shall mention some principal things.

First, there are many heretical opinions gone abroad amongst us, which require the cure and curses of the said meeting, or holy council. It is even maintained, and (beu pudar, prob dolar!) maintained by some of Maron's own bairns, that laymen may make laws for the church, and bind the unbindable hosts of Levi; and that God may have a church where the priests have none: new some are not assumed to hold that Quakers may be saved, though they trust but in one saviour, and not at all in his deputies. I tremble at

the thought! But I doubt, if these professe principles go on, some may be hold enough to strike at another precious branch of their prerogative, and call in question their privilege of damning. Besides it is incredible how free-thinkers swarm; audacious free-thinkers, who do not fear the devil; and therefore are going to him; and therefore ought to be sent to him; and therefore the said council ought to sit.

But there is fomething beyond all this, which feems to call for their meeting. . We yet want several offices to be composed for important purposes. Bells are put up in their feparate churches as profanely, that is, with as little ceremony, as if they were put up in a hall to call folks to dinner. A form of benediction upon this occasion is valde desiderata. and the want of it much lamented. Let me reason with you, O ye reverend nonjuring fathers, upon this great occasion: why are you fo neglectful of the state of your bells, which fummon us to your spiritual assemblies and make fuch holy melody in our ears? Why hang they up thus uphallowed; they which are not the least part of your ghostly tools, and derical gear? You confecrate coarse walls before you will enter therein, and bless dead earth before you will fet foot thereon; are not bells of as good metal as stone and lime? And is a speechless sloor, however sacred, more sacred than these sweet singers of the steeple? In vain you make broad your hats, and short your perriwigs, and long your petticoats, if you sanctify not also your bells! your other bells may go astray; but these never do.

Nor have we yet any office for the confeeration of coffins and haunted houses. Hence the evil one often makes the dead to walk, and keeps possession of tenements which he never paid for. You, reverend firs, you only can barricade our houses and our graves against this viie intruder, by words and holy water. For words without chrism, I doubt, make but an impersect exorcism; else why does this old ferpent still make bold to hold his nocturnal cabals in the very heart of your temples? This, stirs, merits your serious consideration, and a speedy cure. Therefore the said council ought to sit.

My next argument for it is this: Lilly's grammar wants to be corrected, and is a province referved for you; unless perhaps in a thing of that moment you might differ too much, and proceed to heats and a athemas about it, as a learned and venerable affembly

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of clergymen once did upon the fame
occasion.

Again, the faid council ought to fit for the interest of uniformity, and for the instructionof taylors. There is a shameful and schismatical variety in the gowns worn by nonjuring priests, and indeed in other parts of. their dress. Some wear prunella, some clothe fome filk, and fome plain crape, like fo many sectasies, or men of various faith. Nav. they are dissenters from each other in the shape of their gowns. Some have a great flit in their Seeve (which is a test of true orthodoxy) thro' which they thew a fmart wrist, and a good quantity of their linen. Others bury their fifts in their sleeve, a token of clumfy apostates. Some wear dark wigs, and some light, and have no manner of orthodox standard as to the fize and stiffness of their bands. and heavers. This is lamentable! and of ill example: For ought I know it may in your opinion be damnable! fure I am it is schismatical; and we all know the crying crime of schism; and the decency of unity and order. Fie, fie; turpe est doctori. Let us not with our own hands give fuch a deadly blow to uniformity, and thereby strengthen the arguments of fanatics against us. Let our unity

The convocation in king Charles IId, reign.

We know the dreadful war of an hundred years between two powerful and orthodox bodies of divines, about the shape of their coul, a war in which it is said many souls perished, damnation being their chief and constant arsillery. Prevent the horrible consequence! You often quote, and upon lesser occasions, St. Paus's advice for doing all things in decency and in order; which Saint Somebody would explain, let your coifs and cassocks be all of a cut; and if we must be uniform in bowing, let us be uniform in our covering of the backs that bow. Therefore the nonjuring council oughs to meet.

Lastly, that venerable assembly ought to meet, that the October in their several counties may have time to grow stale.

I say nothing of the obvious necessity of a new translation of a certain book, the present translation being too plain, and much the same with that of Geneva: a thing not to be suffered. The prevalence too of carnal reason seems to call loudly for a check from such a holy council. People talk of human reason, and human judgment. Why, what are they? The only first guides, forsooth, that God has siven us;

Dominicans and Franciscans.

which is true, and yet nothing to the purpofe. It is plain that our reason was not given us to be used, but to be submitted to them, and to be employed by them upon evident matters, which it cannot understand. But, cry some, that is impossible. And what if it be? Is it the less orthodox for that? O tempera! O Blackmore! Lend, O valorous and voluminous knight, O lend thy potent and poetical hand, and mow down with thy keen faulchion, with thy rapturous and founding fabre, this uncircumcifed reason, this daring and darling Gath of the Philistines, and of free-thinkers! Why fleepest thou over dry history? Why loiterest thou in cold narration, which yet thou dost animate and adoin with all the verdure of the bays, with all the sublimity of the Delphian God! When, lo! here is a subject worth thy poetical prowess; a subject fit only for a poet; a fight for thy imagination; and a bloodless field!

Evæ! recenti mens trepidat metu,
Plenoque Bacchi pectore turbidum
Lætatur: Evæ! parce liber;
Parce, gravi metuende Thyrso

POSTSCRIPT.

BEG leave to trouble the reader with another argument in behalf of my client, though the same was not in my brief.

Father

Father Francis as he was already an holy man, had a mind to be more holy; and therefore grew a traitor to grow a faint: the most certain scale to mount the Roman kalendar.

Hac arte ____ ferox Becketus
Innixus arces attigit igneas ____

The first step in that church, to rise to canonization, is to begin at the gallows, or by deferving them. The fure way there to become a lord lieutenant to almighty God, and a worker of miracles, is to be a determined enemy to mankind, a cheat and executioner for the church, a furious broker of ceremonies, a zealous maintainer' of ociult qualities, a great curfer, and a great perfecutor of common fenfe. He is to be a great advocate for devotion, and a warm promoter of damnation; a mighty man for chastity ; but disallows the best means that preserve it, the honest means of matrimony. He is a prodigious declaimer against wealth, and a prodigious engroffer thereof: he avers that the church was built upon a rock, and that the gates of hell cannot prevail against her; and yet swears that she is in danger of tumbling at the fight of every fmall heretic; and if a poor taylor creeps into a barn to pray, he throws her into a mortal ague and convulfions. He preaches charity;

but damns all moderation and forbearance. He is a professed orator for peace, and a trumpet for war. He preaches humility, and . treads upon the necks of kings and kingdoms, He is the Aronge Rloyalift in the world, and the most unbounded rebel. A mighty reasoner, and a mighty champion against reason; always scattering bleffings and curses, and masses, and mifery. He spiritually feeds you, and temporally starves you. He illuminates your understanding, and fills it with ignorance; and professes no weapon but the spiritual army which however wears a fword and buckler, and knocks down governments and nations. He tells you that human fociety cannot fubfift without fuch as he; and to prove the same, is eternally theowing human fociety into poverty, chains, and desolation. To do good to the world he dispeoples it. He talks much of trust in God, and to flew how much he has of it himfelf, will rely upon God for nothing, but crams his nest with the wealth of the world, to prove and disprove his distrust in providence.

He is perpetually haranguing you into a good life; and to fet you a good example, ridicules morality, and rails at it as the foolishest thing in the world. He damns you if you do not believe the bible; and damas you if

you read or understand it. He is ever appealing to your fenfes, and making thems judges; but if you believe your fenses, woe be to you; you have denied the faith, and are no christian. He is for ever proving mysteries to you, and for ever proving that they cannot be proved. Ceremonies, fays he, are very fignificant; and yet they are things indifferent: yet you are damned if you omit them: though damnation, in my opinion, is no indifferent thing. Then he tells you that the bible is a wonderful instructive book, but wonderful unintelligible; and for your instruction, keeps it from you. All your possessions, quoth he, are by divine right; and as a demonstration thereof, holds out a fecular parchment of human institution. He boasts of the daily miracles worked in his church to convince believers ; for they never travel forth to convince heretics and unbelievers; and he brags of his great power over the devil; yet he is eternally frighting you with the devil's great and invincible power. O, fays he, how miferable were the antient pagans, who wanted us: and at the same time makes the world, where he prevails, ten times more miserable than ever paganism made it. Repent, quoth he, and feek the Lord, elfe you cannot be faved: and yet you need not repent and feek the Lord; for he the faint, and his brethren, can fave you without ckber

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either. By from faren, adds he: but you would not, for I she points will flirt same body water in his face, and fend him to the devil.

Behold, says he, we faints are as lambs amongst wolves: and to fulfil the faying, devours you. He has a wonderful antipathy to the heathens, and rails bountifully at them: but if you put in your word against the heathen religion, and the imposture of their priests, have a care, fays he, that you wound not us through their fides. By which he confesses, that there is not a fword's length between them-(which is not my opinion) and fo he takes these his near kinsmen under his protection. Riches, fays he, are pernicious things, and poison to the soul, and so is pride. O beware of riches and pride! And in kindness to your foul, or to shew you that he values not his own, he takes all the riches and pride of the world to himself.

For a full justification of this my levitical treatife, let me add a passage out of the Stramata of that early and eminent father St. Clemens Alexanirinus, and indeed one of the clearest in him, Hoi hampóv paginai δαρμόν ωτριπυλωίτον, καί παρσων κακαθραίτοων, τὸς ἐνθρονίσα καί υπτρ Γαλλες ίκων. Stromathib. p. 308.

I cannot forbear inferting here another quotation from the said most learned father; a quotation sull of mystery and beauty; it contains an account of some indiscreet amours between the angels and the antidiluvian ladies, who, according to him; were enchanting coquets, and drew out of these their gallants, secrets not sit to be named. But hear the holy sather: O alyeous interest or the away was many country, malous she causes or the away was many country, malous she causes it such a secret a a stoppass a training to the same and a secret of the secret as a secret of the secret of the

And now I will make bold to fay and prophely of myself and this my work:

Exegi monumentum erre percemius Regalique situ pyramidum alcius.

Non omnis moriar, istaque pars mei Vitabit libitinam - - - - -

- - - Sume superbiam Quastam meritis, et mihi delphica Lauro cinge volens, Melpamene, comami

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•

THE

PILLARS

OF'

PRIESTCRAFT

AND

ORTHODOXY

SHAKEN.

As for the rending of the church, we have many reafons to think it is not that which ye labour to prevent, so much as the rending of your pontifical sleeves: That schism would be the sorest schism to you, Milton.

Neither can religion receive any wound by diffrace thrown upon the prelates, fince religion and they furely were never in such amity. They rather are the men who have wounded religion, and their stripes must heal her.

VOL. II.

LONDON:

Printed for Mr. CADELL in the Strand; Mr. KEARSLEY in Ludgate-fireet; Mr. PAYNE and Mr. Johnson in Pater-noster-Row; and Mr. Young under the Royal Exchange.

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(iii)

TO

Mr. John Barton,

OF

LONDON.

3 I R.

S this Volume confifts of very instructive treatises, I inscribe it to you; both as a public acknowledgement of your favours to the Editor, and also that I may have an opportunity of exhorting you to zeal and ardour in afferting the principles of liberty.

You will here fee, that the christian religion which contains every motive to goodness personal and social, and the A 2 design

defign of which was to bless all nations, and to make men universally good and happy, hath been so perverted and abused, as to become the instrument of oppression and tyranny, and productive of those very evils that it was intended so prevent or remedy.

You will perceive that all these mischiefs have arisen from investing its ministers with worldly power and dominion, contrary to the design of its author, and to the precepts and pattern of his gospel.

You will find, that these 'men so degenerated from their first institution, as to set up for ruling, instead of instructing; and though they pretended a zeal for souls, yet their behaviour plainly shewed, that they cared not what became of sou's if they could but obtain power and wealth,

the

that for many ages they manifested either the grossest ignorance of the nature and design of christianity, or the most wilful and wicked opposition to it; and that they so blinded and deluded the people, that temporal ideas were constantly annexed to a religion that is spiritual; and Chriss's kingdom, which is not of this world, was made a worldly kingdom indeed!

You will see that what they called the Church, was a mighty Babel, built upon the ruins of reason, righteousness, truth, goodness and mercy, all that is dear and facred to men! You will observe, that notwithstanding it was the design of their holy office to lead men to all happines, they have been the greatest foes to the ease and comfort of men, preferring at all times their own pride and grandeur to the peace and welfare of nations: That

A 3

£ r

for this end, they have promoted and encouraged superstition in the people, oppression and tyranny in princes; have foothed and flattered wicked kings in all their violent and ruinous measures; have preached doctrines of flavery, justified all despotic and arbitrary encroachments; have taught that obedience to the will of the prince was the indispenfable duty of the people, and that where the latter could not in conscience comply with the demands of the former, thy must not however relist, but be passive where they could not be active: and that by these selfish and lying doctrines, they have brought this nation to the very brink of ruin and perdition.

It will here be manifest to you, that they were the men that bred all the discord betwixt King Charles I. and his parliament; that such firebrands as Laud, Manwaring. Manwaring, and others (the Sacheverels of that day) advised and promoted all the cruel and pernicious High-Commission and Sach-Chamber courts, and hurried on that prince to those illegal practices, which afterwards justly brought him to the block: for it is evident that he deserved it, and that the people were under a necessity either of cutting him off, or of being slaves themselves without redemption.

Hence you will learn, that it must be the extremest stupidity and infatuation, the effect either of the greatest ignorance or the greatest malice, to countenance or support any power in priests; and that it is the duty of all men to oppose and break their power by all possible means; that it is poison and destruction both to religion and civil government, to give the ministers of religion any power, except that of reason and persuasion; this being all the power which consists with the

nature

nature of christianity (a stee and rational religion) and with the peace and happiness of human society: for that wherever priess had more power, they always one ployed it to the worst purposes, to blind, deceive, and enslave the world.

You will learn also from hence not tobe abused and imposed upon by words. and founds, and particularly by the word Church, the most senseless sound of all others, which has no meaning but a wicked one; for the priests never use it but either for fond superfition or terrible dominion : and when they damn a man in their creeds, worry him in their diabolical courts, and: throw him into prison, and call this the-Power of the Church, they can mean nothing by that phrase but their own power ... these things being as contrary to christianity, as they are to all reason and natural. And indeed, if the christian religion gave the least countenance to such. practices.

pearlices, no miracles could support its. divine pretentions at least it could never, proceed from a righteous and good being, You will hence rej & with fcorn the great, argument urged by priests in support of their oppressive doings, viz. that they have the laws on their fide; which will justify Popery, the Inquisition, the Bastile, and every tyranny under heaven. You will be amazed, that in fuch an age as this, an age boafting of light and knowledge, there should be so many absurd doctrines. and fuch iniquitous practices in the effablished religion: witness the Arbanasian creed, &c. and witness the confication of men's goods, and the imprisonment of their persons for non-payment of tythe, &c. And finally, you will hence plainly fee, that those men are the greatest friends to fociety, and worthy of all support and encouragement, who are for stripping priests of all their power: that to vilify and

and abuse such men, is monthrous felly and a fort of high treason to the common-wealth; since the public can have no security for its liberty and happiness, whilst priests are rampant and mighty; and they and their trumpery will flourish eternally, if no man shall dare to contradict and oppose them.

These, Sir, are restections, which a manof your understanding will naturally make on a perusal of the following tracts; which being of great worth and value, on very interesting and important subjects, are here collected and preserved: and I persuade myself, that they will have a place in every library, among other desences of liberty and the rights of mankind, against all invaders and oppressors thereof.

I only add, that it will give me a fingular pleasure to find that this dedication contributes to your firm establishment in the the principles of liberty, and that I am with the most hearty wishes for your wolfare and happiness,

SIR.

Your most obedient,

And bumble fervant.

Richard Baron.

THE

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A

SHORT VIEW

OF THE

CONDUCT

OF THE

ENGLISH CLERGY,

So far as relates to

CIVIL AFFAIRS,

FROM THE

Conquest to the REVOLUTION.

By Sir EDMUND THOMAS, Baronet, and Member of Parliament.

But tract of time, and long prospecity
(That murse of vice, this of insolency)
Lulled the shepherds in such security,
That, not content with loyal obeysance,
Some gan to gape at greedy governance,
And match themselves with mighty potentates,
Lovers of lordships, and troublers of states.

SPENCER.

First printed in the Year 1737.

B

VOL. II.

A

SHORT VIEW.

HE behaviour of the clergy having feemed to be very extraordinary on fome late occasions, I was led by my reflections on that head to make fome further enquiry, than I had hitherto done, what the conduct of that set of men had been from the more early times of our government down to the present, and what had been the opinions of the wisest of our ansestors about it.

I thought it was far from improper at this time to know not only what restrictions to the power and wealth of the church, the legissature had formerly deemed requisite, but also whether the clergy had not by their behaviour made those restrictions absolutely necessary. From thence we may better know what to think of their clamours of late, upon any attempt to put the least limits to their property, or restrictions to their power, in such cases, where it might be made use of to oppress any of their fellow-subjects.

B 2

For

4 The Pillars of PRIESTCRAFT

For though the reasonableness of laws to prevent the abuse of power, or an exorbitant increase of property in any set of men, where there is only a probability of either, is itself sufficient to recommend the enacting them, even though we had not already been sensible of such abuses; yet the necessity of such laws is still further ensorced, when sounded on examples and experience, and consumed by the opinions of our wise predecessors.

It is for this reason, I trouble the public with the following sheets, that by laying before them in as short and compendious a manner, as I am able, an historical account of the conduct of the clergy of this nation, as far as it any way affected civil affairs since the time of William I. they may form a judgment from matters of fact, how far necessary all precautions in the laity against the designs of the clergy are, according as they see this conduct of theirs has promoted the public good or otherwise.

Whoever looks into our antient histories, will find the clergy have been always guided by a distinct interest of their own, most frequently contrary to that of the nation: instead of a certing the liberty of the people, they

have been most instrumental in all attempts to destroy it; instead of propagating generous notions of freedom, they have constantly endeavoured to instil into the minds of men the most slavish maxims, and taught lessons of the most blind and abject submission.

Their opposition to power, whenever they have made any, has generally been factious and selfish, not grounded on motives of regard for the good of the commonwealth, but occasioned by some attempt upon their temporal interest or privileges, which was often no other than a just intention of retrenching their encroachments upon the crown, and people.

Accordingly we may observe, that the most dangerous designs against the public have been formed by such of our princes, who began with securing the clergy to their interest by great condescensions to them; for we seldom find the clergy to have failed returning the compliment by a concurrence in promoting the most arbitrary attempts by their doctrine and actions.

The use the clergy have made of what power they have acquired under such princes, B 3 has has always been most insupportable to the laity, especially to such as have opposed it.

I will not detain the reader any longer from forming his own judgment on this fubject, but hasten to my relation of facts, by which only I defire he may be determined, as he shall find them agreeable to truth, to which I have endeavoured to have the strictest regard.

The battle of Hastings, gained by the duke of Normandy, would have been very far from determining the fate of this country, had the English sufficiently united in its defence, was in possession of but one castle in the kingdom, that of Dover. The earls Marcar and Edwin, who had distinguished themselves already in the defence of their country, had thut themselves up in London with the remains of the army defeated at Hoftings. William could not without evident danger march into the heart of the kingdom, and leave that city behind him in possession of his enemies; nor could he lay siege to a place, that would cost him much time, and employ the greatest part of his army, which was no large one, without leaving all the remote counties in England at liberty to take proper measures for their fecurity, and to raise feveral.

feveral armies, which might have been greatly fuperior to his own.

Whilst he was in this perplexed situation, the English had no reason to despair; and indeed the two earls just mentioned used all their efforts to animate the Londoners.

To unite them the more, it was proposed to declare young Edgar king. In this generous defign it was reasonable to think, the clergy would have unanimously concurred. would expect to find that body of men making use of all their influence over the people to infoire them with a fense of the duty, they owed their country, and the obligations they were under to venture their lives in defending it from an army of rapacious adventurera; that they would have employed their intercession with heaven (which they would willingly have thought to be fo efficacious) to avert the impending flavery, and by it have promoted a confident zeal in their countrymen to exert themselves with intrepidity in so glorious a caufe.

But how little was the public good any motive of their conduct! they could not think of continuing a war, which exposed the lands of the church to rapine and desolation, when

The Pillars of Pribetcraft

by a timely facelfice of the liberty of their fellow-subjects, they had it in their power to make their own terms: they could not help being partial in favour of one, who had undertaken his enterprize with the countenance of the pope: and they thought the church might make an acquisition of wealth and power under a prince, that had the character of being religious, and who could not but think himself under the greatest obligations to them, should the people by their means be prevailed on to receive him for their king.

With these views they opposed the designs of the people, who had now come to a resolution of placing young * Edger on the throne; but by the bishops declaring for William, the citizens were by their example at last prevail'd on to open their gates, and receive him.

Thus by the interested cabals of the clergy were the English distincted from uniting in defence of their country; and the definable state of liberty, founded on and secured by prudent and wholesome laws, which they had enjoyed under the race of Saxon kings, was changed for the oppressive government of a Narman invader.

^{*} Cæteri proceses Edgarun eligerent, fi epifcopos affertores baborent. Malmib.fol. 57.

Nor was it long before the c'ergy themselves found, how ill grounded their selsish policy had been, notwithstanding the monasteries had a share in the distribution of king Hareld's treasure; but what opposition any of them made to the invasion of their own rights, when they had given up those of their country, served only as a pretext for a more rigorous treatment.

During the life of Wiliam Rufus, the clergy felt so great a share in the general oppression of that reign, and were always so disregarded by him, that they had very little opportunity of furnishing any circumstances by their conduct worth relating here. It may not however be amis to observe, that the promoter and instrument of all this oppression and violence, was Ranulph Flambert, bishop of Durham*.

Henry 1. had not been long on the throne, before the encroaching spirit of the church discovered itself in the person of Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury. That haughty prelate resolved to wrest from the king his right of investiture of bishops and abbots; a prerogative his predecessors had enjoyed without disturbance, and with great reason; for other-

[.] M. Paris.

wife the clergy might have made it one of their pretences for denying, they owed the foundation of their authority to the civil power. In pursuance of this defign, upon the king's shewing some resolution at first to maintain his right, Anselm, attended by several prelates who had refigned their bishopricks, insolently carried his complaints to Rome, and defired the pope by his fole authority to re-instate them in their fees. We may infer from * M. Paris, the good archbishop judged it no fimony in fo righteous a cause, to make use of the rhetorick of gold with his holinefs, who failed not to grant his request. In this manner did the ambition of that prelate not only invade the just rights of the king, but introduced a precedent, through the want of refolution in Henry, tending to render both him and his fuccessors slaves to the papal authority. which never failed by its interposition in all affairs of this kind to improve them to its own advantage.

Upon the death of *Henry*, we are furnished with a most lively instance of the regard, the clergy paid to the most solemn oaths taken in

Tunc sedes elementissima, que nulli deesse confuevit (dummodo albi a iquid vel rubei intercedat) p: esseriptos pentisses & abbates ad pristinas dignitases m sercorditer revocavit. M. Paris, p. 49.

the most public manner. Before the deparsure of the late king to Normandy, he called an affembly of the great men, in which the bishops were the first, that swore to acknowledge his daughter the empress Matilda for their fovereign, in case Henry died without issue male. The right of birth undoubtedly pleaded in her behalf, and her deseent by her mother's fide from the race of Saxon kings, was a circumstance, which could not but greatly recommend her to the English. However, Heary's death, which fell out in a fhort time after, was no fooner known, than the clergy declared in favour of Stephen, and by their example, not only countenanced part of the nobility in the violation of the oath for. lately taken to Matilda, but by their superior power in the kingdom deterred others from oppoling their deligns. The archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of Winchester, and Salisbury, were three of the richest subjects in England: the last owed his rife, from nothing as it were, to the late king, whose will he was ungratefully now going to fubvert. I will just mention what Ropin says on this occasion, who entirely attributes. Stephen's advancement to the clergy. " It was (fays he) a great ad-" vantage to Stephen to have for him three

Malmsb. fel. 99

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" prelates, whose interest secured bim the fullse frages of the clergy. This body was there " fo powerful, that the lay-lords who were " not in the plot, did not think themselves " able to oppose the design, which they saw was entirely formed, of placing Stephen on se the throne; fince all the bishops declared in se his favour, not one attempted to speak for " Matilda, fo great an influence had the ex-" ample and authority of the clergy over the " minds of the nobles and people." How falle the affertions were, on which the bishops grounded the evafion of their oaths, appears from the opinion of Malmsbury. That historian mentioning the reason, which the bishop of Sallsbury alledged in his hearing, concludes with faving, that he does not mention it there as giving any credit to those words of a man, who could fo well accommodate himfelf to all times, as fortune shifted the scene, but in order to discharge his duty as an historian. Let us now fee how they behaved to that Stephen, whom they had placed on the throne. They were not long before they shewed the . use, they intended to make of the advancement of a king, who was indebted folely to themselves for it. They supposed, he would not think it his interest to disturb them in the

Malmib. fol. 99.

design they had formed, of embracing the present opportunity to render themselves formidaable, and become independent of him and his successors for the future. In order to accomplish this project, they not only fortisted such castles, as they had already in their hands, but erected several new ones. They outvied all the nobility in the magnificence of their houses and retinue, and affected to appear so numerously attended on all occasions, that they looked much more like military chiefs at the head of so many little armies, than the meek and peaceable pastors of Christ's slock.

It cannot be wondered at, that a behaviour of this kind alarmed the king, and almost nearestitated him to take those steps towards depriving some of them of their cassles, which afterwards involved him in so much trouble. It was not only his own private sentiments, which determined him in that point, but the advice of most of the nobles concurred with his own opinion, that some stop shand be put to the formidable power of the bishops, which increased so fast. But however definable this might be, it was now not to be effected: the chergy had so great an instruence over the lower people, that the nation was in

⁴ Malmid. fel. '102.

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a flame at the king's seizing the bishop's castles. Religion itself was looked upon as invaded, which, as Rapin fays, was now thought to confift in upholding the church in whatever privileges and immunities the herfelf was pleafed to assume. The bishops openly talked of opposing the king by arms, and became fo ftrong, that great numbers of the lay lords thought it fafest to go over to their side. Stephen had indeed fome time before given the people in general too much cause to alter the good opinion they had once entertained of him; and we find feveral barons had then taken up arms against him in defence of their liberty: but that affair had at this time been: made up, and, as I before observed, it was now the fentiments of most of the lay-lords. that the power of the bishops required a stop to be put to it: though when the attempt had: embroiled the king in these troubles, but few of those lords had recovered their effeem for him fo far, as to affert his cause with the zeal. they would otherwise have done, and draw upon themselves the fury of a body of men at that time more formidable than their own.

But that the ground of this quarrel was no national cause, appears further from hence. Had the point in dispute concerned the public liberty, the king must have answered for his

conduct only before the great council of the kingdom; whereas in this case he was cited before a synod at Winehester, convened by the bishop of that place as legate: which not only shews the dispute to be particular with the bishops, but was itself a greater insult offered the community, than ever Stephen had been guilty of.

During this dispute, Matilda thought it a favourable juncture to land in England, and claim her right to the crown. She no fooner arrived, than the clergy were forward to declare for her: but the bishop of Winchester. who had hitherto chiefly excited and promoted the troubles of the king his brother, begun now to fee his error in raising the storm so high, and that his own ruin would be inseparable from that of his brother. With this confideration, he, at first, did him some services but no fooner had the chance of war declared itself in favour of Matilda by Stephen's being taken prifoner, than he again threw up his brother's cause, and won by a promise, that he should dispose of all ecclesiastical preferments, undertook to procure Matilda the fuffrages of the clergy to elect her queen. In order to this he convened a fynod by his legatine authority, the day before the opening of

Malnik.

which he conferred in private first with the bishops, then with the abbots, and lastly with the arch-deacons. When the time appointed for their meeting was come, after he had made a speech, in which he publickly afferted * the principal right of chusing a prince belonged to the clergy, the fynod declared. Matilda queen. It was thus with an unheard-of, and unprecedented infolence the clergy alone pretended to give the nation a fovereign without confulting the barons, pay contrary to the fentiments of many of them, who had at this time fent their deputies with those of the city of London to demand Stephen's liberty. But this message had no other effect than to draw an excommunication upon the king and his adherents.

However monstrous this conduct appears to be, the measure of their insolent and treacherous proceedings was not yet compleated: for in a very stort time afterwards the bishop of Winebester having been disobliged by Matida, he once more deserted her cause; and assembling another synod at Westminster + he found his brethren nothing loath in undoing, what they had so lately done at Winebester. Stephen, who was now at liberty, having been

Malmsb. fol. 106. + Ibid. fol. 108.

exchanged for the duke of Gloucester, was again acknowledged by them as king, and Matilda in her turn excommunicated with her adherents. This change feon rendered her affairs in desperate, that the was obliged to quit this kingdom, and leave Stephen in possession of a crown, which he first obtained, afterwards lost, and again recovered by the intrigues and power of the ecclesiasticks.

The power the church assumed to itself in the next reign, and the entire independence on the flate, that it laid claim to, evidently appears in the contest between Honry II. and Becket. The laity were reduced to a kind of flavery by the clergy: whatever outrages they fuffered from them, they durst not repel for fear of excommunication (the effects of which were at that time fo terrible) nor could they expect any redrefs from the laws, fince the ecclefialticks claimed a privilege of being tried only in their own courts; there every thing was carried on with the most open partiality; the ecclefiasticks were only liable to flight corrections, and for the most heinous crimes punished no further than with degradation, short suspension, or short confinement.

It was proved *, there had been above a hundred murders committed by churchmen fince the king's accession to the throne, of whom not one had been punished so much as by degradation.

For attempting to redress such an unparalleled enormity, the king and the whole body of peers in parliament, were treated by this haughty prelate with that insolence, and open contempt of their authority, as fills every reader of this part of our history with the utmost indignation.

Of such consequence is it at all times to prevent every step, which may insensibly tend to procure such wealth and power in the clergy, or any other set of men, as may create an independency in them; since we see a prince of so much spirit, as *Henry* II. is allowed to be, for endeavouring to retreach that part of ecclesiastical usurpation, which protested criminals from justice, forced to attone for this so unchristian and wicked attempt, by the most abject condescension and submission; though his design had the good wishes and concurrence of all the nobility in the king-

Rapin, vol. 1. 226. Tind. trans.

dom, who at this time groaned under the ecclefiaftical yoke.

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Richard I's was a reign, in which we find very little faid of ecclesiastical affairs or per-That prince was but a few months in England after he came to the crown. The accounts of that time chiefly concern that romantic expedition of his to the Holy-land, fo expensive to his country, and fatal to himself in being made prisoner by the emperor.

The tyrannical government of king John made the opposition, which he met with from his barons, an indispensable duty, they owed themfelves, their country, and posterity. The temper of this monarch was fuch a mixture of folly, pride, and meannefs, that it was impoffible, but he should embroil himself with all fets of men, however different and opposite their interests might be. Therefore though the clergy feem to have a great share in the events of this reign, we should however carefully distinguish the motives of their conduct, as well as confequences of it, from that of the barons. The first troubles of importance in this reign werbomerely ecclefiaftical. pope's nominating cardinal Langton to the fee of Canterbury, plunged the kingdom into very great

great difficulties and mifery. The king's refufal to admit him as archbishop, brought an interdict on the kingdom; and the clergy were fo far from being displeased at this usurpation in the pope, that those few of them, who would willingly have lessened the general confusion occasioned by the interdict, by continuing to perform the duties of their office, fuch as reading prayer, burying the dead, and the like, met with continual infults from the zealots *. drew upon the ecclefiafticks the king's utmost feverity, who feized on their lands, imprifoned their persons, and committed all manner of outrages on them. The interdict was foon after followed by an excommunication of the king, and the people were absolved by the pope from their oath of allegiance.

The nation in general had been so much appressed, that the barons took this occasion to throw off all obedience to king John. Had he been a prince in the esteem of his subjects, no doubt they would have greatly resented this insult to their sovereign. But the consequence was, the king to support himself against the lords, found himself obliged to submit to the holy see, whose reconciliation was to be purchased on no other terms than a

^{*} Rapin, wol. 1. p. 269.

resignation of his crown after the most ignominious manner to the pope, in the person of his legate; which he was to receive back, and hold ever after as his vassal, and as such to pay a yearly tribute. The general desection of the barons, which followed, though they made a positical use of these troubles, yet was a thing quite distinct from them, and sounded wholly on principles of liberty. And as the grounds were different, so were the consequences: the first rendered the kingdom tributary to the see of Rome, the latter procured the signing of Magna Charta, that basis of the liberty of England ever since.

It will perhaps be said, that after the reconciliation of John to the pope, from which time he condemned the barons opposition, and sent a legate to reconcile the king to the clergy, yet they still resused to comply with the terms proposed, and several of them adhered simply to the cause of the barons.

But we may with great reason conclude the consideration of their own particular interests was what influenced them chiefly on that occasion; for the reparations settled by the * pope for the damages, the clergy had sustained from

But that their regard for the interest of the laity was no greater than at other times, plainly appears from the open attempts they themfelves made towards subverting the laws, which my lord; Coke mentions in his preface to the articuli cleri . " in the forty-fecond year of " Henry III. Buiface archbiftop of Camer-" bury, made diverse and many canons and " conflitutions provincial, directly against the " laws of the realm, and tending to usurp and " encroach upon many matters which appaex reptly belonged to the common law; but s notwithstanding the greatness of Boniface. " and that diverse of the judges of the realm were of the clergy, and all the great officers es of the realm, as chancellor, treasurer, privy a feal, &c. were prelates, yet the judges proceeded according to the laws of the realm. and ffill kept, though with great difficulty, the ecclefiaftical courts within their just and or proper limits." We may reasonably conclude, had the king taken the method, fome of his more politic successors have done, of attaching the clergy to his interest, by shewing a zeal for their pretended rights, and a readiness in contributing to the advancement. of their riches and power, and had himfelf

^{*} Second wel. of Inft.

only plundered and harassed his other subjects; he would have met with their sull concurrence in his designs: and all precautions in the laity for the security of their liberty; would have been censured as unwarrantable, and rebellious. For what could not be expected from a set of men, whose power and wealth were become so dangerous to liberty, and their endeavours to encrease them so strenuous, that, as the great man just quoted says, it was with great difficulty the laws of the land were rescued from their all-engrossing ambition?

In this and the following reign, we may observe, how difficult it was by the wifest provisions and reftrictions of the law to prevent the clergy from evading fuch statutes as fet any bounds to their wealth or power. At the time of figning Magna Charta by Henry, the barons were fo fensible of the dangerous consequence of the immense riches, the church was every day acquiring, that they inferted a clause to prevent the further disposition of lands to religious houses. But the clergy found fo many ways to creep out of that statute, and their possessions continued still to encrease fo fast, that in the feventh of Edward I. the statute of mortmain was enacted to the general joy of the people. The words intended to provide against their devices are fo strong, that I will VOL. II. infert C

insert them here: "* Quod nullus religiosus con aut alius quicunque terras aut tenementa aliqua emere vel vendere sub colore donactionis aut termini," (and to prevent all other inventions and evasions, these general words were added) "aut ratione alterius tituli terras aut tenementa ab aliquo recipere, aut alio quovis modo, arte vel ingenio, sibi appropriare prasumat, sub forissactura esruncia derum."

A man would have thought, fays my lord Coke, that this should have prevented all new devices; but they soon found out an evasion for this statute also.

In the progress of this reign we see the grounds of their opposition in the former fully made out by the willingness, the clergy shewed, in making use of the pope's authority, whenever it chimed with their own interest: they now made a bull of Boniface VIII. † a pretence to exempt them from the payment of any taxes to secular princes, without the confent of the holy see; and by so doing, openly put themselves upon a foot of independence on the rest of the kingdom; and even assumed

[·] See lord Coke's magna charta, ch. 36.

M. Weft. 405. Walfing. p. 68.

a superiority, by declaring they were not obliged to join with them in contributing to the public expences.

In the close of this reign, the bishops give us a further more convincing proof of what I have before faid, that hitherto whenever they shewed a disapprobation of any innovations or oppressions, it was merely because they had no share in the profits. Edward, notwithstanding the encomiums of some historians, had no less fondness for arbitrary power than his predecessors, though his superior understanding made him sensible, how nevelfary it was to conceal it; of which he was convinced by the resolute behaviour of some of the barons. However, towards the decline of his life, he began to act with lefs referve in that respect; and having procured from Rome a dispensation of his oath, in regard to the two charters, he by virtue of a grant from thence levied the tenth of all ecclesiastical revenues for two years; in confideration of which, the pope referved to himfelf the first-fruits of all the benefices. Here one would imagine, that the chief men of the clergy were concerned in the greatest degree to prevent any innovation of this kind, which fo particularly affected their own body; but in this care was taken, that the bishops should

have a fellow-feeling, and therefore they quietly submitted to it: for * M. of Westminster tells us, the pope was induced to this through the covetousness of the bishops, who submitted to this innovation, on condition that they might enjoy one year's profits of all vacant benefices in their gift. At the same time the parliament + shewed a more disinterested regard for the clergy, than their own heads had done, by prohibiting the collectors to gather the tax, though the power of the king made their prohibitions useless.

Never was the parliament more sensible of the ecclesiastical yoke, or more ready to come to resolutions of putting a stop to the papal oppressions, than under Edward II. But the weakness of that king, and the circumstances he was in, made all their endeavours inessectual. The clergy were so satisfied of his weakness, and so intoxicated with their own pride and power, that they committed the most unparalleled insult and violence to public justice, the laws of the realm, and therein to the whole nation. Adam Orleton ‡, bishop of Herefurd, having been indicted of high-treason, for being concerned with Mortimer earl of March in his open rebellion; the arch-

Mat. Westm. 457. † Rapin. † Walfing. p. 119. bishops

bishops of Canterbury, York, and Dublin, with feveral of their fuffragans, came to the bar, and by force took him away, threatning to excommunicate all that should oppose them, and proceed against him: and this they did under pretext of the canons * of the church, though the benefit of the clergy, however they had found means of late to extend it, was never allowed to reach to high-treason against the king. And all this was done in defence of a man the most abandoned by every virtue, and of whose character nothing can convey a more perfect idea, than his own order afterwards to the keepers of the unhappy Edward: " Edwardum occidere nolite timere " bonum eft."

Under Edward III. (most eminently the best and greatest of our princes, who undeniably deserves those encomiums given him by historians, which slattery, or want of discernment, made them too apt to bestow on others) more vigorous methods were taken by the king and parliament, to deliver the nation from the so long complained of papal oppressions. With that intent the statutes of provisors and præmunire were enacted: the first to prevent the court of Rome from dis-

[·] See lord Coke's 2d Infl. p. 634, and 635.

poling of ecclelialtical benefices contrary to the right of the king, or any other person; the fecond to prevent the subjects of England carrying causes to any foreign or other court, the cognizance of which belonged to the king's However, notwithstanding these precautions, we find the grievances still continued, and the pope exacted as a tax from ecclefiastical dignities, " five times as much as the " tax of all the profits that appertained to the " king by the year of this whole realm." Accordingly we find hardly any meeting of parliament in this reign, in which these grievances are not complained of, notwithstanding the statutes made, and so frequently confirmed for preventing them.

Now when we confider the unanimous and constant opinion of both king and parliament on this head, and the vigorous resolutions, they so often came to; can we reasonably account, why the measures taken by them should prove ineffectual any other way than from the timidity or connivance of the clergy themselves? Both of which I think appear pretty plain. The parliament expressly mention the first, in saying "the whole clergy

^{*} Cotton's Parl. Roll. 50 Ed. III. † Parl. Rell. 50 Ed. III.

were so obedient to the pope's collector, that they did not dare displease him." And that they did more than barely connive at appeals from the king's courts, contrary to the statute of præmunire, appears, in that they themselves presumed to take cognizance of appeals from those courts in their own ecclesiastical courts.

And to reverse judgment given in the king's courts, to the prejudice and disherison of the king and commonalty:" as the parliament of the twenty-first of Edward III. recite in their complaint.

That the parliaments in this reign were no less apprehensive of the power and encroachments of the clergy at home, than of the see of Rome, appears from the several parliamentary petitions and resolutions on that head. At one time we find them praying the king, that remedy might be had against the oppression of ordinaries, and their officers. At another time they made their request to the king, that is no + ordinance might be made at is the petition of the clergy without consent of parliament, and that no man might be to bound by any their constitutions made for their advantage."

[·] Parl. Ro!l. 25 Ed. 111.

⁺ Parl. Roll. 51 Ed. III.

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The clergy had for some time past intruded themselves into all the great places of trust, power, and profit in the state, the civil courts, and king's houshold*. The lords and commons therefore represented to the king, that the realm had long been governed by churchmen, to the great prejudice of the crown; and therefore required, that for the stuture the great officers of the king's courts might be only laymen.

The justness of these complaints, and of the precautions of the parliament, is fully confirmed by the conduct of the clergy in the following reign. Richard II. had not been long on the throne, before they took the advantage of the youth and weakness of that prince to procure his confent to an ordinance for the imprisoning of such, as they should think fit to declare heretics: and this entirely without consent of parliament, a most notorious outrage, if ever there was any, upon the established constitution of this kingdom. what measures would they not take to destroy a growing fect, fuch as the Wicliffites, who propagated principles of fo damnable a nature, as tended to destroy the temporal grandeur

^{*} Walfing. p. 186. & Parl. Roll.

and power of the church? A doctrine that in all ages will never fail being cenfured by most of them, as highly heretical. But the house of commons were so sensible of this heinous encroachment upon the rights of the people, that the ordinance was repealed by the king next parliament; and the declaration of the commons on this occasion had so much becoming refolution and spirit in it, that it may not be amiss to set down their own words, " that " it was never their meaning to be jus-" tified, and bind themselves and successors 46 to the prelates, no more than their an-" cestors had done before them." A resolution ever worthy to be remembered and followed by all succeeding parliaments.

I took notice in the last reign, that the continued oppressions of the pope, notwith-standing the repeated resolutions of the king and parliament against them, must have been owing to the connivance of the clergy: the following instance under Richard, is a further and full confirmation of their backwardness to retrench any of the pretended prerogatives of the see of Rome. "The † archbishops of Canterbury and York for themselves,

^{*} Parl. Roll. 6 Rich. II.

⁺ Parl. Roll. 13 Rich. II.

" and the whole clergy of their province, 44 make their folemn protestation in open par-" liament, that they in no wife meant or " would affent to any statute or law made " in restraint of the pope's authority, but

" utterly withflood the fame."

The following profitution of the clergy, (an expression aptly made use of) and their superior talents in doing with a better grace the very same profligate and slavish jobs, in which the laity have at any time equally concurred, is worth observing from a passage in an historian that treats of that reign. Richard II. had at last by corruption, or putting out such returning officers, whose complaifance for his defigns he fuspected, got a parliament chiefly packed up of fuch persons, as he knew would be at his devotion, (the first, if I mistake not, that was openly procured in that manner;) after the fession was opened by a time ferving speech of the bishop of Excter, it was proposed by the king's ministers, that the acts of grace passed nine years before in favour of certain lords, who had opposed the king in his attempts upon the public * liberty, should be repealed. The prelates without any hesitation not only gave

[.] Walfing. p. 354.

their affent, but, by the expression of the historian, seemed to have used arguments to shew those acts to be revocable: upon which, fays he, the temporal lords feeing the clergy approved of it, gave also their assent, more induced to it through fear of the king, than any conviction of their minds. Now though their concurrence is absolutely inexcusable; yet the reader, I believe, will agree with me in obferving a manifest difference in their behaviour. For the clergy, no reason is assigned by the historian, but their forwardness in the affair feems abandoned like that of men backney'd in profitution; the other have the example of the clergy, and the fear of the king mentioned as determining them. And that I may not be thought to have exaggerated this matter, I will give the reader Walfingbam's own words.

"Hi importunis clameribus petierunt ut chartæ perdonationum in primis revocarentur tur & annullarentur, super quibus requisiti prælati de facile indicarunt tales chartat fore revocabiles, nen attendentes quod husi jus gratia revocatio personæ regis maxime repugnabat; cum miserecordia sit solii resignis consirmatia, & qui toliit misericordiam, tellit solii regalis sirmamentum. Consesse sequenter damini temporales videntes ossentem

- se sum cleri, censuerunt & ipsi hujus chartas
- at annullandas, magis timore regis dicti, quam
- " mentium ratione."
- · Glorious pre-eminence of the clergy, even in a parliament composed of men culled out from amongst the whole people for servility and corruption!
- Henry IV. a haughty defigning prince, who though he owed his crown purely to a parliamentary right, yet ever affected to build his claim on other foundations, not only weak, but absolutely false, was sensible, that he had against him a powerful faction in the kingdom, and that his conduct was such, as could not fail adding to the number of his enemies.

His policy in taking all methods, and being most vigilant to secure the possession of his crown, was the most distinguishing qualification of his genius: and he had too much discernment not to see, how necessary it was for carrying on his ends to have the clergy sirmly in his interest. That body was now become more than ever wealthy, powerful, and insolent. Accordingly, Henry made it a maxim, to do nothing, which might disoblige them, but to take every opportunity of tests

fying a regard for their interest. He knew by that means, however ill he used his other subjects, he should still preserve the reputation of a pious prince, zealous for the cause and honour of God; which could not but greatly contribute to baffle any opposition to his measures. The clergy had all along fo connived at the pretentions of the court of Rome. that the endeavours of former parliaments to put a stop to that abuse, proved ineffectual. The people groaned for a reformation; therefore, though the king was obliged at first in compliance with his parliament to revive the statutes of præmunire, yet never was the breach of them more winked at, than in this reign; To give the ecclefiasticks a more public instance of his zeal, Henry at their petition procured the bloody act to pass in parliament for the burning fuch as they should declare Immediately the poor Lollards, heretics. who had incurred their unrelenting displeasure for broaching doctrines repugnant to their temporal grandeur, are without mercy dellvered to the flames; and the churches found with the encomiums of a king, who had given fuch unquestionable proof of his piety and zeal.

But a parliament, that met some time after, had not the same complaisance for the clergy. This

This was that which by way of reproach, they have called the illiterate parliament, representing them as a fet of men chosen according to the king's private letters, merely on account of their ignorance; an error most people since, and amongst the rest a very eminent man in our law +, has been led into. But these letters were in reality writs of fummons, in which there were directions, in pursuance of a statute made in Edward Illd's time, excluding all theriffs and practifing lawyers from being elected: the reason of which was, that fuch procured themselves to be elected merely to ferve views of their own, and did not faithfully discharge their duty to their country. Instead therefore of looking upon this parliament in the light, in which it has been represented, we are to confider it as composed of honest, difinterested country gentlemen, who having no private views to ferve, came up fraught with the fentiments of those they represented, who impatiently withed to fee themselves freed from the ecclefiaftical yoke.

Accordingly, when the king, laying his necoffities before them, demanded an aid, they remonstrated the hardship of burthening his subjects with further taxes, when at the same

⁺ Pry.'s pref. to parl. roll.

time the clergy contributed nothing to the necessities of the state, though possessed of the third part of all the lands in the kingdom; wallowing, to the neglect of their duty, in laxury and idleness: that therefore it was their desire that his wants should be supplied out of the ecclesiastical revenues, as not only just, and agreeable to the sentiments of the people, but in the main of real service to the church itself.

We may easily imagine, what treatment a proposition of this kind met with from the clergy. The † archbishop of Canterbury, who was present, could not forbear treating the commons in the most arrogant and infolent manner: he even told them in a menacing way, no attempt of that fort should be offered the church without impunity, and that it should be at their peril if they seized any of its revenues; that for his part he would sooner lose his life than see it deprived of them.

The king, in pursuance of the maxim he had laid down, to keep well with the clergy, took this opportunity to affure the archbishop of his resolution to maintain the church in

its full possessions, and of his desire rather to increase than diminish its splendor. commons, not intimidated by the threats of any dignified church-man, went on and prepared a bill for supplying the king's necessities out of the revenues of the church; but when the bill came to the lords, they refused their concurrence, through the cabals of the bishops, who had gained a confiderable party in that house, for having opposed the commons not long before in a laudable design they had of supplying the king's wants, by a revocation of feveral lands alienated from the crown by grants in the late reign, and fquandered upon favourites, to the great impoverishing of the grown, and burthening the people; which revocation would greatly have affected feveral peers, who at that time were in possession of fuch lands. Here we fee the bishops, oppofers in general of every step taken for the ease of the subject, and treating the representative body of the whole people in parliament with infolence, ill language, and threats for the attempt.

Though the commons were disappointed this time in their design, yet the grievance was too generally felt, and a redress too much desired by the people for them to sit down dismayed at this repulse. In a parliament assembled

bled fome time after they renewed their former instances in regard to the clergy's revenues; the consequences also of the statute against the Lollards obtained by influence and cabal were now known to be fo terrible, that they likewise desired a repeal of it; at least an amendment. As to their first instances, they fet forth. that the king might eafily feize out of the revenues of the ecclesiasticks, what would be sufficient to provide in a most ample manner for fifteen earls, fifteen hundred knights, fix thousand two hundred esquires, and a hundred hospitals. But they had the mortification to have their remonstrances meet with no better success with the king, who was now more than ever confirmed in his resolution of being well with the church. Therefore he not only refused his affent, but did it in a most arbitrary manner, forbidding them for the future to prefume to meddle with fuch affairs *; and as for the statutes against the Lollards, he was fo far from allowing any mitigation, that he faid he could wish they were made more rigorous. To please the ecclesiasticks still further with an open affront upon the commons, he affected at that time to fign a warrant for the burning of a poor Lollard, who suffered death with great resolution.

[.] Walfing p. 379.

If the parliament (as Rapin fays) that first moved the lessening the clergy's revenues was fliled unlearned, it may well be supposed this met with no better treatment. The names of Lollard and Heretic were plentifully beflowed: they were fet forth as a fet of men who were for the destruction of religion itself. They were however fo sensible of their ill ufage, that upon the king's demanding a power to levy a fubfidy during life, though the parliament should not sit, they boldly refused it him. The commons would also have denied him a fupply for his present occasions, since he had not thought proper to receive it by the methods they proposed, had not the king forced them to a compliance by the same arbitrary manner, which he had fucceeded in once before; that was, by keeping them fitting, till the inconvenience of not being dismissed, obliged them to confent to his demands: a most remarkable abuse of prerogative, and tending to destroy all freedom in their resolutions! But notwithstanding this, he had done enough in this meeting to be looked upon as the champion of religion, and darling of its priests. find him cried up by them as a prince endued with mildness, piety, and every virtue; though whoever will carefully look into that reign, will find his conduct perfectly tyrannical, and most most ungrateful in a prince, who had no other title to his crown than the good-will of the people, and free gift of parliament, whose rights he ever tried to subvert. To conclude therefore with Mr. Rapin's observations on this reign: "When I consider (says he) the ex"ceffive commendations bestowed on that prince, I cannot help suspecting, that the glory of being the first burner of heretics, and of protecting the clergy against the attempts of the house of commons, were the main springs of all their encomiums. It is well known, the ecclesistics are as zealous in praising their benefactors, as in blackening their opposers."

No fooner was Heary IV. dead, than the clergy determined to fecure themselves for the future against all attempts to lessen their revenues, by taking advantage of the complaisance, that is usually met with from young princes in the beginning of their reigns. They did not doubt, but such attempts had been greatly promoted by the doctrine of the Lollards. Therefore as those principles were countenanced by several men of the greatest rank, and highest esteem of any in the kingdom, they resolved to lay the ax to the root of the tree, and by boldly attacking the patrons of the sect, deter all others from presuming to advance

vance any propositions, which they should disapprove of, that might render them liable to be suspected of Wickliffite principles. fuance of this resolution, the archbishop of Canterbury waited on the king, and reprefented to him the great growth of herefy, which could not fail drawing down the wrath of heaven on the kingdom; and the glory it would be to a young monarch to begin his reign with engaging in the cause of God, by defending the church from heretics, for which heaven would certainly crown all his undertakings with fuccels. Thus faid Nefterius once to the younger Theodofius; " Give me, " O emperor, the earth weeded from herestics, and I in my turn will give you hea-" ven; destroy with me the heretic, and I " will destroy the Persian with you." The archbishop then informed him, that Sir John Oldcastle, baron of Cobham, a domestic of his own, was the most open abetter of the doctrine of the Lollards *; and therefore he defired, he might be allowed to proceed against him with the utmost severity and rigour.

The king answered him in such a manner, as shewed, he was far from approving of force for reclaiming people from errors in religion;

^{*} Walfing. p. 383.

but however told him, that if he could not by talking to Sir John Oldcastle restore him to the right way, he would then give leave for a process against him.

This lord was a man the most esteemed of any in the kingdom, and particularly dear to the king, as Walsingham the monk owns, for his consummate probity. Notwithstanding, the king sinding him unmoveable as to his opinions, no longer opposed the clergy's request, and he was accordingly condemned to be burnt, though for some time he avoided suffering the sentence by an escape out of prison.

The king in his discourse with the archbishop had discovered too much moderation in his opinions, for the clergy to be able to have their full desire upon their enemies, especially as he did not seem very sollicitous to have Oldcastle retaken. It was their interest (says Rapin) that the king should have other sentiments more agreeable to the barbarous zeal, with which ecclesiasticks are generally animated. In order thereto they represented the Lollards as men, that not only sought the destruction of the established church and religion, but even of the king's person and state itself. To confirm him in such a belief, they sathered upon them a more absurd and sense-

less plot, than ever was invented by the most profligate dilatores employed by the cruellest of the Roman emperors for fuch purpoles. The poor Lollards, fince a * proclamation the king had made to suppress their assemblies, had continued their meeting with great fecrecy in woods, and other unfrequented places in the country for the worship of God in their own manner. Upon these occasions some of them chose St. Giles's fields near London where they thought to be concealed by bushes, and shrubs, that grew there: but being discovered by the clergy, the king was immediately told, that Oldcafile at the head of twenty thousand Lollards were in the fields, with a design to kill the king and his brothers, and all the lords spiritual and temporal, who were not their friends. Alarmed at this information, H. nry, who was at Elibam, immediately marched to London to attack this powerful body of conspirators. He arrived about midnight, and finding about fourfcore persons, fell upon them, and killed about twenty, and took most of the rest prisoners. The poor wretches, knowing how liable they were to the infults of their perfecutors, had unfortunately brought arms with them, which probably ferved as a pretence to convince the

^{*} Rapin, wd. 1. p. 507.

king of the defign; and that their accufation might have the greater weight, means were found by threats or promifes to prevail with fome to confess the fact, though the absurdity was unfurmountable to every confidering man. For instead of twenty thousand to execute so great a defign, there were only a few mean people, with none of great rank; and as for Oldcastle himself, he was not present. it feems the clergy gained a great point by it, in rendering the Lollards odious to the king. and obtaining a vast price to be set on Oldcastle's head, who was foon after taken, and fell a facrifice to their malice and cruelty. The whole behaviour of Henry towards this great man gives us no advantageous idea of the integrity of that prince, fince he acted intirely in opposition to his own declared sentiments, and facrificed a man, he had the greatest esteem for : to which he could have no other motive than to gain the clergy to his interest, and to prevent from them any interruption in the ambitious projects, he was probably at that time meditating. As to the pretended conspiracy, he had too much fense really to credit it, the absurdity of which, if not at first, yet he certainly foon after must have been convinced of, though he had never the ingenuity to own it, or act accordingly. Sir Robert Cotton, in his abridgment of the parliament-rolls, speaking of the parlia-

parliament that met at this time, in which the Lollards were so persecuted, makes this remark. "The clergy, at this their own parliament, cease not to rage and roar after christian blood, tanquam leones rusigientes; and whosever did the fault, they put John Porter in the stocks, and cried, crucify Christ, and deliver us Barrabas; for pow all horrible mischiefs whatsever were imputed to the poor Lollards."

Bishop * Burnet, in his history of the reformation, tells us, the disingenuous and inhuman way, the clergy had, of dealing with the Lollards: "which was in their proceedings against them always to mix some capital errors, which all christians rejected, with those, for which they accused them: and some particulars being proved, they gave it out, that they were guilty of them all, to represent them the more odious," of which he gives us some examples.

It was not the Lollards alone that in this reign were convinced of the necessity of lessening the revenues of the church: for a parliament, that agreed to the severest statutes against those miserable people, shewed the greatest ear-

^{*} Hist. of the reformat. wel. 1. p. 29.

meltness for reducing the clergy within properbounds.

It was an artifice of the clergy at that time to confound every body, that opposed their temporal grandeur, under the general name of Lollards, and to render them and their defigns odious, they represented them as acting from heretical principles; in the same manner as in a. latter reign every man, that discovered any zeal for liberty against the arbitrary designs of the court and church, was branded with the name of puritan. And in this I have the concurrence of the learned author last mentioned, who tells us, that " when " the clergy had s their authority fortified with fuch fevere 46 laws, they became more cruel and infolent than ever. And if any man denied them " any part of that respect, or of those advan-" tages, to which they pretended, he was prese fently brought under the suspicion of herefy, " and vexed with imprisonments, and articles were brought against him."

But the parliament I just now spoke of, were so apprehensive of this artifice, that they agreed to every proposal of the clergy for the extirpation of what was then called herefy;

^{*} Hift. of the refor. vol. 1. p. 27.

fo that all the pulpits in the kingdom founded their praises. Therefore, when the commons presented an address for seizing their revenues, they were thunder-struck. There was no having recourse to their usual method of representing as Lollards, whomsoever they disliked; fo that they had no way of diverting the impending danger, but by animating the young king to a war with France, and in order to carry it on, to compound for the refignation of the alien priories. Though of all the numerous and bloody wars, the clergy have engaged the world in, they may be faid to have the best excuse for this; yet I cannot think the archbishop's speech on the occasion quite agreeable with the peace making character of a christian divine, howsoever it might have appeared from the mouth of an enterprizing statesman.

From this time to that of Henry VIII. the kingdom was so much engaged in other * matters, that we have few or no accounts of the proceedings of ecclesiasticks worth taking up the reader's time. It is probable they would have made great advantages from the weakness of Henry VI. had not so many troubles at court, the war with France, and the missor-

^{*} Rapin.

tunes of this reign, prevented any attention to church affairs. The same reasons for the most part subsisted in the following reigns, which were also taken up with domestick troubles. As for *Henry* VII. his whole thoughts were so employed in maintaining a quiet possession of the crown, of which he was beyond measure jealous, and on hoarding up money, that he avoided all occasions of such disputes, which might have given disturbance to either.

During the first eighteen years of his reign, king Henry VIII. was a most faithful fon of the fee of Rome, as the learned author of the history of the reformation tells us, except in one matter only, which feemed to leffen the greatness of the clergy. As this one affair was of very great importance, and will ferve fully to fet forth the temper of the clergy at this time, and also furnishes us with a most flagrant instance of the power they had assumed, and their most pernicious and insolent abuse of that power; I will give the reader as short an account of it, as possible, from bishop Eurnet, especially, as during the course of this affair a scene of cruelties came to light towards a person, who had offended the ecclefiasticks, which were nothing inferior to those of the most inhuman tyrants.

In the fourth * year of this reign it was enacted in parliament, that all murderers and robbers should be denied the benefit of clergy. Though the reasonableness of this law, one would have thought, was fufficient to make it pals, yet to take off all objections there was added, that all fuch as were within the holy orders of bishop, priest, or deacon, should be excepted; and it was also continued in force only till the next parliament. Though this gave the greatest satisfaction to the people, the clergy were fo offended, that the most inferior persons, who were any ways related to the church, should be proceeded against by the laity, that the act by their opposition was fuffered to determine next parliament. But fee the effects of an ill-judged compliance with whatfoever that body of men shall at any time be pleased to call their privileges: they were not fatisfied, that it was fuffered to expire, but with great audaciousness resolved to fix a public censure on this act of the legislature. Accordingly, the abbot of Winchelcomb openly preached against it at St. Paul's cross.

As this could not fail of making a noise, the temporal lords and house of commons con-

[#] Hift. of the refor. vol. a. p. 13.

curred in petitioning the king to suppress the growing insolence of the clergy. Upon this a hearing was appointed before the king with all the judges and his temporal council. It will be too tedious to infert here the particulars of the dispute, which are to be seen in the history of the reformation: but in short, Dr. Standifb, who was ecclesiastical council for the king, maintained his arguments against. the immunities of the church with fo much reason, and so clearly consuted the affertions of the abbot, that all the laity present were so confirmed in their former opinions, that the bishops were moved to order the abbot to make a recantation of his fermon in the place, where he had preached it; but they all flatly refused to do it, and openly justified the affertions of the abbot in every point. As this was followed by very great heats in parliament, an affair, that fell out just after, made the matter to be profecuted still more warmly the Michaelmas term following.

One Richard Hunne, a merchant-taylor in London, was fued in the ecclefiastical court by a Middlesex clerk for refusing a mortuary, which the clerk pretended was due to him on account of a child of Hunne's that had died five weeks old. As this spiritual court sat by the legate's authority, therefore was a D 3 foreign

foreign court, Hunne was advised to sue the clerk in a præmunire. The clergy were touched to the quick at this, and used all their arts to fasten heresy on Hunne; and having found Wickliffe's bible in his custody, he was taken up, and put in the Lollards tower at St. Paul's. and had several articles of heresy objected to him by the bishop of London. On his examination he denied them in the manner charged upon him; but owned he had faid fome things, which might feem to tend that way, for which he was forry, and asked God's pardon, and submitted to the bishop's correction. For this, fays our author, he should have been enjoined penance, and fet at liberty. But as he still continued his fuit in the king's court, he was used in a barbarous manner; for foon after he was found hanged in the chamber, where he was prisoner. This was given out to be done by himfelf; but when the coroner held his inquest on the body; so many circumstances appeared, that made it undeniably evident, he was murdered; upon which the dead body was acquitted, and the murder charged upon the officers of the prison : and by other proofs, they found the bishop's fumner and bell-ringer guilty of it; and by the deposition of the summer himself it appeared, that Dr. Horsey, the bishop London's

don's chancellor, and he, and the bell-ringer did murder him, and then hang him up.

At the same time the bishop began a new process against Hunne for herefy; of which being found guilty, he was delivered over to the fecular power to be burnt, which was accordingly done in Smithfield. When judgment was given, the bishops of Durham and Lincoln, with many doctors both of divinity and canon-law fat with the bishop of London; fo that this (fays our Author) was looked on as an act of the whole clergy, and done by common confent. The intent of this was to stiffe all enquiry about the murder; for it was fupposed that when once the deceased had been declared a heretic, no man would be so bold as to appear for him. But it fell out quite otherwise. The city of London was enraged to the greatest degree at the cruelty of and made it a common cause. the clergy. That a poor fellow for fuing a clerk according to law, should be long imprisoned, and at last murdered, and the reproach of it cast upon himself to defame him, and ruin his family; and then to burn the dead body that had been so used, was thought such a complication of cruelties, as few Barbarians had ever been guilty of.

So that notwithstanding the very great pains taken to stop the proceedings, and the endeavours of the cardinal to forbid their going on, the thing was so foul and evident, that they were inessectual: and the trial went on, and the chancellor and summer were indicted as principals in the murder. Hunne's children were also restored in parliament.

The convocation, which was now fitting, finding all this stir made, resolved to call Dr. Standish to an account; whose arguments in the affair before mentioned they thought greatly to have contributed in raising this stame. When he was first summoned, some articles were objected to him by word of mouth concerning the judging of clerks in civil courts; but the next day a bill was delivered to him in writing, to which a day was appointed for his answer.

Standish finding they were determined to oppress him, begged the king's protection for what he had done only in discharge of his duty, as his counsel: but the clergy pretended to the king, that it was for something he had said in his lectures, which he had read at St. Paul's and therefore begged him to maintain the rights of the church. On the other hand, the temporal lords and house of commons addressed

dressed the king to maintain the temporal jurisdiction, and protect Standish from the malice of his enemies. Upon this the king appointed the matter to be argued at Black-friars, where he ordered his council spiritual and temporal, all the judges, and some of both houses to be present. I shall not relate the arguments on both sides here: but after the debate all the judges gave their opinion, that all those of the convocation, who did award the citation against Standish, were guilty of a præmunire. The court then broke up. But at another meeting foon after, the king having express'd his opinion in favour of Standift, and that he was refolved to maintain the rights of the crown and temporal jurisdiction; the archbishop of Canterbury begged the matter might be fo long respited, till they could get an anfwer from the court of Rome, and they would then conform themselves to the laws of the land in whatever was confistent with the law of God. To this the king made no answer then, but upon his command Standish was foon after dismis'd out of the court of convocation. And the king, not willing to break off with the clergy about Hunne's affair, came to this expedient, that Dr. Horfer, who had absconded in the archbishop's house, (tho' it was pretended he was prisoner there) since warrants had been out to apprehend him, should render D 5

render himself prisoner in the king's bench; where, upon his pleading not guilty, the attorney general should acknowledge it, and withdraw the indictment; the king thinking he had maintained his prerogative, by bringing him to the bar.

Thus ended this great affair, which though far from giving the people in general fatisfaction, as they thought justice had not been done against the criminals; yet it made the pretensions of church-men appear very weak, and gave all men such a detestation of their conduct, as disposed the public to be well pleased with the alterations, that followed in this reign, and every attempt towards reducing their power.

It cannot be supposed, that a clergy with this disposition would countenance any reformation, which at all lessened their riches or power; accordingly this, which followed in the present reign, was entirely against the will of the greatest part of them. It has been justy observed, there was never any reformation, but the clergy was against. Indeed what was done in this reign was more properly a few steps towards a reformation, than the thing itself; and though outwardly most of them paid a submission to the king's will in the altera-

tions then made, yet at the same time we find them using all their artifices to prevent their being carried on to fuch a length, as should render the breach with Rome irreparable. With those views, when they had brought themselves to own the supremacy, yet they fill endeavoured to cherish in the king a regard for the most absurd doctrines of the Roman church. And lest the few steps the king had taken towards a reformation, might encourage the followers of Luther to be more open in promulging their opinions, the greatest arts were used to make the king discourage them; and therefore we find persecution never raged with greater violence and injuffice, than under this reforming monarch.

For the same reason, and in order to make the clergy less sensible of the absurdity of several doctrines of the church, and of the implicit and fervile obedience claimed by it, shey endeavoured to suppress the translation of the bible in this reign; for it was their maxim, to use the laity, as Herodotus tells us, the Soythians did their flaves, which was to deprive them of their eyes, that they might churn their mafter's milk with more attention.

Therefore, whatever merit there was in accomplishing the reformation, the clergy have D 6 no

no pretence to any part of it; and the few of them, that really and with fincerity laboured to bring it about, of whom bishop *Cranmer* was at the head, were a very inconsiderable number in respect to that whole body.

And fince I have mentioned that great man, upon whose character such encomiums have been made, I must here own my opinion, that if we consider with attention his whole conduct, we shall find some parts of it, which cannot fail very much to lessen those ideas, we are at first apt to conceive of him.

It is far from my intention to derogate from the merit of a man so much celebrated, by making no allowances for the frailties of human nature, from which it would be unreasonable to expect, that he or any man whatever should be exempt by the sanctity of his profession: and as such, I am very willing to consider his recantation in the latter part of his life; and whatever other slips he might have been guilty of, which may be allowed to be consequences of human frailty, are readily to be excused, provided they are mere frailties: but we cannot consider in that light some of his actions. The protestation, he made at his consecration*, when he took his oath to

^{*} Hift of the refor. vol. 1. p. 129.

the pope, was a deliberate act; and however agreeable it might have been to the maxims of canonists + and casuists at that time, was very unsuitable to the integrity of his character.

The taking of oaths with referved meanings and particular explications, can have no other tendency than to destroy all faith amongst men. And it was formerly observable, that the clergy in general too much countenanced the taking of oaths with mental reservations; though in justice to the present clergy, surely it must be owned, they never allow of any private explications in what they subscribe as necessary to qualify them for their holy function, or on any other occasion.

His compliance, as well as that of the whole convocation, with the king's will, in annulling

* In how different a light were oaths confidered by the ancient heathens, when at Athens, one of their greatest tragedians brought upon himself the highest indignation of his andience, by putting into the mouth of a worthy character, a sentiment agreeable to the behaviour of this great and pious divine.

H γλωσο ομωμοχ, η δὶ φρὰ ανώμοτο.
My tongue has fewern, but not my mind.

Euripid. Hippel. l. 612.

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the marriage with Anne of Cleves, is extremely unjustifiable, and not to be excused by the fear of incurring the king's displeasure; which, if allowed, will equally justify the worst actions committed at the commands of the most unjust tyrants. The author of the history of the reformation fays, " this * was 46 the greatest piece of compliance that ever " the king had from his clergy: for as they " all knew there was nothing of weight in 66 that pre-contract, fo they laid down a most se pernicious precedent for invalidating all pub-" lie treaties and agreements; fince if one " of the parties being unwilling to it, fo that " his confert was not inward, he was not so bound by it, there was no fafety among " men more."

And again, "for that argument, that was taken from the want of confummation, they had forgotten what was pleaded on the king's behalf ten years before, that confert without confummation made a mariage compleat.—But as the king was refolved on any terms to get rid of the queen, fo the clergy were also resolved not to incur his displeasure; in which they rather sought for reasons to give some colour to their sentence, than passed their judgment upon the strength of them."

Wol. 1. p. 281.

But what alone is sufficient to destroy the great veneration for Cranmer, is the treatment fome Anabaptists met with in the succeeding reign. As that young prince Edward VI. was entirely under the direction of protestant bishops, we might expect to see religion put on a much more amiable face, when its chief reformers were now no longer obstructed by that great restraint and submission, to which they were subjected, by the imperious will of the late king. We might expect to fee the clergy recommending the protestant religion by the reasonableness of its doctrines, by gentleness, moderation, and disinterestedness in its teachers, and by the reverse of a behaviour fo much complained of in the popish church. But alas! we shall soon find ourselves mistaken in those pleasing hopes. The sword of perfecution had only changed hands, and, an implicit compliance with the prefent clergy, was likely to be as much claimed, as ever it had been by the church of Rome. The young king, in whose disposition good-nature was as prevalent as his good fenfe, was shocked at this unexpected behaviour in the protestant clergy; and being pressed to sign a warrant for the burning a poor frantic Anabaptist woman, could not at first be prevailed with so

do it, "but thought it a cruelty too like that they had condemned in papifts, to burn any for their consciences." And when at last, by the sophistical arguments of good bishop Cranmer, he was rather silenced in his objections, than satisfied in his compliance, "he fet his hand to the warrant with tears in this eyes, saying to Cranmer, that if he did wrong, since it was in submission to his authority, he should answer for it before God."

It is plain from hence, that perfecution for opinions in religion was never difliked by our clergy, and we might probably have feen it at as great a height in this, as in the succeeding reign, had it not been extremely impolitic to furnish the vast number of enemies the reformation then had in the kingdom, with the power of retorting the same objection against the protestant religion, that had been fo fuccessfully urged against popery. Indeed it is pretty extraordinary, their policy should suffer the clergy to give those open proofs of their disposition which they then did: but it is at the same time a very powerful argument of that disposition, since neither policy, which generally much governs ecclefiaftics, nor the

^{*} Hift. of the refor. vol. 2. p. 112.

consideration of what they themselves had so lately selt, could prevail on them entirely to suppress it, even in those carly days of their power. And though the legislature has wisely thought sit to pare their talons since; yet in some later reigns, when any of our princes have through weakness or ill designs countenanced their usurped power, we find it employed with no less severity than formerly against all, that seemed to disapprove of it; and though they could not extend it against the lives of such, yet they have done it to the greatest degree against the liberty of their persons, their characters, and fortunes.

The succeeding reign of queen Mary, in which the church of Rome was again uppermost, is an instance of the miseries of a state governed by a woman, over whose passions bigotry, and a false zeal for religion, had the whole ascendant. She delivered herself up to her confessor, "and was as much addicted to the humours and interests of the clergy, as they could wish." The interest of the state was entirely neglected, Calais, which had been for ages maintained, and was the last monument of our former victories in France, acquired at the expence of so much

blood and treasure, was now lost: and as this properly may be considered as a reign of priests, we never find one more mean and contemptible.

The reformation, which was re-established under queen Elizabeth, met with the same opposition from the majority of the clergy, that it had formerly. It would be foreign to the defign of these few sheets, to enter into an account of the particular steps taken in that affair; but it was observable, the clergy for the most part made it a maxim to give what opposition they could to the reformation: but as foon as any steps towards it were fettled by parliamentary authority, they chole to reconcile them to their consciences, notwithstanding * the disapprobation they had expressed, rather than quit their preferments. But though the reformed religion may from this reign be faid to be perfectly fettled in the kingdom, we shall be very much deceived, if we expect to find any great amendment in its clergy. We shall soon perceive much of the old leaven still remaining. The same pursuit of wealth, power, and independency was still resolved upon: but as all changes in government produce the same in politics, so their schemes

[·] Hift. of the refor.

for the accomplishment of their designs were to be a little altered; and this like subtle politicians they did not fail to do.

It now became more necessary than formerly for the clergy to pay their court to temporal princes. In order thereto, we shall find them devising new doctrines pernicious to the happiness and liberty of mankind, and from being the janizaries of the papacy, as they are aptly stiled by a great author, become those of arbitrary power, as we shall fully fee them in the following reign. And the event has proved the prophecy, in a letter imputed to the famous Machiavel, but too true, where speaking of the miseries brought upon mankind, and the corruption of religion by the ecclefiaftics, which called for a thorough reformation, we find these words: " * I would not be understood " to dissuade any from honouring true aposto-" lical teachers, when they shall be established " amongst us, and from allowing them (even " of right, and not of alms or courtely) such " emoluments, as may enable them chearful-" ly to perform the duties of their charge, to " provide for their children, and even to use " hospitality, as they are commanded by St. " Paul. But this I will prophely, that if

Mach. English tran. p. 541.

[&]quot; princes

control of this clergy or priesterast, as it now is amongst us; or if that samous resormer steed some years since out of Picardy to Genecial wa, who is of so great renown for learning and parts, shall not in his model wholly extirpate this sort of men; then, I say, I must foretel, that as well the magistrate, as this workman, will find themselves deceived in their expectation, and that the least sibra of this plant will over-run again the whole vineyard of the Lord, and turn to a diffusive papacy in every diocese, perhaps in every parish."

Whoever impartially considers the reign of James I. cannot but discover, that the arbitrary notions which that weak and self-sufficient prince had got into his head, were greatly promoted by the discourses and excessive flattery of the clergy: and it was from those principles, all the miseries this kingdom soon afterwards felt, have entirely proceeded.

The doctrine of unlimited passive obedience to princes is a plant purely of protestant growth; I mean, of protestant priest-crast: or at least if it had ever a being before in the brain of any enthusiastical or interested priest. priest, the clergy of the reformed church of England may claim the sole honour of having cherished, and brought it to perfection. How much soever the clergy had hitherto contributed towards the oppressions of the people, yet we never find they had the impudence to maintain it was a part of religion and their duty to submit to them, till these times I am speaking of.

The first use they made of this disposition in king James I. was to render the puritans more obnoxious to him; towards whom already he was far from being well inclined, though he had formerly declared quite the contrary in Scotland. Their different opinions in regard to the hierarchy rendered them extremely odious to the bishops, and they dreaded the growth of their opinions more than those of popery itself, as appears by their conduct throughout this reign. The bishops therefore reprefented the puritans as men, whose principles were destructive to monarchy, no less than to the government of the church by bishops; a charge, that could not fail confirming a prince of his fentiments in his aversion towards them.

In a conference * appointed at this time for form's fake between the bishops and puritan

Rapin, vol. 2. p. 162.

ministers, the archbishop of Canterbury (a moderate man reckoned, as times went) did not scruple to make use of an expression of flattery to the king so high-strained, as to be almost blasphemous; for, upon the king's replying himself to the objections of the ministers, he cried out, he verily believed it was by the spirit of God, the king spoke what he then did.

But it was not by words alone, that the bishops flattered the king, and shewed their approbation of his arbitrary principles. bishop Bancroft, like a true high-flying churchman, was resolved to lead the way in an at-- tempt to make the laws depend on the fole will of the king. He * therefore in the name of all the clergy exhibited to the king in council articles containing twenty-five pretended grievances, which he defired might be reformed in granting prohibitions from the civil courts. The archbishop could not but know, that in fuch cases the judges acted according to the fixed laws of the land; and that if there was any hardship in their proceedings, they could not be reformed but by authority of parliament. But the archbishop's drift in this conduct was to point out a method to others of applying immediately to the

See Coke's articuli eleri, 2d inft.

king, without regarding the parliament, in things, that were undeniably within their jurisdiction; which opportunity, he imagined, king James would readily have embraced, by which also the clergy would have gained a point, they could not have expected from the justice and wisdom of the whole legislature. It is not improbable, but the king might have been gained to their cause, had it not been for the unanimous and strenuous opposition of the judges, who represented the illegality of the archbishop's request, and the dangerous consequences, that might happen from it.

Soon afterwards two books were publicly licensed; the one wrote by Dr. Cowel, professor of civil law at Cambridge, and vicargeneral to archbishop Bancrost; the other by one Dr. Blackwood, a clergyman, in which were passages in favour of the most extravagant maxims of arbitrary * power. The first laid down these three principles.

if, That the king was not bound by laws, or his coronation-oath.

^{*} Rapin, vol. 2. p. 176.

2 dly, That the king was not obliged to call a parliament to make laws, but might do it alone by his absolute power.

3dly, That it was a great favour to admit the consent of the subjects in giving subsidies.

These principles were so gross, that even the king found himself obliged to forbid the reading those books, by proclamation, in order to prevent the justice of parliament upon the authors.

The successor of the archbishop just mentioned, indeed proved a man of more moderation in his principles, than is usually met with in church-men: but as such a temper made him unsit for promoting the designs of his brethren, we find him always hated and branded by them. He could not approve of the rigour used to dissenting protestants, at the same time that the Roman catholics were openly tolerated by the king, and winked at by the clergy, contrary to the declared laws of the realm: his * letter to the king on this occasion, and the freedom he uses in condemning the dispensing by proclamation with the

^{*} Rufb. vol. 8. p. 85.

established laws, will ever redound to his honour; notwithstanding the persecution and ill
usage he met with from his brethren, who
strove to represent him as a puritan; a name
at this time indiscriminately made use of, not
only towards the presbyterians, but likewise
towards all such, who did not approve of the
notions countenanced by the king, and propagated by the clergy, nay even towards those,
who expressed any dislike of the libertinism, or
fashionable vices of the age.

As the fruit of the feeds fown in this reign came to their full maturity in the following one, I will dwell no longer on this than off to observe, that if the reader pleases to see a specimen of true priestly panegyrick carried on to the most ridiculous and sulsome extravagance, he may meet with it in an extract of the sermon preached at king James's suneral, printed in † Rushworth.

Under Charles I. the spirit of our churchmen displayed itself without reserve in its most lively colours, and stript of all disguise whatsoever. By their means England was on the brink of being enslaved by the king, and clergy at the same time. The views the church had,

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⁺ Vol. 1. p. 160.

manifestly appeared as early as the coronation of the king. The form of that ceremony was compiled chiefly by bishop Laud, who officiated as dean of Westminster in the room of bishop Williams lately fallen into displeafure, and therefore suspended from that office. I will not trouble the reader with feveral fuperstitious innovations introduced into the ceremony, which could not but give offence: but will fet down one passage, which sufficiently shews the schemes the church had formed.

After the coronation was performed, and the king conducted by the nobility to the throne, this remarkable, and unprecedented passage was read to him.

" Stand + and hold fast from henceforth the so place, to which you have been heir by the

s fuccession of your fore-fathers, being now

" delivered to you by authority of almighty

66 God, and by the hands of us, and all the

66 bishops and servants of God: and as you se fee the clergy to come nearer the altar than

others, fo remember that (in all places con-

ec venient) you give them greater honour,

that the mediator between God and man

Rulb. vol. 1. p. 200.

"" may establish you in the kingly throne to be a mediator between the clergy and laity, and that you may reign for ever with Jesus Christ, the king of kings, and lord of lords."

As the drift of this speech is obvious to every one, who reads it, I shall only observe what a prospect there was of the clergy's extending their power to the height of their wishes, whenever they should have a prelate at their head (which soon after happened) that afferted their superiority on so public, and solemn an occasion.

Since Laud afterwards made so considerable a figure in this reign, especially in the direction of all ecclesiastical affairs, it may not be improper to mention the account given of him, and his first appearance in the world in the late reign by archbishop Abbot his predecessor.

"This man (fay + he) is the only inward counsellor with Buckingham, fitting
with him fometimes whole hours, and
feeding his humour with malice and
feeding his humour with malice.

⁺ Rufbrw. vol. 1. p. 449.

" His life in Oxford was to pick quarrels " in the lectures of the public readers, and " to advertise them to the then bishop of " Durbam, that he might fill the ears of king " James with discontent against the honest ee men, that took pains in their places, and se fettled the truth (which he called purita-" nism) in their auditors.

"He made it his work to fee what books es were in the press, and to look over epistles se dedicatory, and prefaces to the reader, to se fee what faults might be found in them.

"It was an observation, what a sweet man " this was like to be, that the first observable 44 act, that he did, was the marrying the earl of D. to the lady R. when it was notorious to the world, the had another husband, the " fame a nobleman, who had diverse children 66 then living by her."

We shall soon see the clergy did not fail profecuting their defigns with vigour, of which they had made fo early a discovery. university of Cambridge, in the beginning of this reign, in order to make their court to his majesty, took a public occasion to offer a notostous affront to the representative body of the whole people, the commons in parliament, by chusing the duke of Buckingham, at that time under an impeachment, for their chancellor. Accordingly we find the commons entertained the highest sense of this indignity offered them, as appears in their answer to a message of the king's + on this occasion: though his-majesty's espousing the part of the university prevented their proceeding in a manner, they were otherwise inclined to do.

This parliament was no fooner dissolved, which happened in a fhort time, and the king determined to furnish himself with money by loan, and other illegal and oppressive methods, but the pulpits founded with the doctrine of passive obedience, and compliance with the king's commands, without any examination of their lawfulness. Parliaments were now faid to be only usurpations upon the unlimited power of facred majesty, which alone was fufficient to impose laws or taxes on the fubject by its own authority. Amongst the feveral discourses on that head, those of Dr. Sibthrop and Dr. Manwaring were particularly remarkable. The one preached at the lent assizes at Northumpton a sermon entitled apostolical obedience; in which he set forth,

^{*} Ruft. vol. 1. p. 373.

that * the prince who is head, and makes
this court and council, it is his duty to direct and make laws, Ecclef. viii. 3. he doth
that foever pleases him. Where the wird
of a king is, there is power, and who may
fay unto him, what does thou?

"If princes command any thing, which fubjects may not perform, because it is against the laws of God, or of nature, or impossible; yet subjects are bound to undergo the punishment without resistance, raising, or reviling, and so yield a passive obedience, where they cannot exhibit an assive one.

"I know no other case, but one of those three, wherein a subject may excuse himself. "with passive obedience, but in all other he is bound to active obedience."

Dr. Manwaring promoted the same business in two sermons preached before the king at Whitehall, where he delivered for doctrine to this purpose, "that the king is not bound to "observe the laws of the realm concerning "the subjects rights and liberties, but that his royal will and command in imposing loans

^{*} Rushw. vol. 1. p. 423.

es and taxes without common consent in par-

" liament doth oblige the subject's conscience

on pain of eternal damnation.

"That those, who refused to pay this loan, "

" offended against the law of God, and the

"king's supreme authority, and became guilty

" of impiety, difloyalty, and rebellion. And

" that the authority of parliament is not ne-

" ceffary for the raifing of aids and subsidies,

" and that the flow proceedings of fuch great

" affemblies were not fitted for the fupply of

the flate's urgent necessities, but would ra-

66 ther produce fundry impediments to the

" just designs of princes.

For refusing to license the first of these sermons, that archbishop (Abbot) was suspended. The sermon was afterwards licensed by the bishop of London. As for the preachers themselves, they were soon rewarded with considerable benefices, and Manwaring was even promoted to a bishopric, though he had been sentenced by the house of lords to pay a large sine, to make a public submission, and declared incapable of holding any dignity.

It was not discourses of this kind only, that were publickly preached, and afterwards encouraged and licensed by the bishops; but we find by a petition of the booksellers and printers to the * parliament in the fourth year of this reign, that books wrote against the fundamentals of the reformed religion, and in favour of popery were licenced by Laud, at this time advanced to the see of London; while books wrote in defence of the established religion were restrained, and of these several instances were produced.

Every one, who is at all versed in the history of these times, cannot but have observed, that in order to carry church-power as high as possible, the bishops then affected to make the religion of this country approach as near popery, as they could, without actually declaring for it, or allowing the pope's fupremacy. As bishop Laud was the chief promoter of the independent power, they were striving for, and had himself the direction of all ecclesiastical affairs, it would not have been for his interest to have established any other supremacy, especially after he became archbishop of Canterbury; for he then was in a manner himself pope, and even affected to be called his holiness, and most holy father, as he was stiled by the university of Oxford + in many of their letters and addresses.

^{*} Rushw. vol. 1. p. 655. : + Heylin's Life of Land, p. 297.

Besides the licensing of the books, which I have taken notice of, the many superstitions innovations introduced at that time into divine service are notable proofs of the affectation of popery, the clergy then discovered ; of which the confecration of St. Catherine's church, is a very remarkable instance. The the reader may see the full account of it in Rushworth or Rapin. The least opposition to any of these things was an unpardonable crime; which we see by the process formed against Henry Sherfield, recorder of Sarum, for only removing by confent of the veftry fome pieces of glass from the church-window, in which there was a ridiculous representation of God painted in the form of an old man, with a pair of compasses: for which high offence the poor * man was fined, committed to the Fleet, and removed from his recordership, and bound to his good behaviour.

The bishops were become so intoxicated with their darling scheme of church power, which they did not doubt to accomplish, that they set up for inquisitors in their several dioceses, by obliging the church-wardens to turn informers concerning the lives and actions

Rufbw. vol. 1. p. 153.

of their parishioners, to which the bishop of Winchester obliged them by oath * in his primary visitation, and thereby committed an outrage on the laws of the land, and jurisdiction of parliament, which alone has power to prescribe oaths to the subjects.

Nor can these attempts of the clergy in this reign be said to be only the actions of particular men, and therefore not chargeable upon the whole; the contrary to this appears in that, after the parliament of 1640 was dissolved, the convocation, in which the whole clergy were represented, continued to sit notwithstanding contrary to the usual method; and by their own authority took upon them to make canons, and enjoin an oath, which all graduates and clergymen in the universities should be obliged to take; they also granted the king a subsidy, a most public and avowed encroachment on the jurisdiction of parliament.

These proceedings were so notorious, that my lord Clayendon cannot help condemning them, though he does it with his usual tenderness for the cause in which he wrote. " † The convocation (says he) the regular and legal

^{*} Rufbw. vol. 1. p. 186. † Vol. 1. p. 116.

[&]quot; affembly

se affembly of the clergy, customarily begin-" ning and ending with parliaments, was after the determination of the last, by a new " writ continued, and fat for the space of " above a month under the proper title of a " fynod: made canons, which it was thought " it might do, and gave subsidies out of par-" liament, and enjoined oaths, which certainly " it might not do. In a word, did many " things, which in the best of times might " have been questioned, and were fure to be condemned in the worst." But as impadent as this conduct feems to be, it was not at all furprizing, fince the bishops had fome time before that scrupled publickly to declare their independency on the state in defiance of the laws of the land, and the principles, thereby established at the reformation, and in violation of their oath of supremacy. And this was done, as Whitlack informs us, in the highcommission court, at the time that Bastwick appeared there, and was fo feverely punished for writing a book in answer to one Short, a papift, who had maintained the pope's supremacy. The author just mentioned, relates it thus: " * In the cenfure of Beffwick, all the " bishops then present denied openly, that they had their jurisdiction, as bithops, from

^{*} Whitl. Mem. p. 22.

" the king, for which they might have been confured themselves in king Henry II. and king Edward III's times.

"" But they affirmed, that they had their ju" risdiction from God alone; which denial of
" the supremacy of the king under God, king
" Henry VIII. would have taken very ill, and
it may be, would have corrected them by
" his kingly arguments, and regia manu. But
" these bishops publickly disavowed their dependance on the king. And the archbishop
" maintained the book of Chewney (who had
" wrote a book at this time in desence of the
" church of Rome) and that the Romish
" church was a true church, and erred not in
" fundamentals."

The court of high-commission was now become an unsupportable grievance to the subject, not only by a tyrannical exercise of power in ecclesiastical affairs, but by assuming to itself an universal jurisdiction, by trampling on the laws and the rights of all the civil courts; so that the subject deprived of his refuge, had no shelter to say to from injustice and oppression: and for this I chuse to quote lord Cla endon's own words, as I am certain, he cannot be thought to have misrepresented the matter in disfavour of the clergy.

* Of late (speaking of the high-commission " court) it cannot be denied, that by the great " power of fome bishops at court, it had " much over-flowed the banks, which should " have contained it; not only in meddling with " things that in truth were not within its conse nusance, but extending their sentences and " judgments in matters triable before them " beyond that degree, that was justifiable: and " grew to have fo great a contempt of the 66 common law, and professors of it (which was a fatal unskilfulness in the bishops, who " could never have suffered whilst the com-"mon law had been preserved) that prohibise tions from the supreme court, which have, " and must have the super-intendancy over " at all inferior courts, were not only neglect-"ed, but the judges reprehended for granting "them (which without perjury they could " not deny) and the lawyers discountenanced 66 for moving them (which they were ob-" liged in duty to do) fo that thereby the "clergy made almost a whole profession, if " not their enemies, yet very undevoted to " them.

"Then it was grown from an ecclefiaftical court for the reformation of manners to a

^{*} Vol. 1. p. 221.

"" court of revenue, and imposed great fines upon those, who were culpable before them, fometimes above the degree of the offence, had the jurisdiction of fining been unquestionable, which it was not. Which course of fining was much more frequent, and the fines heavier after the king had granted all that revenue (whatsoever it should prove to be) to be employed for the reparation of St. Paul's church; which though it were a glowinious work, and worthy the piety of those, that advanced it; and the greatness of his mind, who principally intended it, made the grievance the heavier."

In another place the same noble historian speaking of the animosities between the lawyers and churchmen, attributes the hatred on the part of the latter to their opinion, that their not enjoying so many of the great posts in the civil government as formerly, was owing to the opposition of the lawyers. A true instance of the ambition of priests, which rather than not gratify, they were ready to destroy the laws themselves. "It * cannot be denied (says lord Clarendon) that the peevish spirits of some clergymen have taken great pains to alienate that profession

^{*} Vol. 1. p. 241.

ec (meaning the lawyers) from them: and others as unskilfully (finding that in former " times, when the religion of the state was a " vital part of its policy, many churchmen " were employed eminently in the civil govern-" ment of the kingdom) imputed their want-" ing those ornaments, their predecessors wore, " to the power and prevalency of the lawyers, of whom some principal men in all times, ss they could not but observe to have been " their avowed enemies: and fo believed the " firaitning and confining the profession of se the common law must naturally extend so and enlarge the jurisdiction of the church. " Thence arose their bold and unwarrantable 44 opposing, and protesting against prohibitions " and other proceedings at law, on the behalf of the ecclefiaftical courts; and the procu-"ring fome orders and privileges from the " king on behalf of the civil law, as the arch-" bishop of Canterbury prevailed with the king 46 to direct, that half the masters of chancery " should be always civil lawyers, and to de-"clare, that no others of what condition " whatfoever should ferve him as masters of " request."

It is well known that archbishop Land, the principal promoter of all the doctrines advanced in this reign, and of the grievances, which

which flowed from them, is even at this day the darling of the clergy, and looked upon as the champion of their rights, and a martyr for the cause of religion. The greatest encomiums have been bestowed on his memory. And my lord Clarenden in his history fets him forth, as a man of the highest probity, learning, and fense, and feems willing to attribute no other fault to him than a little hastiness in his temper for accomplishing his designs, occasioned by the fervency of his zeal for promoting the cause of religion, and glory of his But in forming a just idea of his character, we need be determined by nothing but the share he had in the transactions of those times; and I will venture to affirm, that my lord Clarendon himself does in some parcular passages say enough of Laud to prove. he was far from deferving that amiable and good character, he feems studious to make his reader entertain of him. Whoever reads an historian in the proper manner, that is, with a view of fearching out truth, must form his judgment of things from the matters of fact fet down, and not be fo led away by what the author fays concerning them, and his reflections upon them, as blindly to adopt his fentiments and opinions. And I am confident. that to any reader, who will attend without prejudice to the words of that noble historian just just mentioned, Laud must appear of a weak and over-bearing temper, apt to be transported with the highest and most indecent passion at mere trifles, unforgiving towards those, who had formerly offended him, constantly introducing innovations in order to establish an independent power in the church, and not fcrupulous of using any methods to increase the king's revenues under pretence of promoting the fervice of his fovereign. The first. and last particulars of this charge are so very obvious, that I cannot help fetting down both passages relating to them at length. " The 44 sharpness of his language and expressions was fo patural to him, that he could not " debate any thing without commotion, when " the argument was not of moment, nor bear contradiction in debate even in council, " where all men are equally free, with that " patience and temper, that was necessary; of " which they, who wished him not well, would " take advantage, and would therefore con-" tradict him, that he might be transported " with some indecent passion: which upon a " fhort reflection he was always forry for, " and most readily and heartily would make " acknowledgment."

Vol. 1. p. 75.

As to the last particular, his conduct, when in the management of the treasury upon the death of lord Portland, is related thus: " Be-" ing obliged to it now by his trust, he en-" tered upon it with his natural earnestness " and warmth, making it his principal care so to advance and improve the king's revenue " by all the ways, which were offered, and fo " hearkened to all informations and proposi-" tions of that kind; and having not had es experience of that kind of people, who " deal in that traffick, (a confident, fenfelels, " and, for the most part, a naughty people) " he was fometimes misled by them to think se better of some projects, than they deserved : 66 but then he was fo entirely devoted, to what would be beneficial to the king, that all of propositions and designs, which were for the profit (only or principally) of particular ee persone, how great soever, were opposed, " and stifled in their birth by his power and " authority; which created him enemies ee enough in the court, and many of ability to do mischief, who knew well how to " recompense discourtesies, which they al-66 ways called injuries.

Vol. 1. p. 75-

"The revenue of too many of the court confifted principally in inclosures, and improvements of that nature, which he still opposed passionately, except they were founded upon law; and then if it would bring profit to the king, how old and obsolete soever the law was, he thought he might justly advise the prosecution: and so he did a little too much countenance the commission concerning depopulation, which brought much charge and trouble upon the people, and was likewise cast upon his account."

We have a remarkable instance in this reign, how excellent casuists the clergy are, and what a notable knack they have of distinguishing in cases of conscience suitably to the shape and conveniency of the times. When king Charles, being pressed to pass the bill for attainting the earl of Strafferd, discovered great unwillingness to give his consent to what, he said, his conscience told him was so unjust; he was desired by his council to confer with his bishops on that point. Accordingly. "* the archbishop of York, who was at hand, to his argument of conscience, told him there

[·] Clarend, hift. of reb. vol. 1. p. 202.

"was a public, and a private conscience:
"that his public conscience, as a king, might
not only dispense with, but oblige him to
do that, which was against his private consection of the conscience of the consection of the

Were I to give a full account, and all the particular instances of the mischievous conduct and behaviour of the clergy in these times, it would be taking upon me to write a history of the reign, which is very foreign from my defign: for in short, all the troubles in this reign are in the greatest measure to be fet down to their account: innovations in church and state, all the attempts to crect an independency in the first, and a tyranny in the latter, were countenanced by their doctrine, and promoted by their actions. And in this I am confirmed by the testimony of a great man, whose authority in this point cannot be questioned, fince his zeal for the established church, and his attachment to his prince were fo great, that he lost his life in their defence. This is the lord Falkland, with part of whose speech in the house of commons, upon the bill for the exclusion of the bishops from the house of lords, I shall conclude my account of this reign.

"Mr. * Speaker, he is a great stranger in Ifrael, who knows not, that this kingdom hath long laboured under many and great oppressions both in religion and liberty; and his acquaintance here is not great, or his ingenuity less, who does not know and active knowledge, that a great, if not a principal cause of both these hath been some bishops, and their adherents.

"Mr. Speaker, a little fearch will ferve to find them to have been the destruction of unity under the pretence of uniformity, to have brought in superstition and scandal under the titles of reverence and decency, to have desiled our church by adorning our church, to have slackened the strictness of that union, which was formerly betwixt us and those of our religion beyond the sea, an action as impolitic as ungodly.

"As Sir Thomas More says of the casuists,
their business was not to keep men from
finning, but to inform them, quam trope ad
peccatum sine peccato liceat accedere: so it
seemed their work was to try, how much of
a papist might be brought in without popery, and to destroy as much as they could

^{*} Rubw. vol. 4. p. 184.

of the gospel without bringing themselves in danger of being destroyed by law.

" Mr. Speaker, to go yet further, some of them have so industriously laboured to de-" duce themselves from Rome, that they have er given great suspicion, that in gratitude they defire to return thither, or at least to meet " it half way. Some have evidently laboured " to bring in an English, though not a Roman " popery; I mean not the outlide of it only, " and dress of it, but equally absolute, a blind " obedience of the people upon the clergy, " and of the clergy upon themselves; and have " opposed papacy beyond the sea, that they " might fettle one beyond the water: nay, " common fame is more than ordinarily falle, " if none of them have found a way to recon-" cile the opinions of Rome to the preferes ments of England, and to be so absolutely, es directly, and cordially papifts, that it is all, si fifteen hundred pounds per annum, can do, " to keep them from confessing it."

I would not be understood from any thing I have said of the protestant clergy to insinuate, that their conduct had any necessary connection with the principles of our established religion: but my design is only to shew the ill consequence of throwing so great a share of power and property into the hands of any fet of men, as shall naturally occasion them to have a distinct interest from that of the community. And therefore I must observe, the presbyterian ministers discovered no less fondness for power than those of the church of England, or less inclination to oppress all, who thought differently from them, during that short time, in which they vainly imagined every thing was to be carried on according to those whimsies, they had formed in their heads.*

It is furprizing to consider how little effect the consideration of the miseries, this kingdom so lately felt, had upon the minds of the clergy after the restoration of *Charles II*. It was to be expected, they would have shunned with horror those steps, which had been found by experience to have exposed their country to ruin, and have blushed at the bare mention of those doctrines, by which they themselves had been so eminently accessory thereto.

But compassion for the sufferings of their country, and a regard for the rest of their sellow subjects, weighed very little with them, when put in the ballance with the hopes of preferment

A very good reason this, against establishing any priests whatever, or giving them any power at all.
 The editor.

preferment under a new king, and an irreconcileable hatred to the prefbyterians. They fell into all the maxims and defigns of an abandoned, licentious and corrupt court, and extolled the justness and wisdom of its measures.

Nor did they shew any greater regard for the religious than civil rights of the kingdom. though the disposition of those, who were nearest the king, claimed no small circumspection from them * in that point. And though they could not but be sensible of the dangers, which fo evidently threatned religion from a popish succeffor, yet they were the most violent exclaimers against the bill of exclusion +; and when it came into the house of lords, most of the bishops present, if not all, voted against it: and with fuch zeal did they run into the humour of the court at that time, that it was observed. they fully verified the proverb in the gospel, " where the carcase is, the eagles will be ga-" thered together."

Nor was the zeal of the clergy for the designs of the court the over-slowings only of an incontinent joy at the king's restoration, which might have engaged their whole attention in such a manner, as to prevent so early

^{*} Rajin. + Burnet, p. 482,

a discernment of the wrong measures then taken; but when the mask was quite thrown off, and the king, having quarrelled with his last parliament, discovered his resolution never to be cramped with one for the future, " * the 66 clergy particularly distinguished themselves. 66 by shewing their attachment to the princise ples and maxims of the court, and feemed " to make it their business to surrender to " the king all the liberties and privileges of " the subjects, and to leave them only an un-" limited obedience. According to the prin-" ciples publicly preached, no eastern mo-" narch was more absolute than the king of " England." The conduct of the late parliaments was arraigned, as feditious and treasonable: and, at the archbishop of Canterbury's own + motion, the clergy were made the heralds for publishing the reasons, the king in his declaration pretended he had. for disfolving the parliament, which was to be read in all churches throughout England.

It is strange, how prevalent the most abfurd and destructive opinions are over the minds of good and wise men, when propagated as the general sentiments of that body,

^{*} Rapin, vol. 2. p. 725. + Burnet, p. 502.

of which they are members. And of we have an extraordinary instance in a great man, whose name I cannot mention on this occasion without reluctance: I mean, the famous archbishop Tillotson, who from his letter to my lord Ruffel, when under condemnation in Newgate, the latter end of this reign, appears to have held the doctrine of unlimited passive obedience, in the strictest sense of the words; though afterwards experience of the fatal confequences, that flowed from fuch doctrine, it is to be prefumed, made him act upon principles very different from those, into which he had been before misled; and no one appeared a more strenuous well-wisher to the revolution, that followed in the next reign.

Since then the prevalency of general opinions may have that force in misleading more discerning and maturer judgments, with what detestation must we look on the behaviour of those, who having the education of a great part of the youth of the nation, and those too of highest distinction, committed to their care, should, in order to recommend themselves to a prince, endeavour to corrupt the raw and uninformed minds of such youth with the most ungenerous and slavish doctrines? This was what the university of Oxford did; who,

not content with * giving the king a manifest proof, by a solemn decree, of their own mean and prostitute compliance with all his designs, whatsoever they should be; infamously ordered, by the same decree, all tutors to instruct those under their care in the same service notions, that they themselves had therein expressed. What treatment did not these betrayers of the most important charge, their country could intrust them with, deserve from it? Who, instead of forming the minds of their pupils, by an early acquaintance with the celebrated authors of antiquity, to an imitation of Greek and Roman virtues, and of animating them by the noblest examples with

* Amongst other doctrines, these following were condemned as damnable, and destructive to all iociety, viz.

All civil authority is derived originally from the

people.

There is a mutual compact, tacit or express, between a prince and his subjects; and that if he persorm not his duty, they are discharged from theirs.

That if governors become tyrants, or govern otherwise, than by the laws of God and man they ought to do, they forseit the right they had unto

their government.

There lies no obligation on christians to passive obedience; and the primitive christians chose rather to die than resist, because christianity was not settled by the laws of the empire.

Vide Rapin, vol. 2. P. 730.

the love of virtue, freedom, and their country; who, instead of fortifying their minds with a generous courage, and contempt of death, if ever the public service should require it, taught them to become submissive slaves of oppression, fit only to execute the will and commands of tyrants.

After the death of Charles II, the duke of York succeeded to the crown with the general appearance of approbation and joy in the clergy, though the principles of his religion had been sufficiently known; and there was great reason to believe, that the wrong steps, and violent measures taken in the latter end of his brother's reign, were greatly pushed forward by the natural earnestness of the duke's temper and councils. These considerations, one would have thought, should have more particularly obliged the clergy to the greatest circumspection and caution in all they said or did, to avoid giving the least countenance to any opinions, which they were fenfible must hurry a prince of James's complexion of mind more precipitately into fuch defigns, as his religious, and other principles of course inclined him to; and in which they could not but difcern, he would have no other check than the appearance of difficulty and opposition, he might meet with in the accomplishment of them.

But so far were they from using any precaution of this kind, that after king James. came to the crown, unlimited obedience was trumpeted, if possible, with more industry than ever in the pulpit, and all other places. And how necessary, and inseparable a part they thought it of the christian religion, as established here, is manifest from the insulting importunity (for furely it can be called no other) with which the unfortunate * duke of Minmouth was pressed to acknowledge it on the scaffold by those appointed to attend him, who were the bishops of Ely, and of Bath. and Wells, together with Dr. Tenifon and Dr. Hooper. Nay, fo careful were fome of the clergy, that the regal power should not feem ... liable to any restraints or limitations, that lest the king's own gracious promises, which he, had made at his coming to the crown, might be thought to bind him down to the performance of them. Dr. Cartwright, afterwards bishop of Chester +, afferted in a sermon. that the king's promifes were free donatives, " and ought not to be too frictly examined or " urged, and that they must leave his majesty ! 66 to explain his own meaning in them."

[·] See Dr. Sachev. tryal, p. 169.

⁺ Rapin, vol. 2. p. 754.

After a view of fuch principles and conduct hitherto, it may feem fomething strange to find on a fudden, that the career of this king's illegal proceedings, met with one of the first tops from fome of the clergy; this was in their refusal to read the king's declaration for liberty of conscience, on account of which, feven of the bishops were committed to the Tower. But in this non-compliance with the court (unufual as it was) they swerved not from their usual maxims of policy. They plainly now began to see, that their own interest, and the defigns of the king were no longer compatible. A Roman, not an English, poperv. as in Charles I's time, was now to be established here. The affair of Magdalen college in Oxford had opened their eyes to a fense of the danger they run, in being further tools to his defigns, and that they were likely to hold their ecclefiastical possessions by the uncertain tenure of the king's will. In fuch a case it was impossible not to foresee, that their preferments would be foon given from them to fuch men, who having had their education in the church of Rome, would be more relied on by a bigotted king, and who indeed would be more proper to execute the work, he was in fuch a hurry to accomplish, than an English clergy, who if they could be disposed to em-

brace his religion, yet could with a very ill grace and fuccess be supposed to propagate it amongst the people. What was then to be expected, but to see large bands of foreign ecclesiastics pouring in upon the nation, as in the times of Henry HI, and the plentiful harvest, which the king flattered himself was now ripe, gathered in by the hands of French and Italian priests? Was it not therefore the cause of the church alone, not that of public liberty, nor a regard for the interest of the people, that wrought this fudden alteration in the clergy? The attempts upon civil liberty had remained uncenfured, and unopposed, nay were enforced by them on pain of damnation; and none of these very bishops had scrupled, or thought it even indecent to publish in their pulpits the late king's abusive declaration against: the conduct of his parliament, infomuch that this same archbishop, who was now one of the feven, was the person, that proposed it in council, as has been mentioned above. So used had king James been to hear an absolute obedience to his commands preached up by the clergy, and to meet with a full compliance with them in other matters, that on this opposition he very naturally said, " I * did not expect this from the church of England, " especially from some of you."

^{*} Rapin, vol. 2. p. 763.

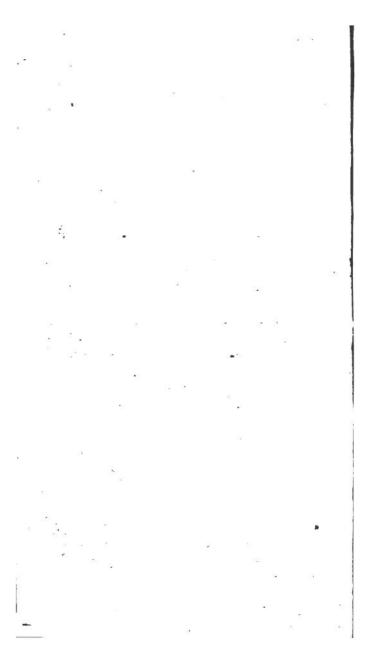
Behold now the clergy all at once running counter to those doctrines of their own broaching, which they had with so much vehemence maintained, and becoming guilty of what they themselves had so very lately denounced the heaviest censures and damnations against, both in their particular fermons and discourses, and in their more solemn and public decrees! This is their so much boasted stand for the liberty of the people! This, their ever-memorable conduct!

When foon afterwards the nation was nnder a necessity of calling in the prince of Orange for the preservation of their rights, though the clergy thought proper to fwim with the stream, yet we see how awkwardly most of those shifting motley politicians came into what they were conscious was entirely contradictory to those maxims they had so avowedly inculcated: nor had king William been long on the throne, before a disappointment in those preferments, many of them expected, or a relapse into those doctrines, over which they could no longer bear to wear the mask, made them return, like the dog to the vomit; giving great reason to suspect, that too many amongst them would gladly have seen the nation again exposed to its former perils by a restoration.

restoration, with the aggravation of having taken the oaths of allegiance to king William, and abjuration of James.

With this remarkable period in our history. I shall close the present account, as the behaviour of the clergy since that time is so known, and fresh in the memory of every one, that it will be needless for me to say any thing of it here.

And as I have had no other inducement in laying this before the public, than a fincere zeal for the liberty of all my fellow subjects against every oppression of what kind soever; so if in this attempt any mistake has been committed (though I am not conscious of any at present) I shall always be ready ingenuously to acknowledge it.



AN

ANSWER

TO THE

Country Parson's Plea:

AGAINST THE

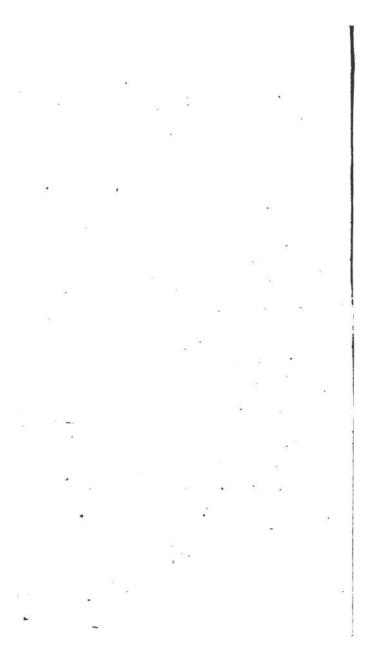
QUAKERS Tythe-Bill.

IN A.

Letter to the Right Reverend Author, .

By a Member of the House of Commons. The real Author Lord HERVEY.

From the second Edition corrected, printed 1736.



[109]

AN

ANSWER

TO THE

Country Parson's Plea, &c.

Very Reverend,

Pamphlet hath been delivered at the doors of both houses of parliament, and sent under the franks of diverse of my lords the B—ps to the parochial clergy, entitled, PAPERS RELATING TO THE QUAKERS TYTHE-BILL, viz.

- 1. Extracts from the yearly epifles of meeting of Quakers beld in London, in relation to Tithes.
- Remarks upon a Bill now depending in parliament, to enlarge, amend, and render more effectual the laws now in being, for the more easy recovery of tythes, church-rates, oblations, and other ecclefiastical

fiastical dues, from the people called Quakers; And offo, remarks upon a printed paper, entituded, The case of the people called Quakers.

- 3. THE COUNTRY PARSON'S PLEA AGAIN'S TTHE QUA-KERS TY.THE-BILL, humbly addressed to the commons of Great Britain assembled in parliament.
- 4. The case of the people called Quakers.

The method of bundling up these papers is particularly to be mored,

For that,

The BILL, though much inveighed against, is not regularly opened in them; and

The CASE, which is the ground of the debate, is printed at the end of the papers defigned to confute it, which seemeth, as if the compiler intended to prejudice the reader against both the bill and the case, before he should read either.

So very unfair a procedure deserves animadversion; and,

This answer is directed to the author of the country parson's plea, and not to either of his his collegues, because I would not be charged with designing to expose the nakedness of a father, or with deriding the dotage of a mother in the church;

I would not be charged with directing my answer either to the lightest, or the heaviest of the triumvirate, whilst there is one to be animadverted upon, whose parts and capacity have raised him above contempt, even in spite of his sowsing prositution — of whom the cause of liberty and virtue might fear as much mischief, as he is known to bear malignity to it, were not his abilities so happily qualified by his reputation, that the most impotent cannot be more harmless.

This country parson's plus addresses itself to the commons of Great Britain, in a manner, seemingly humble, modest, and fair.

- 1. It is prefumed, fays the author, that it can be no offence for the meanest to offer reasons to the greatest;
- 2. 'Nor a reproach to any man to have a reasonable concern for his own property.
- * A phrase used by lord Bolinbroke in his character of a certain prelate: Vid. Dissertation on parties.

3. 'Trusting to these presumptions, I make bold, &c.'

This fpecious preamble might induce us to believe,

That this country parson is humbly submitting his case to an house of commons better informed:

And not that it is the fact in this, as in every instance where a bill for the reformation of the church is brought into parliament, that one or two venerable fages draw up an invective against the bill before it hath had a second reading, and send it franked by the post to the clergy through the kingdom, to raise a clamour from their pulpits against the proceedings of parliament.

This invasion of the rights of the bouse of commons hath been so amply practised by their spiritual L—ps, that circular letters to the clergy of the several dioceses and of the two universities have been issued, under covers inscribed with R. R. Names, on the bringing in of bills in three several years, viz. First, the Tythe-Bill, 1731, next, the ecclesiastical

court Bill, 1733, and lastly, the Quakers tythebill now depending.

With infolence still more alarming, the persons who issued those letters have as openly menaced the members who brought in those bills; threatning to oppose them in subsequent elections with the weight of church insuence, which that it hath intimidated the worthy members I presume not to believe, I am sure it shall never intimidate me; but if the fact be enquired into, there are not wanting those who will make it fully appear.

Not that any one laments to have heard these menaces so frankly poured out against the members, because if that venerable body oppose their interest in the lands of England against the rights of an bouse of commons, it will speedily move the wisdom of parliament to check the exorbitance of that power which is so bold with their liberties.

Whatever shall threaten the representatives of the people in the free exercise of their noblest prerogative, the redress of grievances, must strike at the life of their authority and reputation: and most infamously treats them as a body of men called together for the business

of taxing, and not at all for the ching of the fubject:

As if the commons of Great Britain were in duty bound to grant money, for building of churches and repairing of abbies, but were without a competent jurifdiction to examine abuses committed by the clergy in their suits for tythes and dues, and for more than their due.

This, abfurd as it is, will be found to run through the plea before us, as a principle on which the establishment of church and state is founded, and without which the clergy can have no maintenance.

'It is, says the plea, a reproach to no man to have a reasonable concern for his own property.'

And the whole argument treats the bill as a violation of the parson's property, because it directs in what manner he shall sue the layman for 19the.

This is contrived to enflame the clergy against the house of commons, as robbing churchmen of their property.

But I think the word property was never less warrantably used, than it hath been on this occasion.

The tythes of the clergy, are the wages, which, as servants of the public, they receive from the bounty of the laws; and their right in those tythes arising purely from the grace, their remedy in suing for them must depend wholly on the will of the legislative power.

A layman's freehold accrues to him by inheritance from his father: a churchman's freehold accrues to him by the gift of the public, on fuch conditions, as are or shall be declared to qualify the tenure of the possession, or the recovery of any rights incident to it.

By non-compliance with these conditions, as declared in a single act of parliament, i. e. the last uniform ty-act, thousands have been deprived in a year, not only of their tythes, but their churches, with the high approbation of all zealous churchmen.

And I must say, for the reputation of the sufferers in that case, that as sensible as they were of their hardships, they had greater modely

desty than to call that a property which they knew to be only a trust:

Nor would it have been endured; and muchless, that, knowing their possessions to be held of this public donation, they should have had the insolence to treat any interest incident to their possession, as a matter of property, not belonging to the disposition of parliament.

Every private interest, even rights of inheritance, must be governed by the consideration of public interest. Salus populi, suprema lex.

And, nothing can be more infolent or incongruous, than to challenge the donations of the public, as a property not to be reformed for the convenience of the public.

No free state, no wise people, ever suffered such a doctrine to pass unreproved. The Agrarian laws of the ancient republics in direct contradiction to it, ordained the equal distribution of lands, and reformed the grievance of excessive property, by limiting and restraining the possessions of their subjects.

The laws of England are not without the strongest declarations of the same wisdom in our legislators; the reformers of our church, to their

their honour be it ever remembered, were the men who avowed this power of retrenching enormous property to be the prerogative of parliament.

The act concerning Peter Pence and difpensations, 25 Hen. VIII. cap. 15. hath this remarkable presace.

" WHEREAS, It standeth with natural equity and good reason, that in all and every laws human, made within this realm, or induced into this realm by fufferance, confent, and cuftom - your royal ma-' jesty, and your lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, reprefenting the whole state of your realm, in this your most high court of parliament, HAVE full power and au-' thority, not only to dispense, but also to authorife fome elect person or persons, to dife pense with these and all other human laws in this your realm, and with every one of them. as the quality of the persons and manner shall * require; and also the said laws and every one of them to abrogate, amplify, or diminish, ' as it shall be feen unto your majesty, and the nobles and commons of your realm, pre-4 fent in your parliament, meet and conve-' nient for the wealth of your realm.

- And because that it is now in these days
- s present seen, that the state, dignity, superio-
- rity, reputation, and authority of the impe-
- e rial crown of this realm, by the long suffe-
- * rance of unreasonable and uncharitable usurpa-
- tions and exactions, practifed in the times of
 - ' your most noble progenitors, is much and fore
 - decayed and diminished, and the people of
 - this realm thereby impoverished, and so or
 - worse be like to continue, if remedy be not
 - · therefore shortly provided:
 - 'It may therefore please your most noble majesty, &c. (to take away Peter Pence and
 - ' payments to the fee of Rome.)'

This act provided against the claims of foreigners; we shall in the next instance see how our ancestors dealt with the claims and pretended properties of churchmen WHO WERE NATIVES.

The act for suppressing of monasteries, which had not lands above 200 l. by the year (27 Hen. VIII. cap. 28.)

DECLARES,

The lords and commons by a great deliberation finally be refolved, that it is and fhall

- fhall be much more to the pleasure of al-
- s mighty God, and for the honour of this realm,
- that the possessions of such religious houses
- " now being spent, spoiled, and wasted for in-
- e crease and maintenance of sin, should be used
- and committed to better uses; and the un-
- thrifty religious so spending the same, to be
- compelled to reform their lives; and there-
- upon most humbly desire the king's highness,
- it may be enacted (to fuppress them.)

To this act for suppressing the lesser ecclefiastical foundations, succeeded soon afterwards the general surrender and dissolution of all the monasteries in the kingdom, when so many impropriations of tythe became lay-fees, and were alienated from the church by authority of parliament.

Whoever reads these acts, will find, 1. That the regulation of ecclesiastical property is so far from contradicting, that nothing can be more natural to the genius of this free kingdom;

- 2. That such regulation of property in the church, is the only means by which any people can obtain a reformation of religion.
- 3. That the parliament of this kingdom, in divesting the church of those impropriations

of tythe, did not allow churchmen to have any preperty in tythe;

And, 4. That if the legislature now in being, proceeding in the same course as our first reformers, should think it expedient to abolish all tyther remaining in the church, or to convert it into lay-sees, they could not want a full and proper warrant from the acts of their predecessors, so long as the acts for non-payment of Peter Pence, and for suppressing of monasteries shall remain in the statute-books.

But we are not debating the question, whether tythes ought to be continued: the quakers (as a people who think them to be abolished by the gospel of Christ, and not lawful by the principles of religion for them to pay) desire the authority of parliament to be in such manner interposed, that so long as they are levied upon them, it may be in the least oppressive course, and by the most summary process.

The house of commons, in compassion to their grievances, with the most unanimous, chearful, and ready consent, ordered a BILL to be brought in, to enlarge, amend, and render more effectual the laws now in being, for the more easy recovery of tythes, church-rates and oblations,

and other ecclefiastical dues from the people called. Quakers.

The bill, by their command, hath been. printed.

It recites:

- That by an act, 7 & 8 of IV. III. a re-.
 medy is provided for the recovery of tythes
 and church rates, not exceeding the value
 of ten pounds, where Quakers refuse to pay
 them.
- That by another act, I Geo. I. the said remedy is extended as well to tythes as to all other rights, dues, or payments from any Quakers belonging to any church, chapel, or the minister or curate thereof:

And it further recites,

'That it may be convenient to extend this provision to a further sum.

It therefore enacts.

That where any Quakers shall refuse to pay or compound, any two or more justices.
of the peace (other than such justice as is pa-VOL. II. G tron

tron of the church, or interested in the tythes) 4 upon complaint of the parson, or proprietor, or collector, shall summon such Quaker to 4 appear before them, and either upon appearance or default of appearance (fuch fummons 6 being duly proved upon oath) shall proceed to hear the complaint, and to state what is due, and by order under their hands and " feals to direct the payment thereof, so that the fum ordered do not exceed (a fum to be limited by this bill;) and shall order reasonable costs not exceeding (a sum to be limited by this bill;) and upon the refusal of such Quakers to pay according to fuch order, it shall be lawful for the faid iguities by warrant, to levy the money by diftress and fale of the goods of such Quakers, rendering the overplus (the necessary charge of distress being thereout first deducted.) And any person finding himself aggrieved by this ' judgment may appeal to the next general 4 quarter sessions, and the justices there prefent shall proceed finally to hear and deter-" mine the matter, and to reverse or affirm the faid judgment; and if they continue the judgment, they shall give such costs ae gainst the appellant as they shall think reafonable; and no certiorari or writ from any court shall remove or superfede their · proceedings. It I

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It is further enacted, 'That if the annual value of such tythes or dues doth not exceed the sum (to be limited by this act) no Quaker shall be sued in any other court or manner, unless the title of such tythes shall be in question;

And that if the person against whom such judgment shall be had, shall remove out of the county, division, or corporation, after fuch judgment, the justices who made the order shall certify it to any justice of such place to which the said person shall be removed, which justice is authorized to order such such such such serious and chattels of such person, in the same manner as the other justices might, if such person had not been removed.

'Provided always, that no diffress shall 'be excessive or unreasonable, but proportioned, as near as may be, to the value of the fum.

'Provided also, That where any Quaker complained of, for substracting, with-holding, or not paying, or compounding for such tythes or dues, shall insist upon any prescription, composition, or madus decimandi,

- exemption, discharge, agreement, or title,
- · whereby he ought to be freed from the pay-
- "ment in question, and shall deliver the same
- in writing to the faid justices, that then they
- ' shall give no judgment in the matter, but
- "that the persons complaining shall be at fi-
- berty to profecute in any other court, as if
- this act had not been made.
- "And it is enacled, That so much of the before recited act as relates only to the recovery of tythes or dues shall be repealed;
- And that any person sued for any thing.
- ' done pursuant to this act, may plead the ge-
- oneral issue, and on that, or any other, give
- ' this act and the special matter in evidence;
- ' and if a verdict or judgment shall be for the
- defendant, or if the plaintiff be nonfuit, or
- discontinue the action, the defendant shall re-
- cover [treble] costs; and no fuit shall be
- ' commenced for any thing done pursuant to this
 - act, unless it be brought within a limited time
 - after fuch cause of action arises.
 - And lastly, This act is declared to be a public act.

This is the tenor of the bill:

A bill, which by a peculiar fate, no fooner was brought into parliament, than it united cer-

tain right reverend prelates in the closest combination against it; and they, whose reciprocal hatred was as sierce as the rivalship for power which occasioned it was unchristian and scandalous, at once laid aside their animosities to oppose this most reasonable bill; dreadfully, collecting the force of their abilities in a formidable pamphlet, after having in their feuds for supremacy been hardly prevailed on to support the provocation of each other's company.

From this unexpected alliance, hath arisen the clamour of the country parion against this bill; a clamour indefatigably promoted, but by nothing more successfully than by the words of the plea, viz.

- 4 As I am a subject of Great Britain, as well as a minister of the gospel, I have a
- birth-right in the law, and in having all
- e questions relating to my property determined
- in the methods of justice used in this king-
- dom, and not referred to an arbitrary deci-
- fion. Nulli negalimus justitiam, is the last-

This is a suggestion, that the bill deprives the clergy of their birth-right in the law, that it subjects them to a determination of property not used in this kingdom, that it refers them to

an arbitrary decision, and denies them the justice which is promised by magna charta.

Some of these complaints appear upon examination to have no meaning, and others to have no force; that is, they might be objections, did not they want the foundation of truth.

The allegation of the clergy's birth-right in the law, as applicable to the affair of tythes, would make a stranger imagine, that either they were born with the indelible character upon them, or that every priess had institution and induction of a benefice, even in his mather's wimb.

If the tythes, if the dues, if the maintenance which is now paid to the clergy, were entirely taken away, they would lofe no birthsight which they have in the law; they might hofe the benevolence which they receive from the law, and which the legislature have the fame right to refume, as ever they had to estalish, is the same reason which induced the grant should require the resumption; if public good should call upon them to reverse what their ancestors consented to from no other consideration,

But the bill hath not proposed the taking away of their maintenance. It gives them fuch methods of fuing for it, as may be least vexatious in the proceeding, and leaft oppressive in the end: a method of recovering their maintenance, which may not confume the fubfiance of those whose labour maintains them.

This recovery being given by the judgment of two inflices of the peace in the county where the complaint arises, or, upon appeal by the general quarter fessions of the county by what colour or presence can fuch acculations be brought against it?

The words of the great charter, nulli negabimus juffitiam, are spoken by the king, who is supposed (fays the lord Cole) to be prefent in his courts of justice, declaring, we will deny justice to no man.

The words intended, that the subject shalf have refort to a certain court wherein he shall . be determined; and not that he shall fue in every court according to his fancy :

Otherwise, he might fue in the high sourt of parliament for the fum of fix and eight pence; for, doubtlefs, the king is prefent as-G 4 well.

well there as in any inferior court, and is speaking the same words, nulli negabinus justitiam.

The words then give no man a right to be heard in what court he pleases, but in such as shall be appointed him;

And this is the only birth-right, which either clergy or laity can pretend to have in determinations of questions relating to their property.

If the court of chancery by injunctions shall stay proceedings in the courts of common law; if the courts of common law by prohibitions shall stay the proceedings of ecclesia-stical courts, is the justice promised by magna-charta denied to the party who may not profecute in those courts?

No: for, he is not to have the advantage of law contrary to good confcience; nor is any man to fue in an improper court, nor any court to have cognizance of an improper cause.

And if the courts of common law comprehend, within their jurisdiction, the full view and superintendancy of the ecclesiastical courts; if the courts of equity have the same compass in reviewing and superintending the courts of common law, with power to abridge and restrain their proceedings as justice may require;

Hath not the legislative power, the pardiament of the kingdom, fupreme cognizance of all courts and methods of recovery, with like power to restrain suits, as they shall see cause?

By magna charta the king is sworn to deny no man justice, to delay no man justice, &c. that is, he is sworn to execute the laws.

But is the parliament bound not to alter the laws, or not to amend, explain, and repeal them, as the good of the kingdom shall require?

The king, as chief magistrate, is under this restraint; in this capacity he cannot have cognizance of public convenience: but the king, lords and commons, as legislaturs connot be restrained. They must provide for public convenience, as superior to all other considerations: so that to limit pursuamentary power, as if it were regal power, is incongruous with legislation, and not to be charged on the words of the great charter.

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If therefore the country parson is enabled by parliament to fue in any certain court, and may receive a determination according to the usage thereof; justice is not denied him.

The words of the plea, in fetting forth the hardships which the performant fuster from this bill, suggest, that the power of justices of the peace to determine questions of property without appeal, is a method of justice not used in this kingdom:

A fuggestion so false, and so fully to be disproved by every day's usage, grounded on the laws of the kingdom made under many kings, that, I will charitably hope, the author, of the plea rather forgot than concealed the facts which confute him.

It is a method of justice used in questions of property between the king and the subject, where the public revenue and the trade of the kingdom are concerned, and where the value of the property in question must, beyond all comparative proportion, exceed the value of the whole tythe of the kingdom.

Thus the flatute 12 Car. II. cap. 24. gives the general quarter fessions of the county power

to adjudge, to levy, mitigate, compound, or leffen the ferfeitures and penalties of persons offending against the laws of excise.

And no certieves that superfede their proceedings, or any of their orders relating to excise.

By the 14 Car. II. cap. 11. any justice may commit persons hindering officers of the customs in the execution of their offices; and the justices at the quarter sessions may instict the penalty of 100 s. upon them.

By 1 Jac. II. cap. 19. the justices of the quarter fessions are yearly, at Easter and Missbackurs, to ascertain the matket-price of corm or grain imported.

As by 5 & 6 W. & M. cap. 7. they are tofettle the price of falt and rock-fale.

And by the statute 8 Anne; cap. 18. two-justices may settle the assize of bread, from-whom there may be an appeal to the general quarter sessions only...

Also by the state 12 Aine, Parl. 2. fell. 1.
cap. 18. three justices have power to adjust the charge of faking stranded goods.

Andi

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And further, justices of the peace have power given them,

By the 20 & 32 Car. II. to convict perfons who offend against the acts prohibiting the importation of great cattle, &c. whom they may imprison for three months.

By the 1 Annæ, cap. 21. they have power to convict persons knowingly receiving, or buying goods clandestinely run or imported, whom they may (for want of distress) imprison for three months.

By the 2 & 3 Annæ, cop. 14. they have power to convict perfons who do not pay the penalty of 20 s. per bushel for falt brought from Scatland, whom they may imprison six months.

Power is likewise given by the 10 & 11 W. III. cap. 22. that the justices of the peace at their general quarter fessions shall hear and determine matters relating to the duties on salt, upon any appeal by the persons grieved by the judgment of two justices; and the determination of such general quarter sessions shall be final.

. :,

And by the act 1 Geo. 1. cap. 10. one juflice of the peace may convict persons offending in the fish-trade and levy the penalty of twenty pounds by diffress, or, for want of it, commit the offenders to twelve months imprisonment.

And by the acts 6 Geo. I. cap. 21, and 8 Geo. I. cap. 18. two juffices residing near the place where seizures of brandy or vessels of the burthen of sisteen runs shall be made, by virtue of any acts relating to the customs, for carrying uncustomed prohibited goods from ships inwards; or for relanding certificate or debenture goods from ships outwards; and where seizures of horses, or other cattle or carriages shall be made, for being used in the removing and conveyance of such goods:

SHALL examine into, hear and determine all fuch seizures, and their judgment shall be final, and not liable to any appeal (even in the yuarter selfions) nor to any writ of certiorari.

And that the justices of the peace may be enabled to hear and determine questions of property, is enacted by

The act 7 & 8. W. III. cap. 30. that per-

f 101 &

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to appear and give evidence on any informationbefore such justices, for offences against the laws of excise, that forfoit see pounds.

It will now be insumbent on the clergy; or their advocate this pleading parfor, to thew why the clergy's property in tythe should not for the ease of the subjects of England, and for the attainment of speedy justice, be heard and determined by the same methods, which the treamfure of the crown, and the property of merchants and persons interested in all branches of trade, must submit to without appeals:

These laws affect not only the liberty and property of private dealers, not only the revenue which supports the civil government, but the interest and estates of that wast body, the national creditors, who have trusted their properties to the faith and honour of parliaments; nor do these laws affect the funds on which the current services of the year, and the safety of the king and kingdom must as alkitimes greatly depend.

These laws as they were enacted to determine questions of property, in cases of this transcendent value and importance, have been always esteemed, laws of rigorous advantage in favour of the property which they are to recover and maintain.

They are laws which by those persons whoare fued in consequence of them, and according to the methods prescribed in them, haveever been conceived less indulgent or eligible. than any other laws upon which frees or profecutions may be grounded.

And the extension of these laws to other-branches of trade, as it was lately proposed, occasioned the greatest uncasiness amongst those who are liable to be fined in these methods, that ever was known in our times.

Yet this fevere and rigorous method of jufice have the people called Quakers defered, of the legislative power for the recovery of system against them, rather than continue liable to the multiplicity of suits, the protractions of causes, and excessive costs of suit, which are not less grievous to themselves, than odious to the laws, and repugnant to natural justice,

They wish, not to be fued in this method; because it is indulgent; they and all mankind know it to be a method sufficiently severe upon those who ere fued: but they pray is from a reasonable view, that they may not be ruined by suits in all-shapes carried on wish out end.

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They know it to be a fure method of recovering tythe, and are only follicitous for it, because it is short and speedy.

This may be the country parson's real objection to the method. For, he may desire to persecute the Quaker as an obstinate Noncomformis; he may gratify unchristian revenge against them; and may for this equitable reason complain, that any restraint of such suits denies him the methods of justice used in this kingdom.

It appears, from the statutes already cited, to be a method of justice ordained by law in cases of the most general, important, and valuable concern.

But while this reverend order oppose it, as a method of justice not used in this king-dom, and therefore not sit to be used in determining questions which relate to their property:

Can it be thought credible, that the clergy incited, pursued, and established it themselves, as a method of justice in punishing the Quakers, and all other protestant dissenters, for the wor-ship of God according to their consciences, instict-

inflicting upon them fines, imprisonment, and banishment from their country by the same arbitrary decision; which as zealously as it was sought for in taking away the estates of nonconformists, is so grievously complained of as taking away the birth-right of the clergy in the law, and depriving them of their maintenance?

If we look back into the act made in the fourteenth year of Charles the fecend, entitled, In act to prevent mischiefs and dangers arising by the people called Quakers;

There it will appear, that justices of the peace, at the quarter sessions, had power to conwict by notorious evidence of the fast, and to sine, punish, and transport Quakers, on conviction of their holding that persuasion.

Strange! that the clergy should think the wrbitrary decision of a quarter sessions competent to take away the fortunes of this people, and to banish them from their country; yet incompetent to determine suits brought against them for sythes!

With regard to protestant differences of all denominations, the fame method of profecution was established by the influence of the clergy.

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The Oxford five mile att, to called, beeaule it reftrained differenting teachers, from coming within five miles of any corporation, 17 Car. II. cap. 2.

Enacted, that two justiess might commit offenders of their own convicting to no less than fix months imprisonment.

And by the son to suppress feditions conven-

I. The Statute 26 Car. II. cap. 4.

Two juddees were authorized for the first affence to fine the party five pounds, or to imperion without bail for three months, and their certificate was to be a record of conviction.

- 2. For the formed offence they were to inflict a line of ten pounds, or fix months impriforment:
- 3. And, for the third offence they might transport the offender for seven years, unless he paid one hundred pounds before the end of the fessions,

II. The flatute 22 Car. II. cap. r.

The convictions were to be by two justices of the peace, and the fines to be levied by their warrants of diffuses, though in some cases to the value of suemy pounds.

- 2. The appeal of the party aggrieved was to be to the quarter fessions, and no court was to intermeddle with any causes of appeal upon this act, but they were to be finally determined by the quarter sessions only.
- 3. And a justice of the peace in one county, was to certify to the justices in any other of the flight of the offender.

These laws which were obtained before the bappy revolution, and which were dispensed with afterwards by the Toleration-act, in savour of the protestant dissenters in general, and by the Affirmation-act in sayour of the Quakers in particular,

SHEW the decision of justices to be a method in great repute and estimation with the clergy before the revolution,

And though they now suggest it to be a method of justice not used in the kingdom; yet the

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the clergy themselves, after the revolution, inferted the clauses in the Affirmation-act, which gave justices of peace the first cognizance of quakers tythes.

They inserted them in a law which had no relation to tythe, and they would not agree that the Quakers affirmation should be taken instead of an oath, unless justices of peace might be trusted with this arbitrary decision of their tythes.

A decision which they think reasonable to conclude the Quaker, but not the parson, in questions relating to tythe.

Thus the power of justices of peace is a good and wholesome provision, when given for the benefit of the clergy: but an unjust and arbitrary method when used for the ease of the Quaker.

Thus it is right to shut the Quaker out of all the king's courts, when the parson holds it expedient to recover tythe in the country; but it is denying the parson the justice of the great charter, if contrary to his option he is referred to a decision in the country.

Thus the Quaker shall have no option of courts of justice to defend the property which the law hath given him in nine-tenths of his substance.

But the parson shall claim liberty to profecute in town and country, in Westminster-ball, the ecclesiastical court, and the quarter sessions, without restraint, for the single tythe in which he hath an interest, or he will complain that the justice of magna charta is denied him:

And, the Quaker shall have fuffered profecution at the Quarter sessions for forty years together;

Yet the country parson shall tell us, that this decision by justices of the peace, takes away the clergy's birth-right in the law, and is a method of justice not used in this kingdom.

The country parson, I say, suggests it;

For, I can hardly believe, that any man above that low character, would be so scandalously weak, as to suggest a fact, which the poorest country plowman, from daily experience, must know to be faste.

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- For this I had reason to be thankful, and have always chosen the new method for my
- own fake and my neighbour's fake.

After such an acknowledgment that the remedy is easy, that the parson had reason to be thankful for it, and always had chosen it; would any man believe that since those acts have taken place, the clergy have carried on in the most oppressive methods no less than 1153 prosecutions?

The reason of which rigorous suits seems to be, that the more gentle do not answer the parson's intention in suing.

This intention is best to be understood from the words of the country parson's plea, which asserts, that the law was designed to punish the Quaker with-holding tythe from the parson.

So that the recovery of tythe is not fufficient to the parson, unless he can punish by the method in which he recovers.

The parson, as a principle of his religion, . holds tythe to be of divine right.

The Quaker, as a principle of his religion, holds tythe to be abolished by the institution of the christian church.

The law gives the parson tythe as a temporal interest; and the parson goes to law not only to recover tythe, but to avenge the divine right of his order upon the poor Quaker, who calls it antichristian.

He knows the Quaker cannot yield that tythe, which all of his feet hold to be against confcience.

He can by law recover it in any court; and if the proceedings of some courts are more expensive than others, he will sue in those courts, that he may punish the Quaker in the method of recovering tythe.

This may agree with the boundless ambition, and causeless cruelty, of selfish ecclesia-flicks, but it would be reproachful to the justice of a legislative power, that should allow one part of the subjects to take advantage of the unhappiness, the infirmity, or religious prejudice of another part, for the ends of vexation and oppression.

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Yet this is the case, whilst the parfort may worry Quakers for tythe in every court at his will.

If the parson fises in the exchequer, or profecutes in the exclesiastical courts, he can oppress the Quaker with heavier costs; and perhaps, by litigiousness, may for the benefit of his church, add the tenth part of a farthing to the rate of his tythe.

Will the parson then be so charitable as to sue before the justices, who can only key his tythe, but not oppress the Quaker with costs?

No; for the law, for the country parfor, was made to PUNISH the Quaker for defrauding me of my tythes.

Therefore,

To make ecclesiastical power terrible amongst nonconformists, to subdue their opposition to the pride, the insolence, and usurpation of unconscionable churchmen, to make severe examples of those who oppose divise right, and to indulge a sitigious insatiablycovetous temper; The parson will sue for tythe, not where he may easily recover it, but where he can with greater advantage at once recover and oppress.

This is called a foul charge on the clergy, and their advocates want a specification of suits, that they may be able to vindicate their condust.

It is taking away his power to opprefs, which occasions so great an alarm.

The country parfon, zealous for his power, presends that the want of it will expose him to injury.

The Quaker, fays be, knowing that I have no refort to the law, but must be concluded by the justices in the country, will not

Ha. only

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- only keep all my tythe from me, but will use
- all his art and application to reduce the value
- by the judgment in the country.
 - 'The justices in the country will be under
- a temptation, to use this power to cultivate
- an election-interest.
 - " Many Quakers are freeholders; and as
- they are great traders, have influence over
- ' many others, and will act as one man in
- opposition to the parson.
- 'I have but one vote for the county, and no interest.'

This objection is grounded altogether on a fupposition,

That the Quakers, one of the leffer bodies of diffenters, are stronger in property and interest, than all the clergy of the church of England, the two universities included;

Consequently, that the Quakers weight in trade will bear down the clergy's weight in land; and,

That country gentlemen will court an election-interest rather among the Quakers than the

the clergy; whereas in fact, two thirds of the counties of England are governed in their county elections by church interest:

And, in such counties will the Quaker or the parson be most likely to prevail, by the partiality of country gentlemen?

This parson says he hath but one wete, which is hard upon him; because, to my know-ledge, he hath mire than one benefice.

He says he hath no interest, which I am equally forry for; because, if it is true, it is owing to his very bad character.

But can this allegation be general? Can a beneficed clergyman have no interest, where he hath such a property as tythe, and where every farmer must submit to his will, to avoid oppressive prosecutions?

This power of maintaining a multitude of fuits is the most formidable power of the crown. And, if an efficer of excise can in some degree influence votes in elections by his power to oppress (which many statutes provided to restrain such influences have declared) can a clergyman, having power to prosecute, be without the same influence over the

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wotes of the people? And, is there not the same reason to restrain it?

Every clergyman by his interest with the more devout and yielding sex, by his intercourses with the sick, by his knowledge of all the family-affairs in his parish, and by reconciling even the quarrels which he foments, may procure to himself the highest instance over the votes of his people.

When the weight of his property in their lands is added to his interpolition in their private affairs; when fear co-operates with kindness, and he can awe those into submission, whom he cannot persuade to love him:

What parishioner, having a vote in elections, can refuse it to the request of his parson?

I was ever of opinion, that a clergyman must have the worst judgment of any man in his neighbourhood, if he hath not the best interest.

And, the pretence, that trials of tythe by justices of peace will become subservient to an election-interest, might naturally make a Quaker sear to abide this trial, where the bias of the court must by so great a probability be be in favour of the clergy.

But this is the difference between the parson and the Quaker;

The justices, if ever so much biassed, can only by a speedy decision levy the tythe; and, this will not aggrieve the Quaker:

Whereas the pation covets a protracted fuit in an expensive court, which may not only recover his tythe, but gratify his revenge.

With this view he magnifies the Quakera dealings in trade, and interests in elections;

As if these could transcend that interest in land, and power in elections which the tythe of the clergy, the endowments of chapters, colleges, and universities, and the episcopal revenues of the kingdom, have established in favour of the church:

A power, that every man fees to be daily increasing from the capacities of that corporation, which is enabled to purchase all the lands of England in mortmain.

A power that will, in the course of time, if it be unchecked in its progress, extend its sway over all the property of the kingdom,

H 4 though

152 The Pillars of PRIESTCRAFT though contrary to the genius, and tending to the destruction of this free government !

With the view of supporting this exorbitant power, the country par fon takes the infamous liberty of taxing the justice of all mankind.

It is his grievance, that,

- 1. 6 By this bill he must be tied down, for the value of his tythes, by the judgment of
- ' two justices, out of whose lands the tythe
- . arifes, and whose tenants pay it.
 - 2. 'The two justices who gave the sen-
 - tence will be on the bench at the quarter fessi-
 - ons, or if they are not, it may happen that
 - their brother justices may think it more expe-
 - dient that a parson should lose forty or fifty
 - fillings (a great part of the demand) than
 - s that two worthy gentlemen justices of the
 - ' peace should be suspected of partiality.
 - 3. 'The established ministry will be left
 - without a maintenance, by the iniquity and partiality of witnesses, who are generally far-

 - " mers and countrymen, and undervalue the
 - tythes, though by evidence upon

This is the decent and charitable manner in which the country parson expresses himself of the whole people of England, from the country gentleman down to the country farmer:

As if the gentlemen in the commission of the peace for the several counties of England, had not as a fair a reputation for justice, and as few temptations to be partial, as the judges of an ecclesiastical court, who, though the creatures of the clergy, sit there to decide the properties of laymen: or,

As if it were a foul charge on any man who wears a cassock, to suppose, that he will be oppressive in his suits, or enormous in his exactions, though manifestly for the enriching of his samily, and impoverishing his adversary;

Yet a modest and fair accusation, that none of the gentlemen of *England* are sufficiently impartial, to render justice between clergymen and Quakers.

The first allegation,

That the parson will be tied down for the value of his tythes to the judgment of two

H 5 gentle-

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e gentlemen, out of whole lands the tythe

arifes, or whose tenants pay it,

Is absolutely false:

Because, r. The bill excepts such justices as are any ways interested in the sythes;

2. The parson who may complain to any two justices, never will complain to any one, out of whose land the tythe arises, or whose tenant pays it; but

He will have the whole commission of the peace to pick two justices out of, and will certainly apply where he hath most expectation of partiality to his order.

The next allegation,

- That when two justices of the peace
- have given fentence, the gentlemen of the county
- · may think it more expedient that the parson
- should lose forty or fifty shillings (a great
- a part of his demand) than that two of their
- ' brethren should be suspected of partiality;'

Is abfurd, malicious, falfe, and fcandalous.

It not only reflects on the honour of the mentionen of England; but supposes, that two justices cannot err in their judgment without suspicion of partiality: and,

It supposes, that all the gentlemen of a country will be partial and unjust, rather than that two of their brethren should be accounted excomeous in any particular judgment.

Did the country parson learn to think thus of judicial proceedings from those in ecclesiostical courts? Is the chancellor of the diocese, partial in favour of the clergy, lest the church suffer scandal from the supposition that a clergyman, who loses his cause is unjust in his suit? Or,

Is the dean of the arches accustomed to think it more expedient, that the appellant in his court should lose his suit, rather than that a brother dostor (the chancellor against whose judgment the appeal is brought) should be sufpected of partiality in his decision?

What have the landed gentlemen of this kingdom done to offend this parfen, that they, who of all others are most interested in the public happiness, should be treated as least of all qualified to administer public justice?

O#.

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Or, that they should be treated as a band of raparees, combined to support each other in acts of injustice;

And, less to be suspected of deciding suits impartially, than that wooden implement of church power, who judges by commission from the clergy, who owes them partiality in requital for his promotion, and is tempted to encourage a multitude of suits to encrease his own sees of office?

I hope the gentlemen of the county wherein this candid parson resides, will make him the most public acknowledgments of these indiscriminate reslections, which so remarkably distinguish his humanity as a gentleman, his politeness as a scholar, his meekness as a clergyman, and his charity as a christian.

But I hope at the same time, that he will never be admitted to sit amongst them; because a man, who can think of them as such a partial set of miscreants, may probably be an example to justify his own resections.

And as to the charge on the farmers and countrymen, who are represented in every part of the plea, as robbing the clergy of their maintenance

tenance by their iniquity and perjury, in undervaluing the tythes, it will be a sufficient answer in general, that if there was less avarice and injustice in the clergy, they would be less forward in accusing the country of iniquity and perjury.

It is fact, that the farmers in general never gave the parson so high a rate for his tythe, but he looked on it as below his due, and were they to give him nine-tenths of their substance, it would not satisfy the ravenous spirit of some clergymen, so long as the farmers retain one part in ten to themselves.

Is this severely spoken of the clergy? Let any man judge, whether it can be more severe than warrantable, when provoked by a clergyman, who is capable of defaming all the gentlemen of England as partial and unjust judges, and the whole yeomanry of England as knaves in their dealings, and perjured villains in courts of justice.

Persuading myself, that so much as hath been said on this subject will vindicate the honour of English gentlemen, and their competency for the jurisdiction which is given them by this bill;

I proceed to examine the rest of the pretences, that it must injure the parson's property:

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Of which none can be more enflaming, than the complaint in the 16th page,

- ' No Quaker, fags the parfen, will, after
- fuch a law shall be made, set out his tythes,
- but will retain them to his own use; and
- . I shall be debarred of having them in kind,
- how necessary foever they be to my own, and
- 4 my family's subfistence.
 - By law the parfon cannot fet out his own
- * tythe, and carry it away, but the occupier
- of the land must fet it out; and if the par-
- of fon intermeddle with the corn before the oc-
- cupier hath fet out the tythe, he is liable to
- an action.
- 'The Quaker's conscience will not per-
- mit him to fet out the tythe: fo that with
- the law on one fide, and the Quaker's con-
- fcience on the other, no tythe can ever be fet
- out in this cafe.'

Would any man imagine, after this griewous complaint of the law on one fide, and the Quaker's confcience on the other, that the bill actually gives the parson a better remedy than ever to receive his tythes in kind? And, that if they are really necessary to his own, or his family's family's subfishence, he may have them in kinds of the Quakers by the aid of this bill?

He says the Quaker's conficience will not permit him to fet out the tythe;

But then, the bill fays, the justices warrant shall immediately levy these tythes.

So that the diffress may be made upon the tythable matter, and the parson may have it in kind, with better measure than if the Quaker had set out his tythes;

And the Quaker shall pay the costs.

This is easy justice.

But the parson hath alledged, 'That by the laws in being, he may recover treble damages of every Quaker not setting out his tythe.'

This is the parson's real objection against the the bill; and a most conscientious objection it will appear to be; for

The parson, knowing the Quaker to be restrained by scruple of conscience from setting out his tythe, looks upon the penalty of trible damages

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damages to be a fure interest, which he hath at present in every Quaker's property; and whereas he hath but one tythe of any other man, he takes three of every Quaker, or fin shillings in the pound from the produce of the land, beside destroying great part of the remainder, by loading him with costs of suits.

Can you think then, that the parson will consent to a law which may pin him down to his tythe only, and not allow him to recover treble tythes of every Quaker in his parish?

Can you think that, whilst the Quaker's default of fetting out tythe is so profitable to the parson, he will ever consent that a justime of the peace should fet them out for the Quaker, and save the poor man from the penalty of a default?

This is reason with a parson against the provision of this bill, but can never be a reason with any other man. It may be an interest of precious concern to the clergy, but it would be a reproach to public justice, were they suffered to demand three times the value of their tythes in the king's courts, on pretence of their not being set out, when any two justices of the peace in the neighbourhood may great their warrants to take

them in the field, in the barn, or wherever they may be found.

If this does not fatisfy the parson, there is an expedient, which, as I have heard and believe the Quakers will not oppose, and which must filence the parson's objections.

The two justices of the peace, who have power by their warrant to levy the value of the tythes, when they are withheld, may by their warrant authorize a fit person to set them out, when they ought to be paid in kind.

The law, in this case, will not impose it on the Quaker to set out tythes contrary to his conscience, nor will the Quaker be subject to pay three tythes for not having set out one: but an officer will be appointed to set out the tythe, which the Quaker, from his scruple of conscience, is disabled to set out himself. And the parson will not then have the plea of necessity, to justify his going to law for his tythes, nor the scandalous temptation of suing the Quaker for three times the value of them.

The parson may answer, that this will be a provision for the recovery of great tythes, as corn, bay, &c. But how shall he take his small tythes? 'Must I, says he, in the 27th

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- " page, watch when a cow falls into labour, or
- 6 must I keep a register of all the calves and
- pigs that are born in my parish?'

This leads us to the objections which he makes, in the next page, against this bill;

- As the law now stands, the parson can
- bring a bill of discovery in courts of equity;
- in which case the farmer is obliged to set
- out his tytheable matter and the value, and is
- " liable to profecution for perjury, if he is guilty
- of it. But is every justice in the kingdom to
- be erected into a chancellor? If not, by what
- Consenses the Control of the control
- o proceeding shall the parson make a discovery
- in these cafes?

It is to be observed, that the parson first: puts a case of a bill of discovery to be brought in the exchequer, after this law shall take place : yet in the next paragraph complains, that no such bill can be brought there. He sirst complains of the hardships which he shall suffer in bringing such a bill, and next sets it forth as hie hardship that he cannot bring such a bill. This is extraordinary!

I know not, that the law proposed will take away the jurisdiction of courts of equity to retain bills of discovery; I am not certain, that

that the proceeding by bill in equity is the most reasonable method to be used for such discovery.

But in answer to that arch question—
It every justice to be erected into a chanceller? I must fay, it seems as reasonable that there should be a chancellor in every court of quarter sessions, as in every court of the clergy: and, I think, if the law must compel a Quaker to discover the value of his tythes, that in this case, the cheapest method of discovery will be the best method; and that the justices at the quarter sessions, may examine him with as good effect (though not with so much cost) as the parson can interrogate him with, in the court of exchequer.

There is a slight objection in the same page worked up into a loud complaint, 'that the 'justices cannot compel witnesses to attend 'them.' But to remedy this, the same clause may be provided in this bill, as in relation to the excise, by the act 7 & 8 W. III. which insticts the penalty of ten pounds on any one who shall not appear as a witness, on summons from a justice of the peace. And,

The Quaker must be equally solficitous for such a clause, as he must be equally affected by the want of means to compel the appearance of witnesses.

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So that, in the manner of working up this objection, the country parfon strains it beyond what truth can justify, and endeavours to make the clergy think, from this present want of power in justices, that this bill denies it, because it does not mention it; and that in the manner of drawing the bill, it seemeth intended to leave the property of tythe precarious.

Whereas a bill of this comprehensive nature can hardly be prepared, so full or so correct in the first drawing, as to want no additional elause or amendment; and the ordinary forms of parliament give ample opportunities for inferting them before it becomes a law.

It is next objected, that

In the original cause before the justices, the parson is supposed to have just cause of complaint, and to recover in some shape or ther, and to be entitled to costs.

And that

It is probable he may ordinarily be the
appellant to the quarter fessions, and costs
may be against him.

6 How is it then, fays the parson, that the 6 bill limits the costs in the first instance, 5 when the parson is to receive them, and 6 leaves them arbitrary in the second, when 6 the parson is to pay them?

There is nothing more in this objection, than that two justices are limited to give costs, and the whole bench, at their quarter fessions left to give costs according to discretion. And,

- 1. In the first instance of complaint, it may be reasonable to specify the costs, which shall not be exceeded; to the end that the two justices, though ever so partial to the complaint, may not oppress the defendant with costs. But,
- 2. In the appeal, if the parson or Quaker appear to be litigious, it may be reasonable, that all the justices of the county should have power to give exemplary costs, though it might be less safe to leave it in the discretion of any two of them.

And now we come to the grieveus objection against the bill; (page 29) that

'If the parson bring an indictment or information, against the Quaker or his witnesses

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nesses for PERJURY, and shall fail to make a legal proof (as is suggested be easily may do) in that case, the bill says, the defendant shall recover treble costs.

Extremely hard! that a falls accusation of perjury should be liable to TREBLE COSTS!

If the parson cannot prove perjury, why should he charge it? If the nature of the proof is difficult, does not justice impose this difficulty? Ought any man to be convicted of such a crime from slight appearances? From a covetous parson's suspicion; or from a disappointed parson's resentment? And if the parson wants the evidence which the law requires, should the law allow him, unpunished to publish so much infamy?

This is the manner of moving compassion for the clergy;

- 1. He represents the two justices, before whom he complains, as unjust judges.
- 2. He represents the whole bench of juilities, before whom he brings his appeal, as partial to the injustice of their two brethren.

If he brings a bill of discovery in the ex-

3. He represents the Quaker, as perjuring himself to defraud the parson of his tythes.

Or, if an issue be directed by the exchequer for the value of tythe to be tried by the country,

- 4. He represents the verdict of the jury to be very partial; and,
- 5. The witnesses in every case and every court to be perjured and corrupt.

Such a combination is supposed to be in every country against the claim of tythe!

If the parson (holding all these articles of faith as necessary to salvation) cannot prove this INJUSTICE, PARTIALITY, PER-JURY, and CORRUPTION;

What then?

Why then, he must pay treble costs!

Did ever the christian church suffer such persecution?

Yet, a layman would be set in the pillory, for a tythe of that defamation which this parfon hath published against the justice of his country.

I confess, if I might judge of a man's conficience, who should publish so much slander against all ranks and degrees of men, I should take it to be of the blackest complexion. An honest man will repose a reasonable considence in the honesty of other men, but he who would have no man thought to be just, seems to wish, that no man should be in a condition to do him justice.

However, fince the opposition to this bill hath had its chief support from the clamour against the power of the justices, since the gentlemen of England have been charged with such corruption, partiality and injustice, it hath been proposed that the judge of office should be appointed, instead of the court of quarter sessions, to hear and determine appeals; and, the Quakers have not objected to this proposition, because they desire no other than speedy justice, and will be glad of receiving it any where.

Nor can the parlon object to this final decision by the judge of affize, who can have

no interest to cultivate in the country, who cannot have any undue regard to the justices, from whom the party appeals, and who will not be the same person at any two assizes in the same circuit.

There are, nevertheless, some objections against this alteration of the bill.

1. It is not yet known, that the judges are willing to be charged with this additional load on the business of the affize. And, it may not be reasonable to impose it upon them, if it can be other ways disposed of, because the late acts of parliament, especially those relating to the discharge of debtors, have already occalioned more business to come before them, than the usual time of affizes will allow them conveniently to determine.

And, 2. The next objection is of still greater weight. Such an alteration would countenance the scandalous objections against the honour of the gentlemen of England.

And therefore, I declare myself freely on the matter, I shall give my negative to it.

Every gentleman by this time hath formed his judgment whether the justices of peace de-VOL, II. I ferve

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ferve this trust; or whether the power with which this bill invests them, will be effectual to the ends for which it is proposed. And therefore I shall not examine any farther the country parson's objections, either to their qualifications for the cognizance of tythes, or to the sufficiency of their jurisdiction for the recovery of tythes. But,

The general effect, which their decisions will have, upon the interest of the clergy in tythe, as it is foretold by the country parson, deserves very particular notice.

- The quarter fessions price, fays he, will be a standing rule for the value of tythes
- in every county. And
- 'The bill will probably, in process of
- ' time, introduce a general meaus decimandi
- · for the whole kingdom.'

To this I answer, that,

I cannot fee the probability of any such consequences to flow from this bill: or, that when the justices have determined the value of tythe in one farm, it will be a rule for the value of tythe in any other.

For, if the foil is feldem of equal goodness in any two men's lands, (and the produce saust always be in value according to the goodness of the land;)

Will it be sufficient for any farmer to say before the justices, you have determined the value of another man's tythe at such a rate; you ought therefore to charge me no higher, though the land which I farm is of treble value, and produces a treble crop?

Or, will it conclude the parson, with respect to any particular estate, that the justice determined the value at such a rate in any particular year? Will he not shew that the land hath been improved, the produce increased, and that the value of his tythe is greater than when it was last determined?

This infinite variety of cases, this frequent difference between one farmer's land and another's, nay, between the same land in different years, will make it impossible that the quarter fisions price, as declared on any occasion, can become the standing rule for the value of tythe in that county, or even in that parish where it ariseth.

But

But if a general modus decimands for the whole kingdom were to ensue; if a known determinate value could be established for the tythe of every county, though I see no hope of attaining it, I think sincerely, that it would be a general good, as well to the clergy as the laity: For,

The clergy would be endowed with a better maintenance, though they were allowed a less rate, and the laity would be charged with a lighter burthen, though they paid a higher rate.

The certainty of the modus would fave the expense of these unhappy controversies which impoverish the parson, who even raises the value of his tythe, and which beggar the farmer, though he brings it below the value.

The title to the modus would be simple, clear, and unperplexed; the recovery of it easy and short. There would be no occasion of racking the layman's conscience to discover on his oath against the biass of his interest. And there could not possibly be an opportunity of cheating the parson of his maintenance, as is now said to be practised, by Perjury, Partiablity, and Injustice.

The advantages of this certain appointment for the maintenance of the clergy, are manifest in those parishes where it is levied, by a POUND RATE upon the inhabitants; nor will I deny the reverend order this justice, that, tenacious as they are of the divine right of tythes, they have never scrupled to prefer a parliamentary right to a pound rate, where he promised them a better revenue.

In general, it may be faid with truth, there never was an imposition on mankind more fruitful of law-suits, than the claim of tythe, which never knows a certain value.

Nor, was there ever an imposition moregrievous and oppressive than the claim of tythe, which takes a tenth from the produce of the poor man's labour, who manures the land, who employs his own stock to raise the tythe, and surrenders the choice of the harvest to thepriest, who neither ploughs nor sows.

The improvement of the land is at least equal to the value of the land, and a tenth part of the produce free from all charges of raising. it, is not a tythe, but a FIFT H part of every man's property; a standing LAND TAX OFFOUR SHILLINGS in the pound, upon all the subjects of England.

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If it be considered with respect to fimility tyshes, the grievance is heaviest upon the poorest of the people. Those who are rather objects of charity, and sit to receive alms, are the subjects of ecclesiastical oppression, and compelled to pay tythe.

If a poor widow, the labour of whose hands, and the produce of whose garden, are the only subsistence of herself and five or fix children, hath an apple-tree, she must give the tenth of her fruit; if she keep a hen, she must give every tenth egg, or every tenth chicken; and if she hath a hee hive, she must yield a tenth of her wax and her honey,

TO THE PARSON OF THE PARISH;

Who, if he is not fatisfied with her contributions, will profecute her in the ecclesiastical court, and make her depose upon oath, how many pippins grew upon her tree? How many chicks were batched? How many eggs were addled? And what casualties happened in the management of her BEE-HIVE.

This was the complaint of Chaucer's plowman, against the priest of his times; For the tything of a duck,

Or an apple, or an aye,

They make men swere upon a book;

Thus they foulen Christes saye.

Is it then unreasonable to complain of this tythe of the clergy, as the east-wind that withers the fruit, the caterpillar that destroys the harvest in the ear, the locust that preys upon the property of the rich, and eats up the bread of the poor? An harpy that carries law-suits in one claw, and famine in another? That devours what the public taxes spare, and is more inexorable than an excise?

This prodigious usurpation upon the property of mankind, makes the bill before us the more absolutely necessary, and moves all indignation against the parson, who suggests, 'That' the bill will encourage the Quaker in setting

up a right, upon the plea of conscience, to

another man's effote.

I faid to myfelf,

Doth not the country parson appeal to every man's conscience, when he demands tythe of divine right?

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When

When he claims it as a duty to God?

And, must he not so far allow the Quaker's conscience to decide?

But, fays the parfin,

- ' I wish the Quaker's conscience could be
- examined in this point. Is he a land-owner?
- Let him be asked, upon his conscience,
- whether he paid any confideration to the
- vender of the land, beyond the usual price,
- and upon a supposition that no tythes would
- be due from his land? Is he a farmer,
- Let him be asked, whether he pays more
- e rent, than a church man used to give for the
- farm, and in confideration of his paying no
- tythe? If he cannot fay that he either bought,
- or hired the tythe (and he can fay neither);
- what title hath he to it?"

I must here observe, that

The country parson lays down a law of property, by this examination of the Quaker's conscience;

A proposition,

That if any burthen upon land shall continue, till it lessen the value of our lands, it then becomes a property in the usurpers, and the landed men shall never be discharged, because all subsequent purchases are made with the consideration of such an incumbrance upon the land.

There are three remarkable cases in our history, which will fall under this proposition;

- I. The ancient Romescot, or Peter-pence, was a penny charged upon every house, by Ina, king of the West Saxons, being at Rome in pilgrimage, Anno 720, and by Ossa, king of the Mercians, Anno 794, to sustain the English school there. It amounted to three brundred marks and a noble yearly for the whole realm, and was paid to the see of Rome on the seast of St. Peter ad Vincula, being the sirst day of August, till it was abolished by parliament, 25 Hen. VIII. Anno, 1524.
 - II. The ancient Dans-gelr was a tributer, of one shilling, and afterwards of two shillings, a upon every hide of land; originally levied for clearing the seas of Danish pyrates, or for purchasing peace of them, as by Etheleed, who raised for this purpose, first 10,000 lessext: 1.5.

16,000 l. then 24,000 l. then 36,000 l. and lastly, 48,000 l. Edward the confessor released this tax. It was levied again by the Conqueror; and by W. Rufus; but it was released by Men. I. and finally by K. Staphen.

HI. The ancient difine, or the decimation of all the subjects goods, was the usual subsidy-given from time to time by parliament, and was levied, as is the tythe of the elergy, by the tenth of every thing in kind.

Thus in the parliament-roll 13 E. III. No. 6. The lords grant to the king, the tenth heaff of all the corn of their demesses, except of their, bound tenants; the tenth steece of wool, and the tenth lamb of their own store, to be paid intwo years; and pray that this grant turn not into a custom.

So, in the parliament roll of the next year, 14 E. III. No. 5, it is entered, the prelates, barrons, and all the commans of this realm, grant to the king the ninth lamb, the ninth fleece, the ninth fletaf, and of cities and berought the very ninth part of all their goods and chattels, to be taken by two years to come. And with this, agrees the statute book, Amo 14 E. III. Stat. 1. cap! 18.

But, when the aid given was a quin-difme, or fifteenth, then, the king appointed two affollows in every county; and they appointed twelve in every hundred, who made a true valuation of every man's personal estate, and caused the fifteenth part to be levied.

This word diffue or decimes is equally used; as well for the revenues of the church, as for these of the crown; and the statute 2 and 3 E. Vi. sup. 36, terms the tenths of the clirgy (which were anciently paid to the see of Rome, and given by pope Urban to Richard II.) PER-PETUAL DISMES.

The first quin-difne was granted, by par-

The city of London paid this year for the fifteenth, 2860 l. 13s. 8 d. and the abbot of St. Edmonds, 666 l. 13s. 4 d. which was by composition, and thereupon he had all his temporal goods, and the goods of his convent, discharged of the fifteenth.

Sometimes, the difme and quin-difme were granted both together, as in the 6 E. III. one difme, and one quin-difme were given to the Ling.

king, to be levied of the laity, in aid of his expedition against the Scott.

At other times, the diffue or tenth was granted fingly, as in the aforementioned infrances, 13 E. III. by the lords of their own flore; and 14 E. III. by the clergy, nobility, and commons for the whole realm.

And the quin-difme or fifteenth was likewife granted feparately, of which the instances occurring in successive ages are scarcely to be numbered.

These methods of charging the subject were constantly made use of, till the reign of king Charles I. when the great demands of money, which the civil war occasioned, introduced our modern excise and land-tax.

Now in all these cases, viz.

- 1. In the case of the Peter-pence, which continued a rent charge upon houses for the space of eight hundred years;
- 2. In the case of Danes-gelt, which continued a rent charge for the space of three hundred years; and,

3. In the case of the disme and quin-dismes, which arose, within-little more than the century after Dane-gelt expired, and levied the tentheor sisteenth of the subject's goods, from time to time, for the space of three hundred years:

The value of the lands of England became impaired, by reason of the charge, and every purchaser paid a less price, whilst such incumbrances continued upon them.

But, would our ancestors have suffered either the pope, or the crown, to examine the conficiences of the people of England in the absurdmanner of this country parson? Would it have been endured, either to set up a right in conficience to the perpetuity of Peter-pence, or Danegelt, because every modern purchaser had bought his house or land the cheaper, by reason of such burthens upon them?

Doubtless the same questions might have been asked, in the case of Peter-pence, and of Dane-gelt, as in the case of tythe, and the same answer must have been returned; and,

When the ancient aids of diffues and quing defines had gained establishment by course of time, and the land was become cheaper, by reason.

reason of these tenths and Afteenths granted continually to the hing; would not the grown. have had an estate of perpetuity in the twith lemb, the touth fleece, the touth fleaf, and the tenth part of the goods of the fabjects; or, in. the fifteenth, according as these rates and impofitions affelfed the value of property? Would not the king have claimed his tenth or fifteenth by the fame rule of confciences, as the clergy for up to establish their estate in tythe? And, because the continuance of the imposition had: lowered the rent of all the lands, might not the king, with as much reason, have told the subjects, that the tenth, or fifteenth of their estates: had been paid of fo long continuance, as hadextinguished the rights of the first owners? Might he not have urged, in behalf of fuch a: rent charge, (as the clergy now urge for their eythe) that every man bought his land, and hired his farm, in expectation of being subject to fuch a charge; and, that the price of the land, and the rent of the farm, being less on. this account, no man could have right ever tobe eased, fince no man could have property inthat which he did not purchase?

This may very fully evince the unreasonableness of the country purson's plea:

But, for a shorter decision of the question,

- " If you bought your lands and tene-
- what right have you ever to be caled of
- & them?'

I answer, that I have,

The right of a free subject, to enjoy the produce of his own labour;

The right of an Englishman, to enjoy his own possessions free and clear of all unreafonable incumbrances;

And, my title to the incumbered part of my estate is so far good, as any other man's title to it is bad;

If I buy an estate with a rent-charge, an annuity, or a mortgage upon it, and these incumbrances shall be considered in the purchase, yet, if afterwards it appears that the persons claiming this rent-charge, this annuity, or this mortgage, never had any just right therein:

Am I bound to make their bad title goods in law or conscience, because I bought the estate cheaper, on supposition that they had lawful incumbrances upon it?

In the possession of land I am in the condition of the prime occupant: I am not bound to shew my title to any man; I am not bound to shew that I bought it, or inherit it. It is sufficient that I possess it, unless he can shew a prior or better right to it.

And, whether I bought my freshold cheaper or dearer, I am by law and conscience entitled to-hold it as free and clear, as if I had held it from the creation of the world.

This doctrine of gaining an estate in perpetuity through any imposition upon land, which by length of time makes the value of it less in subsequent alienations, and, by pretended equity, the interest in it less to all new purchasers;

Is of dangerous consequence to the whole LANDED. INTEREST of this kingdom.

It establishes a right fomewhere in a PER-PETUAL LAND-TAX; because within forty or fifty years time, since the land hath borne this charge, the value of land hath diminished in proportion; and two thirds of the lands of England, having within that time by gurchase or exchange passed into the hands of new owners, (as may probably be the case of all.

all our lands before this tax can be released); therefore the land owner, who bought his land subject to the usual land-tax, shall in equity, and conscience be for ever liable to pay two, three, or four shillings in the pound, by reason, of his having bought the land cheaper,

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And, the country parson shall ask him those subtle questions, 'Is he a land owner? Let' him be asked, upon his conscience, whether he paid any consideration to the vender of the land beyond the usual price, and upon fupposition that no land tax would be due from his land? Is he a farmer? Let him be asked, upon his conscience, whether he pays more rent than used to be given for the farm, and in consideration of his paying no, land tax? If he cannot say that he either bought, or hired, the land tax (and he can say neither) what title hath he to it? and therefore, there must be another owner who, hath a just title to it.'

From rules of property and rights of estate, fuch as this country parson would establish, it must follow, that no usurpation on the lands of a kingdom could ever be resumed, consistently with conscience; that the foundations of ecclesiastics, in the church of Rome itself, eaght not to be taken away, because the priests.

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have the legal estate vessed in them; that the impositions of arbitrary power become matter of right, in persons who can work the ancient land owners out of their inheritances; and, that, if SHIP MONEY had been exacted for a length of time, till the value of all our lands had sunk under the exaction, new parchasers would have had no right to have been eased of the burden, because they would have bought the land charged with it, and cheaper by reason of it.

In Mort, such consequences are unavoidable from this part of the country parson's plea, that were he to shew himself in his proper sigure, speaking in this manner against the right of the people of England to enjoy their own lands, an IMPEACHING PARLIAMENT might probably charge him as an enemy to property; a betrayer of the rights and liberties of the people; advancing salfe destrines of dangerous consequence to the constitution of the kingdom, and which tend to subvert the protestant religion, to obstruct all reformation in the christian church, to receive popery and popish soundations, and tresides the commons of this realm to the yake of enermous ecclesiastical power.

Leaving him to the discipline of such national justice, whenever it shall find him ——— I totally

totally deny him, or any person living, to poffels any effate in the land, by reason of its having been lowered in value, through an uniust imposition; I conceive his claim of tythe to have no other foundation, in law or conscience, than Peter-Pence had before it was abolished by act of parliament: I conceive them both to have been nfurpations of the fame nature, which grew and obtained in the times of darkness and devotion through the craft of a mercenary clergy. and the superstition of a blind deluded laisy; I likewise apprehend, that as the wisdom of . parliament utterly abolished the one, because it impoverished the kingdom, fo the representatives of the people have not only a right, but are bound in duty to moderate the other, whenever it shall be exorbitant in its amount, or oppressive in its exactions.

Because the estate of the clergy in tythe, is so much insisted on as their right in conficience, it may be sit to enquire on what confideration they had their original grants. The confirmation of king STEPHEN is an evidence of this kind, the preamble to which is as follows, viz.

Betaute through the providence of divine mercy we know it to be so ordered, and by the church's publishing it far and near, every body.

hath beard, that by the distribution of alms perfons may be absolved from the bonds of sin, and
acquire the rewards of heavenly joys: I Stephen, by the grace of God king of England;
being willing to have a part with them, who by
an happy kind of trading exchange heavenly things
for earthly; and smitten with the love of God,
and for the salvation of my own soul, and the
souls of my father and mother, and all my forefathers and ancestors (consum tythes and other
donations to the church *.)

After fuch a specimen as this, I cannot have the least doubt that estates given under such considerations, are of all others the most proper for the disposition of parliment. But with reference to the country parson's charge against the Quaker, that "his conscience, which will not allow him to pay tythe, is a conscience which will not permit his neighbour to take

^{**}Quoniam divina misericordia providente cognovimus esse dispositum, & longe lateque prædicante ecclesia, sonat omnium auribus divulgatum,
quod Elebmosynarum largitione possuna absolvi vincula peccatorum, & acquiri cœlessium præmia gaudiorum; ego Stephanus Dei gratia Anglorum rex partem babere volens cum illis, qui seclici
commerco cœlessia pro terrenis commutant, Dei
amore compunctus, & pro salute animæ meæ, et patris
mei matrisque meæ, & omnium parentum meorum,
et antecessurum, & s.

or and enjoy his own property." It seemeth reasonable to hear the Quaker speak for himself; and the strongest writer on this subject amongst the Quakers, being Anthony Pearson, formerly a justice of peace in West worland, let us hear what he says in his great case of tythes, on the question that tythe ought to be paid as a rent charge upon the estate.

Unto which, fays he, I answer,

"66 That though it were true, and could be proved, that my ancestors gave tythes, ' and that for ever, yet am I not thereby bound to pay them, or stand any way chargeable with them. It is true, when they were owners of land, they might themselves yield and set forth what part of their increase they pleased, or might have given the tenth, or any other bart of their land as they would, or they ' might have charged upon the land what rent they liked; but they could not charge their oposterity with that which was no ways theirs, onor which, in any true fense, construction, or understanding, they could be faid to have any property in, and which is not paid by ' reason of that which is derived from them. For, tythe is neither paid of land, nor by the * reason of the land, but is paid by the reason of the increase or renewing; and therefore the doctrines

doctrines of the old fathers, and the popish Iaws for tythes, do as well require the paye ment of the tenth part of men's profit or gain, whether by trade, commerce, or merchandize, as of the fruits of the earth. Yea, the tenth part also of wages, and personal increase, though not raised immediately by I land: and furely no man will fay that he pays · 6 tythe of these because his ancestors charged 6 him with them; nor will any man allow, that another person, by any gift of his ancestor, can have another distinct property in the tenth part of the fruits of his labour; and the case is the same as to all tythes, whether predial, personal, or mixed. If I sit still and ' plough not, no corn will grow; if I fit fill and work not, no profit will rife; fo that it is my labour, my diligence and industry that raiseth the tythe, and in my power it is to " make it less or more; and sometime, yea often it falls out, that the tythe of corn is thrice 6 more worth than the yearly value of the land on which it grows; and herein tythe of cornis far more hard and unequal than personal tythes; for the one pays but a tenth, all 'charges deducted; the other pays the tenth of charges and all.'

^{&#}x27; Mine ancestor could not charge me with that which doth not accrue by reason of that

s that which I have from him; nor and I bound because mine ancestor lest me land, to nay " twiter, which is not paid by reason of the land. " but of she increase, unto which I am no more " tied by law, than he is who hath increased wirkout land. If I have land and no lacrenfe, I pay no tythes. If I have increase, though e no land, I ought by law to pay rythes. If I " hulband my land fo that the increase is not 4 to be fewered, no tythe can be recovered of " me; and therefore if I pasture my land, no 4 tythe stall be paid for the grass which is eaten " unfevered; but only a rate typhe for that which * doth. depasture on it; which makes it plain si that tythe is not paid by the reason of the " land, but of the flock; and, in that also it e lies in my power to make the tythe much, " little, or nothing; If I plough, and fow corn, the tenth part of the increase is ge-" nerally more worth than the land on which it grows, which comes not by the land that defcends from the anceffor, but because of the increase won with the great charge, industry, and labour of the hasbandman. If I pasture my ground with sheep that yield " a fleece, the tythe will be confiderable; " though not fo much as by corn. If I pastere with cows or breeding-cattle, a much less tythe is paid: and if I cat up the pasture by 6 horfes or barren cattle, a finall and incon-· fiderable

if fiderable rate is only required; though in few places of the nation would that have been recovered in the times when popish laws were at greatest height. But if I plant wood. and let it stand for timber; or, if I store " my land with beafts which be fera natura, wherein there is no personal property, no tythes shall be paid; or, if I will let my · land lie waste, (which may be supposed, be-* cause it may be done) or will eat my meadow or corn standing, no tythe can be requir_ ed. All these instances manifest that tythe 6 still hath relation to the Rock and personal estate, and not to the land; and is paid by s the reason of the stock, and not of the land. And fo no ancestor could lay and perpetuate fuch a charge as tythe upon it, nor could he 6 bind his successor to pay it. If by my ancestor I am bound to pay tythe ratione tenue re, or in consideration of the land which he leaves me, to what value must it be of? I may yearly pay more tythe than the land he leaves me is worth: if I keep it in * tillage, and if I pasture it I need not pay the wentieth part. Have I not herein (without fraud to my ancestor) power to pay him much or little? How then is tythe ' like a rent certain (which is by some obe jected?) If tythes were paid by reason of the land, furely there is most reason, that 4 the

* the tenth part of the grass renewing upon all pasture grounds should be paid; for the aland still brings that with it; and, it is eafily dividable by rent, or let by month. If another hath as good right to the tenth part of the increase, as the owner hath to the nine ---- why cannot he take it without the owner's fetting it out, or recover it by action of debt or trespass? But it is clear there is no title till it be fet forth; and then, if the owner of the land carry it away, an action of trespass lies, because he had fet it out, and given it to another, and fo altered his property, as one man doth by marking his cartle for another man; and therefore it is, that the law which commands tythes, doth not give power to any one to take the tythe, because he had no tirle, but enjoins the owner to fet it forth; and in fo doing to make it another's by 6 his own confent. If any man claims tythes by my ancestor's gift, may I not ask him, to whom, or for what my ancestor gave 4 them? And, it is plain beyond denial, that all those gifts of land or tythe in England " (fince Austin the monk planted the popish faith, and preached up the new payment of tythes) were given to popish priests, for faying prayers for the fouls of the givers and their deceased ancestors, as cld confe-· crations VOL. II. K

- crations do witness: and therefore in reason,
- if the confideration and service be ceased,
- fo ought also the wages; for no man in
- law or equity ought to claim wages, when he
- " will not do the work for which it was given;
- and feeing these popish priests and prayers
- * are laid aside, the gift (if any such were,
- and could be binding) ought to return to
- * the donor; and may not, without his confent,
- be perverted to another use.
- But some object (as the country parson hath done in his plea) that

When I or my ancestor bought the land, it was sold cheaper (because it was supposed it was supposed it have bought such land as was known to be tythe-free; and therefore, having a cheaper bargain, I am bound in equity to pay tythe.

I answer,

- That, I have already proved all land is
- * tythe free; and that the charge of tythe is
- upon the stock and personal estate, and not
- wpon the land. And, the strength of this
- objection lies in comparing those who pay
- tythes, with those who are free. Those who
- 4 buy lands tythe free are eased of this oppres-

. Gon,

fion, and are in no hazard: and, though all others ought to be fo, yet it being a quee stion, whether they can ease themselves of the burthen, they buy under a hazard, and are subject to such a charge. But if they cast off the yoke, they get but what is their own; and feeing we have denied the pope's authority and fupremacy, we may, fo foon as we can, wholly cast off the burden which he ' laid on us: and thus, he that buys lands in the years of trouble and heavy taxes " may, perhaps, buy much cheaper than when one or little is paid: shall he therefore be e required to pay taxes when others are difcharged? Or, shall he that bought cheap e pennyworths on the borders between Eng-' land and Scotland, when those parts were infested with moss-troopers, always pay tribate to thieves and robbers? We bought land when the pope's yoke was upon our necks: and if we cast it from us, we may by as good reason be eased of our tythes, as they of their taxes. But if I bought it cheaper, " what is that to the flate or the priest?"

This is the Quaker's defence against the charge of setting up a title on the plea of conscience to another man's estate; wherein he proves, that his tenth, which the parson claims in the produce of land, is neither his right

by any condition annexed to the inheritance nor by any confideration allowed in the purchase; that neither the donor of the land gave, or could give it; and that neither conscience nor equity can require the Quaker to pay it.

The question will then depend upon the judgment of the legislative power; and we are still in the proper method of debating, what measures the legislative ought to prescribe, between the parson and the Quaker in the case of tythes.

The words perverse, ungodly, undutiful to God and the king, prove nothing but that the priests, who had power to obtain a penal statute, had leave to call people names in the preamble to it. But

If it be urged as the fense of those times concerning non-payment of tythe, will the parfon allow me to cite other statutes, made about the same time, as the sense of the law-makers upon other ecclesissical pretentions?

I fear, the fense of parliament hath very little weight with the clergy, when it is not on the side of their ambition; and therefore I may not perhaps hold it conclusive, when, influenced by their ungodly management, it lets them loose to defame and damn their enemies, as enemies to God and the king.

The statute of the first year of Edward VI.

Declareg,

That elections of archbishops and bishops, by deans and chapters, are as well to the

⁶ long delay, as to the great costs and charges.

of fuch persons whom the king gives any

archbishoprick or bishoprick unto, and that

the faid elections be in very deed no elec-

tiens, but only by a writ of CONGE

D'ELIRE have colours, shadows, or pre-

tences of elections, ferving nevertheless to no

purpose, and seeming also derogatory to the

* king's prerogative royal.'

This act of parliament, though not held at present to be in force, doth certainly shew the sense of our ancestors on the subject of electing bishops.

Will the clergy allow us to speak of their pretended elections of bishops in the terms of this act of parliament? No — it is against divine right. If then they will not allow the institution of bishops to be tied down, to the preface of a law made in Edward VI's time, will they tie every man down, in the equity of tythes, to the preface of a law made in Henry VIII's time?

I trust in the right of an Erglish subject, that we shall not be restrained, from a larger consideration of so important an affair, and that neither our duty to God or the king shall be questioned, for no better reason than our difference of sentiments in the affair of tythes.

I reverence an act of parliament as muchas any man living. It is the act of that power which we are all bound to trust and obey. But I am not so far concluded by an act of parliament, that I ought either to believe implicitly whatever it declares, or not to sollicit the repeal of what it may enact.

And, I cannot but observe,

- 1. That when Henry VIII. unravelling his own reformation, went retrograde into the worst measures of popery, he past the act of the fix articles in his 31st year, wherein he established auricular confession and translubstantiation. And
- 2. That in the next year he past the act for the payment of tythes, wherein is the samous expression of persons not regarding their duties so God and the king.

If therefore tythes, transul stantiation, and auricular confession, are of the same growth and samily, we shall find that the same reasoning from acts of parliament, which makes the payment of tythes a DUTY to God and the king, by the statute of 32 Hen. VIII. would as forcibly prove transubstantiation and auricular con-

f. ∏i ne

fession to be articles of faith fit for a christian to believe in, because they are so declared, by the statute of 31 Hon. VIII. which imposed those six thody articles famous in the story of those times. And,

To fay that the act of the fix articles is repealed, but that the tythe act is still in force, would make the matter infinitely ridiculous; for

This would suppose that our duty to God, or our faith in Christ, depends altogether on the existences and duration of acts of parliament: So that it may be a duty to God, or not a duty to God; an orthodox creed, or not an orthodox creed, as different parliaments happen to be of different opinions.

If the country parson is displeased, that such absurdities should be laid at his door, he should be less forward to press the sense of our ancestors, and authorities out of the statute books, in proof of such points as duties to God, wherein every man may take the bible and his own conscience to be safer guides than any act of parliament.

If he is displeased, that the sense of our ancestors, and authorities out of the statute books

books should be urged in support of the rights of the laity against the usurpations of the clergy, I must tell him, that to protect the people from injustice, is the proper and essential care of parliament, but that to define duties to God, is beyond the bounds of humans authority; and though parliaments may specify what doctrines clergymen shall feach, yet they cannot require any man to believe them, because though the parson is the servant of these legislative power, yet every man is master of his own conscience.

Our duty to God, as to the payment of tythes, is therefore in every respect as questionable, and as conscientiously to be denied, as if those laws had never been enacted: And,

The payment of tythes, as a duty to God; bring denied by the quakers, and by almost all other men;

The common good can be the only justifiable reason for imposing it as a common charge.

Thus, we are once more in the case, where we ought to be, of debating the merits of this bill upon the principles of public judice.

Thee

The people called Quakers who are most oppressed by suits for tythe, apply for the better regulation of such suits, that they, may be less oppressed by them.

As a people professing the religion of Christ, they cannot pay tythes or wages to the clergy, because they believe in their consciences that Christ abolished tythes, and forbid the payment of wages to the priesthood.

If they are in an error, it is the error of their consciences, and they ought not to be punished for it. But,

As subjects professing a dutiful obedience to the government under which they live, they yield according to the Gospel of Christ, submission to the civil magistrate, and what he takes from them, for the maintenance of the clergy, they patiently acquiesce in:

They make no refistance to the officer whodistrains their goods for tythe. And,

Can any thing be more reasonable, than to appoint an officer, who shall at their charge set out the tythe, when it is due in kind, or levy it, when it ought to be paid in money? Or,

Can any thing be more unreasonable, than to authorize the parson to sue the Quaker, not only for the tythe, but for three times the value, because he hath not fet it out, when he is disabled by his conscience, and when any other man may be appointed by law to satisfact out for him?

We are told by the country parfon, that every wife clergyman, for his own take, and every good clergyman, for his neighbour's fake, will take the easy and cheap method which is left to his option by former acts of parthament; and;

Therefore, it is inferred, the legislatureought not to tie the clergy down, to this cafy and cheap method, because the wisest and best of them already use it for their own sake, and: their neighbours. But,

If the wifest and best use it of choice, this will be an argument, that the unreasonable and: unjust should be restrained to it. For,

Are the subjects of E gland to have not better security against oppression, than the wisdom and goodness of the clergy? Or,

Ought:

Ought the clergy to be trusted with a power, which, according to the parson's confession, neither a wife clergyman nor a good clergyman can use, without mischief either to himself or his neighbour?

Where the power of oppression is, acts of appression will undoubtedly be. No church, no state, no body of men ever had this power but they used it. And,

Whoever gives an authority to oppress, isthe author of oppression.

This truth, which is written in charactersof blood in all the histories of mankind, is reafon and evidence to justify a bill which restrains an oppressive power in the church:

A reason so convincing, an evidence soclear, as makes it trifting with the justice of parliament, when the clergy demand proof that they do oppress, whilst every man who hatheyes must see that they may oppress.

If they may many of them will: but,

If they may not none of them can commit

If they have not oppressed by that powerwhereby they may oppress; yet, it is incumbenton the justice of an house of commons to restrain. such oppressive power. Because,

It is more the duty of parliament to prevent grievances than it is to redress them; it is more compassionate to save men from injustice than to relieve them under it; it is an happier effect of law to preserve property than to repair it; it is a nobler act of justice to restrain a crime than to punish it; and it is a more perfect constitution of government, under which oppression is not practicable, than that under which it is practised, and may be punished.

By a paper which I have feen, in the hands of Gentlemen (fince this bill hath been depending) entitled An account of prosecutions of the people called Quakers in the several courts, since the seventh and eighth of king-William the third, Anno 1696, when the Affirmation Act was obtained, which gave justices of the peace power to judge of tythe demanded under the value of ten pounds;

Itappears that there have been,

Prosecution:,	Prifon. Died in Prifon.				
In chancery 38	10 1				
In the exchequer 787	185 2				
In the ecclesia- flical courts } 269	81 2				
law courts } 59	16. O				
In all 1153	292 5				

The Quakers add, that 'they are very imperfect as to the whole number of fuits brought, because several times such suits were made an end of in the country, and no ac-

count given of them to their meeting of suffer-

• ings; and many times, when friends were

discharged from imprisonments by acts for re-

Lief, of insolvent debtors, there were no.ac-

count given; and, the like deficiency often

happened, when their relations paid to re-

4. leafe them out of goal.'

They alledge, 'That the demands for tythe have been innumerable, within forty years past; but that the nature of the prosecutions, and sums levied by them may be judged of, they have collected forty-four cases, where the demands amount to 188 1-3 1-4 2 d. and the sums levied to 2252 1.6 s. 10 d.

- One Isaac Averil was prosecuted three feveral times for three several sums amounting to 19 l. for which he had taken from him 18.7 l. 10 s.
- There was one friend a prisoner ten years for forty shillings.
- Another, a priloner four years for one hilling.
- Two-were prisoners five years for twenty. Inillings.
- One was a prisoner nine years for small tythe.
 - One was a prisoner fix years for four pounds ten shillings.
 - They find an account of fifteen persons profecuted for above ten pounds each;
 - The demands on the whole fifteen being 313 l. 9 s. 6 d. there was taken from them for that demand 1068 l. 7 s. 4 d. 2 q.
 - They further specify the names of the following persons with the tythe demanded under

the value of ten pounds, and the sum levied on . on account thereof, viz.

	1.	3.	d.	1.	5	de.
James Haviland -	- 8	00	٥	. 6r	00	· Ov.
Thomas Strong	- I	10	6	15	II.	6.
Richard Cafe	m Q	13	Q.	37	11	6
Thomas Drape	- 4	10	I	50	90	0
Robert Holliday -	- 0	II	6	60	00	0.
Henry Wate	- 1	4	6.	30	00	0 .
Fosiab Williams -	- 2	00	Q .	30	00	0
Fobn Taylor -	- I.	5	8.	44	18	Q:
Manander Meare -	-፮6	15	IL	87	16	11
Feremiah Ellis	- g 1.	00	0	44	ОQ	0
George Bewley -	-₹3	10	ο.	93	10	0
Sam. Tullyand T Warme	r#3	2	8 ;	75	16	. O.
William Pearson -	- 50	13	0	i 19.	.16	0-
Fonathan Peafely -	-37	0	0	237	5	0
Daniel Williams -	-20	1	6	IQQ	Q	0
Thomas Ellwood -	0	12	0	24	7	6
Abraham Butterfield -	_ 8	0	0	90	0	6.
Roger Jenkins	. Q	14	6	84	IO	6
Richard Allen			6	80	0	0.
Thomas Jenkins -			0.	67	10	0
John Townshend -	- 4	60	0	73	14	0 .
Francis Chairman			۵		0	0.
0.28	66	1	-4	1484		11

This is, a specification of suits, which the country parson and his colleagues complain of

as omitted in the case of the Quakers. I am told, that the registers of their meeting of sufferings have recorded the cases at large; and that they will inform any gentleman of the particulars of their hardships; which I mention, because, having no acquaintance amongst them, I am without fuller information myself, now have I applied, where, I believe, I could not be refused; because, if I knew the exactest state of every case, it could not be discoursed of within the extent of these papers.

The number of fuits herein specified, the prisoners, the distroller, and the immente difparity between the demand and fum exacted in fuits for tythe, must raise abhorrence in any compassionate mind. The single article of ONE HUNDRED POUNDS taken for eighteen pence would be jud provocation. for abolishing all the tythes of the clergy, if their fuits could not be carried on in more humane methods. Such an inflance of oppression in any civil concern would raise an infurrection: and, that men endure it from their spiritual guides, shows the universal pasfion for an interest in another world; though, the utmost force of imagination causes paint an HELL more terrible to our fears, than what the cruelty of the clergy daily fets before OHE CYCS. In

In eleven hundred and fifty-three fuits they made two hundred and ninty-two prisoners; in fifteen fuits where the claims amounted to 3131. they exacted 10681. which was at the rate of one bundred pounds for less than shirty pounds; in forty-four fuits where the claims amounted to 188 /. they exacted 2252 l. which was at the rate of one hundred pounds for little more than 81. and, in twenty-two fuits where the claims amounted to 66 %. they exacted 14841. which was the rate of one bundred pounds for less than four pounds ten shillings. Or if we take these eighty-one fuits all together, the fums demanded make 567 /. which compared with 4804 /. the total fum taken, is in the proportion of one hundred pounds levied, for every fum of eleven pounds for faillings demanded.

Compute the medium of the charge in any manner it is monstrous and enormous. Suits attended with such costs are a scandal on the justice of the kingdom, not to mention the profession of the gospel. And therefore this bill, which is designed to shorten suits and limit costs, will vindicate the laws as much as it will ease the people.

I perfectly agree with the country parson in this pleas, 'That to secure property is one main end of government, and that therefore all opinions, all practices inconsistent with the preservation of property, are also inconsistent with government and society.'

No man can be more tender of property than I have ever been, and always shall be. But I think, that the laity have a property in their goods, as well as the clergy in tythe;

That nine parts in ten are a more valuable property than a fingle tenth can pretend to be 3.

That the property of a tenth ought not to devour the property of all the other nine;

And, that it is destructive of all property to levy four thousand eight hundred and four pounds on the laity, where the sum of 567 l. is the whole demand of the clergy.

The country parson hath a conceit, that this bill is the only instance of an application to any government in the known world, to countenance an opinion destructive to the property of any of the subjects.

But furely, if it be his conception, he is wrong, vain, and unwarrantable.

That lands held in mortmain, or that the stagnation of property in dead hands, is contrary to the good of the kingdom, hath been the opinion of our parliaments, and the principle of our hows, ever fince the foundation of this government, however destructive it must be to what churchmen call their property.

But further, that the Quakers hold the maintenance of the clergy to be antichristian and unreasonable, is fact; for,

That any feet should account it a sufficient charge upon them to maintain their own teachers, is but reason:

And that the Quakers, who pay nothing at all to their own teachers, should be obliged to maintain the teachers of any other sect, is to them not only an hardship, but an abomination.

Now this which tends to take away the maintenance of the priesthood, may to a parson seem very naturally destructive of what be called his property. But,

Because

Because the Quaker withholds the tenth which the law gives the person a title to, shall be take the other nine which the law can give him no title to? And, by reason of a claim of 567 l. consume four thousand sight bundred and four pounds of the Quaker's substance? And, more prodigious! shall he take an hundred pounds for eighteen pence?

I envy the clergy no maintenance which the law gives, or can give them; but, the maintenance of the priesthood ought not so devour the substance of the whole people, like the ears of corn in PHARAOH's DREAM, that sprung up withered, thin, and blasted with the east wind; and devoured the ears that were full and good.

I have not contended either for taking away, or for making less, that maintenance which the law allows them. But I have always been of opinion, that to ask it from the good-will of society, and to take it without cruelty or oppression, will more firmly establish their revenues than the most arrogant claims of divine right, or the most rigorous measures of ecclesiastical tyranny.

I firmly believe, that to feek for no more than their due, would be the furest means of always receiving their due;

I have ever observed, that the more they talk of their privileges, the less other people think of them:

And, whatever light I may stand in with the reverend order, I believe, I am a better friend to their interests than many of themfelves can pretend to be; for they would maintain that exorbitant usurpation of power, which they cannot make use of without making themfelves most odious; whereas, I would disable them from hurting their calling, or the cause of religion, by tyranny or by injustice.

I am of opinion, that if the church shall on every occasion oppose itself to the loud complaint of the land, and persist in these obstinate claims of powers, too heavy to be borne, the clergy will make the cause of the church such a load upon its friends, that the torrent of public resentment will be stronger than any minister can stem; the passions of mankind unreasonably provoked, will not be easily appeased, and though a small sacrifice might have contented every one in the beginning, yet when popular rage is too far incensed, a great one will not satisfy in the end.

Nothing so much calms and sweetens mankind, as the frank redress of a crying grievance. Any single hardship generously taken away, disposes the bulk of mankind to endure a thousand; they are subdued by gentleness and mercy, but grow restiff and head-strong under oppression.

In all focieties and states, it is seen from the parish priest to the prince and ruler of the country, that he who asks with the greatest moderation, is paid with the greatest liberality.

I am therefore most clear, that the country Parson is an enemy to the interest of his order, by obstinately opposing that ease which the people aggrieved by tythe are likely to obtain by this bill.

- 'He says, indeed, that passing this bill in
- compliance to the obfinate Quakers, will
- e make them be esteemed as confessors, who by
- their steadiness have made the law give way,
 - 4 and exalted their misguided consciences above
 - the property of their fellow-subjects.' But,

May it not be said with greater truth?

That

That rejecting this biff, in compliance to the obstinate clergy, will make them be considered as a a dead weight upon the constitution; which, by its continual obstruction, keeps common justice at a stand, and exalts the ambition of churchmen above the rights of their fellow-subjects.

is any property in the kingdom facred from regulation believe theirs? or, is it fit that any should be?

Hath not the wisdom of parliament provided laws, for the limitation of fuits, and for the prevention of frivelous and vexatious arrests?

Have not acts been made, to regulate the courts, and officers of justice, to discharge prifoners for debt, and to reform the gaols? Yet,

Did any man oppose these acts by claims of birthright in the law, and insolent demands of property, as if the law could stand in obstruction to public justice, or property in any one be a reason for the oppression of all?

To adjust the bounds of property, and to make the power of every subject compatible with with the fafety of all the rest, are the highest ends of government:

And therefore all opinions, all practices, which tend to the exemption of any order of men from public enquiry, or public justice, are utterly inconfishent with government and fociety.

If an order of men have advantages from law, which are inconfishent with justice, ought not the law to give way for the free course of justice? Or ought the legislative power to exist in vain?

Is it to be a power, which, in any case having been misguided to oppress, shall for ever remain without capacity to right the injured subject?

If arguments of this fort had prevailed with our fathers, we should have continued, as abfolute bigots and slaves to the church, at this hour, as our fellow christians are in Italy and Spain.

If arguments of this fort prevail for the time to come, we shall never be allowed to repeal or amend any law beneficial to the priesthood, however grievous to the people, VOL. II.

fince the priests claim a birthright in the law, to bound the legislative power. But,

The bill ought to pass, were it only for the sake of an example, that it is not in the power of a mitred doctor, by his letters missive stirring up petitions from every diocese, to intimidate an house of commons in a matter of this high concern to the justice of the kingdom.

If such arts are successful to encrease the waste paper on the clerks table, I hope, a body of English gentlemen will never weigh petitions in quantity against any bill whatever; especially bills for the reformation of the church, against which, they are certain of having as many remonstrances as there are deaneries, archdeaconries, chapters, colleges, or ecclesiastical precincts in England, Wales, and the town of Berwick upon Tweed.

Another reason that the bill should pass, is, that if it pass, the clergy are desirous to bave it made general.

This feems to be the only equitable proposition in the country parson's plea; though I have been told, that his brethren wisely hope to defeat the bill, by extending the benest mefit of it to ALL the people of England!
But,

I cannot believe, that any man living will dislike a bill, because he and his friends are to share the good effects of it, as well as the people called Quakers.

Nor, will I imagine, that any fet of men can be so simple, as to be against this act for the ease of the Quakers, on account of its being so highly expedient for every one else.

I am exceedingly desirous that it may be made general; and that the Committee of the whole bouse may secure not only the Quakers, but the whole people of England from ecclesical assistant oppression. Yet,

If it should pass confined to the Quakers only, (which I am credibly informed that peeple do not defire;)

It shall nevertheless have my hearty concurrence.

Because, when a law is obtained of so much good to one part of the subjects, it will L 2 be 220 The Pillars of PRIESTCRAFT
be more easy to procure the like relief for all
the rest; and,

An house of commons will have this act of indulgence to build upon, as the foundation of universal liberty. For this reason,

We ought to favour the Quakers as the first movers in the cause of liberty; and notwith-standing the unhandsome and unwarrantable language which some of the clergy bestow upon this innocent people,

I will say what my experience of them can justify, (nor was I without a full know-ledge of them in the former part of my life;)

They deserve protection and indulgence as much as any part of his majesty's subjects:

They are unquestionably attached to the fuccession in his protestant royal family, and zealous in promoting the felicity of his reign:

They are naturally interested in the liberties of England, as a people whose religion can have no other resuge:

They are universally employed in trade and industry; they have the smallest number and ORTHODOXY Sbaken.

of members either unprofitably rich, or miferably poor; and, they are the least to be accused of luxury, corruption, or LAW-SUITS of any set of men in the kingdom.

And, in justice to their principles,

I have ever thought their religion to be well deferving of countenance from a free and wife government. For,

It tends to establish no hierarchy, to monopolize no property, to invest no lands in useless or dangerous societies, to form no interest separate from the common good, to detach no part of the people from natural industry, nor to enslave any other part by bigotry and blind dependence.

If some little singularity in their forms may occasion witless drollery on their perfons, wise men will excuse them, from the good effects even of their most rigid institutions. For,

By this means they preserve a modesty of apparel amongst their people, which no sumptuary laws that have been made in England could produce amongst us; and, a purity of manners, which shews our reforming societies

222 The Pillars of PRIESTCRAFT to be as despicable as they are useless, or worse.

If they are described, by those that do not know them, as fiff and ungraceful in their deportment, so far is it from being true, there are not any people in the world of more flowing affability, more social kindness, and easy humanity than many of the Quakers, who are taxed with stiffness of behaviour by the priesthood; though there is not a day of sun-shine, but the express image of all priest-crast may be seen in St. James's Park, cloathed in church-buckram, with that insident gremace, and powerless formality, which would not less move the contempt of a Quaker, than the indignation of a gentleman. Lastly,

If the Quakers are traduced, by a defaming parfan, as not regarding their duties to GOD and the KING, because they will not yield tythe to the clergy;

It may for the conclusion of this discourse, be justly observed in their favour; that,

1. As to their duty to almighty GOD,

Not conceiving the clergy to have any right of maintenance from reason or revelation, this people who do not pay it, are justified in refusing it. But,

That the clergy, who whenever they administer the gospel by deputation, rarely give their substitute a better maintenance, than any gentleman gives to a livery servant,

Should tax the laity, and encumber the land, to be maintained in the luxury of lords, and the pride of fovereign princes: or,

Should, in the instance of every country person, think it reasonable to demand in recompence for the cure of soult, five times, nay frequently ten times, as much as any parson alive will pay their curate for discharging the office in his stead;

Is such a contradiction, so full of enormity and imposture, as gives not only every Quaker, but every man cause to conclude, that all of the profession ask more than any of them deserve, by their own rule of paying priess wages. And,

2. As to their duty to the KING,

the

The Quakers never were questioned, till they were restected on by this country parson, whose loyalty perhaps wants a better argument, to convince the world of its sincerity, than this immoderate zeal for tythe:

A person , of whom it may be fairly said, because it is notoriously true,

That he had so far abandoned the obligation of his oaths, as to have no method of making the world suspect him of ordinary allegiance, but by the most prossitute compliances: and, that he was a JACOBITE in all men's opinion, till, as the lowest implement and most officious advocate of corruption, he shewed the Whiggs, that, servile by nature, and venal by profession, he could be the SLAVE of their power, though incapable of becoming a proselyte to their principles of liberty; and that, he could be reconciled to the pensions of the court, though not to the title of a protestant successor.

From such a man, such a charge of not regarding duties to GOD and the KING,

The character of Dr. Sterket, then bishop of Salisbury, late of London.

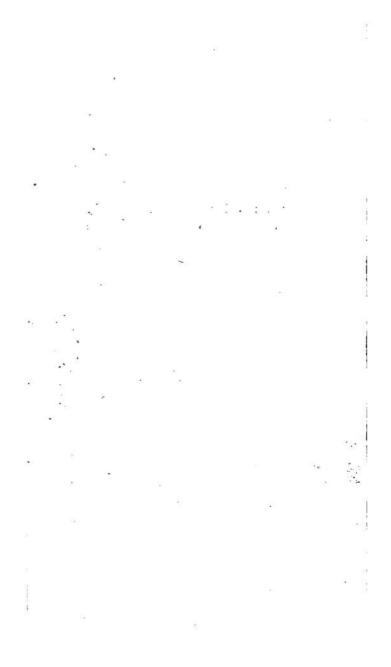
and ORTHODOXY Staken.

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on the Quakers, proceeding from malevolence to the rights of all mankinds

It can make no impression to their disadvantage;

And therefore I humbly lions, that the bill fall pais,



SERMON

Preached before the Honourable

House of Commons,

January the 30th, 1400.

Being an Anniversary SERMON.

By WILLIAM STEPHENS, B. D. Rector of Sutton in Surry.

From a Copy corrected by the Author.

LONDON:

Printed in the Year 1700.

Advertisement.

N. B. The Honourable Auditory before whom the following fermon was preached, having expressed their missike, I never designed to have had it pointed: but since it is stolen uncorrectly into the world, without my privity, I hope it will not be imputed as a crime, that I amend the errata of the press.

WILL STEPHENS.

EDITOR

TO THE

PREACHER.

SIR,

SINCE the Printer informed me, that he will make a fecond impression of your sermon, I thought it might be fit to offer you some satisfaction for printing it without your consent. For although I was told, that you were obstinate in resusing to print it, yet I thought it might be useful to the public, and no ways disserviceable to you to publish it.

Wherefore, having gotten a copy, I gave it to a printer, only with this charge, that he should make the impression as cheap as he could, for as I observed, that the preaching of it made you some enemies, so I concluded that the printing of it might gain you some friends; because the misrepresentations which were given abroad concerning it would vanish away.

And as to the reflection which was made upon you by a suppositious clergyman, I appeal to my Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, if he did not receive satisfaction from a worthy member of parliament, being a man of unspotted reputation, that was objected against you by the reflecter as to your slying from a suspected prosecution. was wholly false and scandalous.

SIR,

I wish you well, and am yours, &c.

* High-churchmen were so much exasperated against the author for this discourse, that they raised and propagated a snameful lie, of his being obliged to sly from Brists for sodomy.

TITUS III. 1.º

Put them in mind to be fubject to principalities and powers, to obey magistrates, and to be ready to every good work.

O understand the reason of this, and such-like admonitions, which frequently occur in the apostle's writings, two things may be premised:

I. That about the time of our Saviour Christ, there arose one Judas of Galike (who is mentioned Ass v. 37.) preaching seditious doctrines to the people, and teaching, (as St. Jerom in his comment on my text observes,) That they ought to own no Sovereign Prince, but God alone: and if they paid their tythes to the priest, they were discharged from paying tribute to the emperor. And upon this account it was (as St. Jerom believed) that the Pharises asked our Saviour that captious question, Is it lawful to give tribute to Casar, or no? Matth. xxii. 17. Now to this account Anassassis Nicenus adds, that the followers of this Judas were very numerous, and called by the

name

In the first edition of this volume, I had the misfortune of printing the following discourse from a very incorrect copy; but this is printed from the least and genuine copy of the author.

name of Galileans, and commonly looked upon as men ill affected to the Roman government: particularly, because, when they offered sacrifice, they refused to make supplication for the emperor and people of Rome; upon which account it is thought that Pilate, the Roman deputy of Judma, came upon them whish they were facrificing, and putting them to the fiverd, mingled their blood with the blood of the sacrifices; as you may read, Luke xiii. I.

And from hence it was, that our Saviour-Christ and his disciples were suspected of fasouring feditious doctrines, because they came: out of Galiles, as is observed by St. Chryfestem, in his twenty-third bomily on the Romans. wherein he faith, that great reports were spread abroad, as if the disciples were a factious. feditious people, and defigning against the government. It must also be confessed, that, many of the Jews, who were conversed to the: christian faith, were not fufficiently respectful, to the higher powers which God's providence: had fet over them : for which Mr. Calvin gives. this reason, Since the powers that were then in being opposed themselves to our Saviour Christ, they thought them unworthy of respect and honour.

Now what hath been faid concerning the. Galilean perfusion, thews the reason why the apoliles.

sportles do fo frequently in their letters direct the christian churches to loyalty, or a due submission to magistrates.

- 1. To clear themselves from the sale and scandalous imputation of having imbibed the doctrine of Judas the Galilean. And,
- 2. To undeceive all those that had been perverted by that seditious doctrine.
- II. The second thing I would premise, is, That about the time when St. Paul wrote this epissie, the people of Crete (which was Titus his dioces) were unruly and mutinous. Grotius says, that they were always a factious people; and for that reason St. Paul wrote to Titus, their bishop, to put them in mind to be subject to principalities and powers, to obey magificates, and to be ready to every good work.
- I. I shall take occasion from hence, First, To make a just comment upon the text.
- II. To fet forth the reasons and grounds upon which the apostles founded their doctrine of obedience to civil magistrates. And,
- III. To apply these reasons in conjunction with the occasion of this day's humiliation. And,

I. First, It may be observed, that St. Paul does not direct Titus to teach the doctrine of civil obedience as a new thing, but only to refresh their memories therewith, to put them in mind, &c. For men cannot be supposed ignorant of the absolute necessity of government, to the defence and support of fociety; which were, in effect, to suppose, that 'twere better to lead the lives of beafts than men, and that the world were willing to lie under the continual calamity of war and oppression, filled only with a rout of fools and madmen. 'Twere to suppose every single person willing to expose himself to the uncontrolled world, and bid defiance to the unbounded power, rage, and malice of mankind, We cannot but fee ourselves linked together by common wants into public focieties, and that thefe focieties cannot subsist, unless they are upheld by the power of government, whose wisdom and justice must appear by a due administration of good laws: and from hence we cannot but fee a necessity of principalities and powers, of superior and inferior magistrates, without whom laws can be neither made nor executed. From whence 'tis very visible, that subjection to a good government is as much our interest as it is our duty. This was evident to the Pythagerean fect of old, who would not fuffer the blood of any creature to be shed for their use, but

but yet allowed the fword of the magistrate to cut off malefactors.

The following words in my text, are, Principalities and Powers. Now the word in the original fignifying fomething which is prime and principal, must denote the supreme established power, from whence inferior authorities are derived, and is the same with the bigher powers mentioned Rom. xiii. 1. But because St. Panl speaks of principalities and powers in the plural number, 'tis likely that he alludes to the distinction (which was so common among the Romans) of the greater and lesser powers, the former of which, during the commonwealth, were the confuls, pretors, and cenfors; all which powers, in St, Ranl's time, were vested in the emperor, and made up the imperial dignity. The leffer powers were all those derived from hence, and were subordinate hereunto. And this distinction was so nicely observed among the Remans, that Julius Cafer punished a tribune, because he suffered himself to be stiled one of the higher powers. Suesen.

But in the text it must be observed, that our obedience becomes due, not only to the supreme, but inserior authorities; for the Cretans, to whom Titus preached the gospel, were part of a Roman province, governed by inserior officers, deputed from Rome, who were the magistrates they

they were exhorted to obey. For though the fuperior and inferior powers differ greatly, if compared among themselves; yet, with respect to the subjects obedience, they are to be regarded alike; so that we cannot wilfully disobey the inferior, without affronting the so-vereign authority. If then the Cretans would obey the emperor, it must be by submission to the ordinances and officers which he had appointed to their island; and if they behaved themselves suitably to these magistrates, they discharged their duty to the imperial power which deputed them.

We see that a large family cannot be governed by the personal presence of the master, much less can an empire; so that there will be need to call in to the prince's affistance, such persons into whom he may diffuse some measure of his political soul, and thereby unite them as members to his own body politic; whereupon they are to be treated as the hands, arms and eyes of majesty: and hence Titus admonished them, not only to be subject to principalities and powers, but to abey magistrates.

II. The fecond thing I proposed to speak to, were the reasons upon which the apostles grounded their doctrine of civil obedience; which are two: The one is given by St. Paul, who teaches, That, every foul should be subject to the higher powers, because the magistrate is the minister of God to us for good, Rom. xiii. 1, 4.

The second reason is given by St. Peter, viz. because all governments and governors do arise from our own consent, Submit your-selves (saith the apostle) to every ordinance of man, for the Lord's sake, whether it be to the king as supreme, &c. Where note, That the king is called the ordinance, or creature of man, because the sovereign power itself is vested in men, according to human compact 2 and from hence our subjection is urged by the apostle St. Peter, in his first Epistle, second chapter, verse 13.

- r. To begin with St. Paul's argument, who calls magistracy a divine ordinance, because of the excellent use of it, whereby good magistrates resemble the divine power, wisdom and goodness, in securing to all men their rights and properties; in preserving the peace, health and safety of societies, both with respect to body and soul. But to be more particular.
- 1. The preservation of property was the first benefit for which magistracy was designed. Now property is originally attained by the labour of either body or mind; for supposing the earth

to have been common to its first inhabitants, it will follow that whoever took the pains to cultivate any part of it, and lay up necessary flores for his use, had by this his industry . made himself the true proprietor thereof. And could we suppose this new proprietor to be as well guarded, as that man we read of in the Gospel, who was well armed, and kept his palace and goods in peace, yet it may likewise be supposed, (as it there follows) that if a stronger than be fall come upon him, he will take from bim all his armour wherein be trufted, and divide bis spoils. And this uncertain condition of property shews the reason of men's uniting into focieties, and fetting up forms of government, which is for mutual defence and prefervation of property: and that, not only for the benefit of the present possessors, but of future generations. So that, what becomes a man's own, either by labour, gift or purchase, may with fafety be enjoyed by himfelf, and also conveyed down to his posterity.

2. Life and limbs are ours by the gift of God. And these properties are liable to be invaded and destroyed: though they cannot (like other goods) be transferred to the use of the spoiler. And since there is so much variance and malice, pride and strife among mankind, what ill offices may not one man apprehend from another? But when destructive malice.

malice, a fiend of hell, shall transform itself into an angel of light, and persuade men that they are then inspired with the spirit of God, when they are possessed by the Apollyon, the great enemy and destroyer of mankind, when under the pretence of religion itself, men shall exert their sharpest malice, not only against the possessions and liberties, but against the lives of one another; how great need is there of the magistrates interposing power to disarm them of their spiritual as well as carnal weapons of warfare, to take away the ball of contention from among them, and the power of evil-doing from all contending parties? And,

3. In this the magistrate is God's minister to us for good, not only with respect to the preservation of our liberties and lives from destruction, but of our souls from sin; for whilst this just liberty, this natural right of worshipping God, according to that knowledge he hath given us, is supported by law, no man is forced into hypocritical compliances, contrary to the direction of his conscience, but every one may worship the One True God in singleness of heart; whereas on the other hand, if in matters of religion, force be suffered to take the place of reason, all religions will be alike, and (as colours in the dark) undistinguishable.

And although the magistrate can bestow no divine grace upon the souls of men, yet whilst by punishing vice, immoral practices are restrained, he prevents the overflowing of sin in a land. And if ceasing to do evil, be one step towards learning to do well, whilst the civil powers restrain us from immoralities, they turn us out of the broad way of perdition into the paths of rightcousness and peace.

From hence then it appears, that they who are wanting in their submission and ossistance to the civil ministry of God, are false to their own interest, as well as that of their posterity. Whereas on the other hand, he who is ready to every good work which may support this divine ministry to us for good, will be sure, in the performance of his duty, to find his account.

Let us then take a view of our goods and chattels, houses and lands, wives and children; let us consider the blessings of health, safety and liberty: let us think how to preserve our lives from destruction, our souls from sin: whether we eat or drink, or sleep or wake, or whatever we do with comfort or safety, we hereby discover our continual obligation to the good magistrates care over us, whereby we are put in mind to be subjest, &cc.

2. The other reason of submission given by St. Peter is, because all governments and governors arise from the peoples consent. They are the ordinances and appointments of men, the creatures of human compact. For we do not find that God did appoint any form of political government for a pattern to be followed by any fociety now in being upon the earth. We see no such rule in the book of nature: nor do we read in scripture of any particular polity prescribed to all, or any people, now imbodied in the world. We read there, that all governments and governors are appointed by God's providence, By me kings reign, &c. But we find no particular administration, no particular family, or single person, now in being, ordained to government by divine precept: but each magistrate and magistracy is left to the ordinance and appointment of those men who have joined themselves together in fociety.

The great variety we see in civil government, shews, that they are all the effects of human contrivance, and suited to the several interests of the respective scieties: thus the ancient charter of the neighbouring city*, containing all those useful and necessary powers, by which so great a body is governed, Was it not the wise contrivance of their ancestors? And did it not receive its establishment from the principalities VOL. II.

and powers of the realm? the great charter of the realm itself is no more than the wife ordinance of our forefathers: and the dates of its royal confirmations are still remaining among us. And as several smaller societies have their free customs distinct from one another; so in different nations there are various lodgments, even of the sovereign power, which appear to be the effects of free-will; because in every rational government, something may be observed which is peculiar and distinguishing.

Furthermore, have we not feen the forms of government, even in the fame nations changed from what they formerly had been? as in Sweden, France, and Denmark. And have not our eyes beheld of late years, the legal form of the English monarchy degenerated into tyranny, and again recovered, through God's bleffing, together with the courage and conduct of the man of his own right hand, who by refloring our ancient liberties, juffly recommended himself to the imperial crown of this realm by the free consent of the people?

Nor was it otherwise of old, when Moses was by meekness and miracle recommended of God to be the father of his country. For tho' by a divine power he wrought out Ifrael's deliverance from Egypt by conducting them into the wilderness, yet there was no form of go-

wernment established among the tribes till Jethro made a visit to his son-in-law Moses, to whose counsel it was owing that a found polity was fet up in the land of Ifrael. For infead of the whole burden of the government lying upon Mofes, which Jethro told him was not good, he directs him to provide out of all the people, able men, such as fear Gid, men of truth, bating covetou nefs, and place fuch over them to be rulers over thou,a.ds, rulers of bundreds, rulers of fifties and rulers of ten; and let them judge the people at all feafons. And it shall be (faith Jethre) that every great matter they shall bring unto thee, but every small matter they Shall judge, Exod. Xviii. 17, 21, 22. Thus the burden of the civil government should fit easy upon the governors. and the people should receive a quick dispatch of their affairs.

Moses (as you read) follows this advice, and joins himself with the tribes of Israel in the choice of persons sit for this administration, as will appear by comparing the 25th verse of the forecited chapter with the first chapter of Deuteronomy. In the former verse we read that Moses chose able men out of Israel and made them beads over the people. But the latter place shews that the people's consent was had in the election of these officers. For so Moses repeats the circumstances of that action, Deut. 1. 9, &c. And I spake unto you at that time saying, I um

not able to bear you myself alone, &cc. take ye therefore wife men and understanding, and known among your tribes, and I will make them rulers over you. From hence it appears.

- 1. That the old constitution of Israel's government, was the contrivance of Jethro an Heathen, and the magistrates who were in the administration were chosen by the joint consent of Moses, and the people. And,
- 2. That no one person, though never so able, so wise, and valiant as Moses, is sufficient to govern a nation without the advice and joint assistance of inferior magistrates. Much less such a man who hath no pretence to the spirit and character of this divine legislator.

It has been thought by some, that a great conqueror might form a civil government in a conquer'd nation, without the consent of the people by the sole power of his own will. And suppose it were so, then that government, would be an human ordinance, because the conqueror is but a man. But I deny it to be possible for any conqueror, though never so great, to make himself a king over any people without their consent. For to let pass what our histories tell us of the capitulations which followed the respective conquest of the Saxons, Danes, and Normans, before they erected any

form of government in this land. Let us fuppose that a great general, with a powerful foreign army, should so far over-run a nation that the people thereof could not be able to make any confiderable refistance; in such a case the relations of lord and save are actually introduced by the conquest. The conquerors are lords and the natives flaves: but then this state is a state of war still, but no political or civil constitution. The absolute lord and his flave are as yet, upon no civil terms with one another, no obligations have as yet passed between them, but they are both left to their own wills; and if the lord may take away the life of his flave, the flave is under no obligation of dealing otherwise with his lord. So that if this great general intends to rule in peace over the conquer'd people he will find himfelf constrained to enter into some terms of compact with them, upon which they are willing to accept him for the head of their government, and oblige themselves to obey him. But put the case that a nation, to avoid present destruction, would confent to make themselves ' legal flaves, this can no more oblige them than an honest man is bound to keep promise with a barbarous highwayman; for iniquity cannot be established by a law, much less can it bind posterity, of whose lives and liberties they had no right to dispose. And consequently, they M 3

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And if a mighty conqueror cannot attain a civil power over a conquer'd people without their confent, how shall he obtain it over his own conquering nation, without their free concurrence? Did this victorious people leave their native country, with all the liberties they enjoyed therein, to follow their chief into a foreign land, wherein they hoped to find a better settlement for themselves and posterity; would they induce all the hardships of war, and by their fweat and blood purchase an intire conquest that they might be reduced to the miferable condition of the conquer'd people? that is, to become flaves to their general, I allow, that this chief may by the help of his own people, make himself owned by the conquered upon advantageous terms. But by what invisible power shall he gain to be (I will not say absolute master but even) the civil head over his new fettled colony? It can be nothing elfe but their own free confent which can invest him with a political headship over them. And then, how great reason have they to pay a due submission to that ordinance which themfelves have made, and to submit to principalities and powers which were their own appointments and for their own benefit?

III. Having thus fet forth the apostolical grounds of civil obedience, I crave leave to make some improvement of them: first by way of general application, for to insist on the dismal effects of this day's tragedy (with which you have been annually acquainted all your lives) would be superstuous labour. And therefore I shall rather endeavour to offer some cautions which may probably prevent the like missings for the survey. But,

1st. The apostolical reasons of obedience being duly considered, may serve to allay the fears and jealousies of some good men, who have conceived, that a national government hath not so sure a foundation as is necessary, if it be only bottomed upon human compact: because mens minds being subject to frequent alterations, all governments will, as they think, be very unsteady.

And it must be acknowledged, that in all dubious matters, wherein the judgment cannot come to a determination, the minds of men will be unsettled. So likewise in smaller matters, scarce worthy of serious deliberation, men will act differently. Nay, in matters of moment, some men may suffer themselves to be carried away by unaccountable capricio's: but yet none of these things can any ways endanger

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a confliction fettled upon the foundations
before mentioned.

First, Because a good government is a matter of so necessary importance, that no man in his wits can doubt, whether he shall concur to its support or not. And

Secondly, The compact by which all governors are introduced, is evermore folemn and deliberate; and attended with the firengest tye to the sovereign power by which 'tis possible for a man to ratify the folenm obligations he has contracted. For fuch a bond is, The oath of the Lord; by which the allegiance of the fubject is confirmed. And if a deliberate compact, freely entered into, upon the wifest and strongest motives of advantage, confirmed by folemn oaths and promifes, be not a sufficient establishment, 'tis hard to say what is fuch. And notwithstanding some men may fuffer themselves to be carried away from a uleful and necessary establishment, by reasonings contrary to the general stream of a nation, it cannot be prefumed that the number and abilities of fuch men will ever be fufficient so unhinge any tolerable administration of a government thus established.

Indeed, nothing but an absolute necessity, and such as is visible in an extraordinary manner, will be effectual to work a change in any settled fettled conftitution, such an one, as renders mankind fully satisfied, without the least remaining scruple, that the government then in being, is not the ordinance of God to them for good.

2. From what hath been faid it also appears, That no man's pretence to the membership of any pure apostolic church, can excuse, much less warrant his disaffection to that government which God's providence and man's consent have set over a people for their good.

I speak this to take away that scandal which fome have endeavoured to fix upon the church of England; as if the had laid any obligation upon her fons, in opposition to the present constitution: whereas the contrary truth is selfevident. For does not our church, in her fixth article, receive all the books of the New Testament, as they are commonly received, and account them canonical? Is not my text part of that canon? And are not all our bishops and clergy thereby obliged, as much as Titus was, to put their hearers in mind of their subjection to principalities and powers? Or can we pretend to be members of an apostolical church, if we carry ourselves unseemly toward such a government, whose administration directly tends to our common good, and was also our own ordinance M 5

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nance and appointment, which are the apostolical reasons of civil obedience?

I speak not this, as if by virtue of the minifterial function we could pretend to prescribe forms of civil government to nations, to determine the regalia of princes, or the subordinate powers of inferior magistrates. of God does not furnish us with, abilities for this work, much less require it of us. It injoins us to make peace among our neighbours, by endeavouring to incline mens minds to a peaceable temper; but it does not enable us to judge the least point of legal right which is in controversy between them; much less does it. teach us to determine the rights, titles or powers of princes and magistrates; but yet it, enjoins us to put men in mind to be ready to every good work, which may contribute to support a good government.

Thirdly, From the doctrine already fet forth, in conjunction with the misfortunes of that fovereign prince which we are this day called to remembrance, ariseth matter of caution to two sorts of people,

First, To all those who have the honour tomare the public administration, that they make is their equal care that the government which at present we enjoy, may be always the ministry. of God to us for good. For such an administration applies the text in the most sensible manner, convincing every one that he ought to be subject to principalities and powers, to obey magistrates, and to be ready to every good work.

It is well known, that the character of a good prince is raifed fo high in the Holy Scripfure, that such are called Gods upon earth; toadmonish them of that continual overflowing kindness, that universal beneficence, that tendercare and concern for their peoples welfare, which their high office requires. And from: the Scriptures we are also informed, that the kind providences of God are immediately conveyed to men by his holy angels, who are: therefore called ministring spirits, Hebrews i. 14. and are most especially employed in works of. deliverance. By their means Lot was delivered. out of Sadom, Ifaac from the arm that was. stretched forth to make him a facrifice, I/rael: was conducted through the wilderness to Canaan, Elijah delivered from famine, and at last. carried from earth to heaven. By their means. Daniel was delivered from the lions, and the three Israelites from the fiery furnace. These: were the heralds who first published the redemption of the world by our Saviour Jesus. Chritt, who likewise delivered Peter from his. chains, Paul and Silas from their imprisonment. M 6. Whereby.

Whereby a pattern is fet up to the ministry of a great and good prince; who are hereby directed to cultivate and adorn that deliverance which their Great Master hath wrought outfor his people.

First, By the being mellengers and promoters of those methods which may for ever hereafter secure our liberties from danger of relapse.

Secondly, By a diligent avoiding of all those methods by which the glory of former princes, has been eclipsed, and the hearts of their people alienated from them.

The subordinate ministry is the visible majesty of the king, whereby he is made known to his people, and more especially in time of peace; for, though during a war, the personal courage and conduct of a great prince is made very public, whilst his person is exposed to the view of multitudes; yet when peace shall restore him to a more private state of life, his personal endowments, though never so illustrious in themselves, cannot become visible to the body of a people, any other way than by the constant care and conduct, the great diligence and public spirit of those to whom he hath committed the trust of his people's welfare: The want of this necessary concern for public

good, did, in some measure, assist in bringing on that tragical scene, which is this day commemorated. As 'tis commonly seen, that men in a private condition of life are reduced to great miseries, by the male administration of those to whom they had committed their private trusts.

But when a public ministry shall join together hearts and hands, only to promote the public weal, without the least design of warping the prince's favour towards any one party of men, which like the light of the sun, and breathings of the air, is designed for common comfort and refreshment, no jealousies, fears or disaffections can arise; 'twill then be impossible for the most wicked and malicious to disturb the public peace, but the king's throne will be established in righteousness, and the voice of the people will be, O king live for ever.

Secondly, A fecond caution affects all those who are concerned for the body of the people, that they let slip no opportunity wherein public advantages are offered to them. The supreme magistrate is the greatest minister of God to us for good: but God himself is not wont to enforce his kindness upon us; but expects our own concurrence for our own behoof: and when a gracious prince shall make it appear, both by words and facts, that he cannot have any separate interest

interest from that of his people; when he shews himself ready to every good work which is esteemed beneficial to his people; though his compliance therewith may be complicated with some circumstances of self-denial, 'twould be a matter of sad resection, if the public weel should not be improved by the advantages which so good and gracious an inclination administers unto us. An unanimous consent in any matter of public benefit will certainly procure it. Ta know what is good for us, is to attain it.

There is also one rule which our Saviour Christ has left with us, tending to the improvement of knowledge, which when reduced to practice, will fuffer no man to be ignorant. of what is good and fit to be done; 'tis only to carry a fingle eye about us, according to what is faid, Matth. vi. 22. The light of the body is: the eye, if therefore thine eye be fingle, thy whole body shall be full of light: if the eye of a man be carried on fingly (without any biaffing affection) toward either public or private good. he will certainly discover the good which he. looked for. But if in the fearch after public weal, any private by ends be aimed at; if a. private love to ourselves, or a particular refentment against any persons or parties, shall over-rule; if either the admiration or disesteem of others, shall incline men to refuse good previsions, or embrace suspicious proposals; if any thing thing besides a fincere desire to promote the public weal, shall bear sway in a public council, 'tis no strange thing if darkness shall be called light, and light darkness.

It may also be observed, that amongst the many qualifications which have recommended our holy religion, no one has more forced its way among serious and considering men, than its being so admirably adapted to the bappiness of mankind, and the good of societies.

Unbelievers have denied its miracles, and its mysteries have been disputed and derided by sceptical and profane men. But the greatest oppofers of the christian name, can neither deny nor dispute the real tendency of meckness, moderation, punctual justice, and universal good-will, to make men live well one with another, doing to others as we would have them to do to us, and loving our very enemies, leave no room either for private oppression, or public disturbance. The spirit of this religion will not suffer us to perpetuate animolities, or carry on suspicions too far: to think that men who have once been in. the wrong, can never be convinced, never repent of their errors: 'twill fuffer no suspicions to hinder from a due consideration of any protofals in behalf of public good, from whatever quarter they may come: where the fingle eye is. thus directed in a firait line towards the public

weal, the whole body of fuch a council will be full of light, whereby they will certainly difcover the things which belong to our peace. These things can never be hid, when a prince and people are thus in quest of them.

God forbid therefore, That this day of solemn bumiliation should be made use of to statter princes with notions of arbitrary power, by drawing any conclusions from the ancient government of God's peculiar people, which may colour over modern tyranny*.

God forbid! That the Roman imperial power in the hands of Claudius or Nero, should be owned as God's ministry, under which the apossles of Christ suffered martyrdom. To entertain people with the melancholy thoughts of setters and chains, which when laid upon them by ill princes, yet they must not endeavour to remove under penalty of eternal damnation, tends only to exasperate human nature, and make way for such another day of humiliation as that we are now celebrating: which, may divine goodness, for ever prevent! God forbid, that this day should be made use of to continue heats and animosities

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[•] From the beginning of this paragraph, to the end of the fermon, there appears the masterly hand of Mr. Trenchard, the author's friend, who wrote this shining conclusion.

among us, which ought long fince to have been buried in oblivion. Especially when the tragical scene of this day, was not then the act of the whole nation; and few spectators of it, scarce any actors in it, are now remaining.

But fince the condition of the greatest men upon earth is subject to such fatal catastrophes, as that was which this day brings to mind; I cannot but lament the unhappy fate of those princes who are born in purple, and bred in luxury; encompassed with flatterers, and so intoxicated with the gaudy ornaments of power, as to forget the end for which they were elewated, and made gods upon earth. They little consider that this greatness is supported by the inheritance of the gentleman, the hazard of the merchant, and the sweat of the labourer; who readily contribute out of their fmall stock to support a government they themselves have set up. Who are contented to part with their natural liberty to those who formerly (it may be) were their equals, for their common good and protection; which is the only end of government. A due reflection hereon would make them first of all adore the goodness of God whose providence hath so distinguished them, and also love and cherish that society of men, who hath raised them to so high a flation, and submitted themselves and their fortunes,

fortunes, in a great measure, to their diferetion. Then the world would see the best men in the highest places, senates in authority, magistrates in esteem, and the temple of virtuethe only passage to that of honour. Ambition and corruption will be out of countemance, and the world will triumph in an undisturbed selicity. The prince will be happy in the reverence and esteem of his people, and the people safe in the generosity of the prince.

All this and more we may expect from his majesty's most happy reign, who was not (like others) nursed up in flattery, but tasted early of the cup of affliction, that his greatness might be owing to his own courage, virtue and integrity, and not the uncertain gift of fortune. Wise by nature, improved by early adversity, and consummated by long experience in all the paths of greatness; a prince loved and obeyed by his own subjects, honoured by his allies, dreaded by his enemies, and will be admired by late posterity.

Nor do I here insist upon his great performances in the art of war, in which other princes have had their share, and are often themselves the wretched trophies, erected upon the tears of miserable men. But in his early years, to sestore his native country, and since that, the liberties of three most potent nations, are glories

glorics peculiar to himself, and cannot be equalled by the exploits of the most renowned chiefs, either of the Assarian, Grecian, or Roman monarchs. And to consummate all the felicity that can happen to mortal man, it hath been a particular honour reserved by providence for him alone, that as wherever he set his foot, slavery sed before him like a phastom, so in his dominions and under his protection, are almost all the remains of liberty now known in the world.

Not that I speak this, or any thing else I have here said, for your information, (for I know from what bonourable assembly I ought to seceive instruction) but as my text directed me, for your remembrance.

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DISCOURS E

CONCERNING

Unlimited Submission

AND

Non-refistance to the Higher Powers:

With some Resections on the Resistance made to

King CHARLES I.

AND ON THE

Anniversary of his Death:

In which the Mysterious Doctrine of that Prince's Saintship and Martyrdom is UNRIDDLED:

The Substance of which was delivered in a SIRMON preached in the West Meeting-house in Boston the Lord's DAY after the 30th of January, 1749-50.

Published at the Request of the Hearers.

By JONATHAN MAYHEW, D. D. Paftor of the West Church in Boston.

Fear GOD, bonour the King.

He that ruleth over Men, must be just, ruling in the Fear of GOD.

Prophet Samuel.

I have said ye are Gods—but be shall die like Men, and sall like one of the PRINCES.

King Dayld.

First printed at Boston in New-England . 1750.

The following advertisement, prefixed to the original edition, is here preferred.

The a ther of this discourse has been credibly informed, that some persons both former y and lately, have wrote either at, or ab ut him—o some bing; (he cannot well tell what) in the common news-papers, which he does not often read. He the refore, takes this of portunity to assure the Writers of that rank, and in that sorm, once for al', that they may slander him as much as they pleas, without his notice, and, very probably, without his notice, and, very of common sense and common honesty, shall confessed to animadwert in a different way, upon any thing which he has published, he may depend upon having all proper regard shown to him.

J. M.

PREFACE.

THE ensuing discourse is the last of three upon the same subject, with some little alterations and additions. It is hoped that bu' few will think the subject of it an improper one to be d'scoursed on in the pulpit, under a notion that that is preaching politics, instead of CHRIST. However, to remove all. prejudices of this fort, I beg it may be remembered, that " all scripture - is profitable for dostrin , for reprof, for CORRECTION, for instruction in righteousness*." Wby, then should not those parts of scripture, which relate to civil government, be examined and explained from the desk, as well as others? Obedience to the civil magistrate, is a christian duty: and if so, why should not the nature, grounds and extent of it be confidered in a christian assembly ? Besides, if it be said, that it is out of character for a chiftian minister to meddle with such a subject, this censure will at last fall upon the holy apostles. They write upon it in their spiftles to christian churches: and surely it cannot be deemed either criminal or impertinent, to attempt an explanation of their doctrine.

It was the near approach of the Thirtieth of January, that turned my thoughts to this subject: on which solemnity the flavish doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance, is often warmly asserted;

^{. 2} Pet. iii. 16.

and the diffenters from the established church, represented, not only as schismatics, (with more of triumph than of truth, and of choler than christianity) but also as persons of seditious, traiterous and rebellious principles-GOD be thanked one may, in any part of the British dominions, speak freely (if a decent regard be paid to those in authority) both of government and religion; and even give some broad bints, that he is engaged on the fide of liberty, the BIBLE and common fenfe, in opposition to tyranny, PRIEST-CRAFT and non-sense, without being in danger either of the Bastile or the Inquisition :- Though there will always be some interested politicians, contracted bigots, and bypocritical zealots for a party, to take offence at such freedoms. Their censure is praise: Their praise is infamy-A spirit of domination is always to be guarded against both in church and flate, even in times of the greatest security; such as the prefent is amongst US; at least as to the Those nations who are now greaning under the iron sceptre of tyranny, were once free. So they might, probably, have remained, by a seasonable precaution against despotic measures. Civil tyranny is usually small in its beginning, like " the drop of a bucket"," till at length, like a mighty torrent, or the mighty raging of the sea, it bears down all before it, and deluges whole countries and empires. Thus it is as to ecclefiaftical tyranny alfo,

[·] Isaiah xi. 15.

From small beginnings, "it exalts itself above all that is called GOD and that is worshipped"." People have no security against being unmercifully priest-ridden, but by keeping all imperious Bl-SHOPS, and other CLERGYMEN who love to "tord it over God's beritage," from getting their soot into the stirup at all. Let them be once fairly mounted, and their "beasts, the laity t," may prence and slowned about to no purpose: and they will, at length, be so jaded and hacked by these rewerend jockies, that they will not even have spirits enough to complain, that their backs are galled; or, like Balaam's ass, to "rebuke the "madness of the prophet;"

"The mystery of iniquity began to work " even in the days of some of the apostles. But the kingdom of Antichrist was then, in one respect, like the kingdom of heaven, however different in all eithers.—It was " as a grain of mustard feed +." This grain was sown in Italy, that fruitful field: And the " it were " least of all seeds," it soon became a mighty tree. It has long since over spread and darkened the greatest part of Christendom, so that we may apply to it what is said of the tree which Nebuchadnezzax saw in his vision—" The beighth thereof reached unto heaven, and the " si ht dayrouf to the end of all the earth—And

^{*/2} The Ri. 4. † Mr. Lefts. ‡ 2 Pet. ii. 16. ‡ 2 The Ri. 7. † Mat. 4 iii. 31. VOL. II. N "7HE

that fubmission, which persons of a private character ought to yield to those who are vested This must be allowed by all with authority. who acknowledge the divine original of christianity. For although there be a fense, and a very plain and important sense, in which Christ's kingdom is not of this world "; his inspired apostles have, nevertheless, laid down fome general principles concerning the office of civil rulers, and the duty of subjects, together with the reason and obligation of that duty. And from hence it follows, that it is proper for all who acknowledge the authority of Jefus Christ, and the inspiration of his apostles, to endeavour to understand what is in fact the doctrine which they have delivered concerning this matter. It is the duty of christian magistrates to inform themselves what it is which their religion teaches concerning the nature and design of their office. And it is equally the duty of all christian people to inform themselves what it is which their religion teaches concerning that subjection which they owe to the higher powers. It is for these reasons that I have attempted to examine into the scriptureaccount of this matter, in order to lay it before you with the fame freedom which I constantly use with relation to other doctrines and precepts of christianity; not doubting but you

[.] a J.hn xviii 36.

will judge upon every thing offered to your confideration, with the fame spirit of freedom and Merry with which it is poken.

The passage read, is the most full and express of any in the new-testament, relating to rulers and subjects: and therefore I thought it proper to ground upon it, what I had to propose to you with reference to the authority of the civil magistrate, and the subjection which is due to 'him. But before I enter upon an explanation of the feveral parts of this passage, it will be proper to observe one thing, which may ferve as a key to the whole of it.

It is to be observed, then, that there were some persons amongst the christians of the apostolic age, and particularly those at Rome, to whom St. Paul is here writing, who feditloufly difclaimed all subjection to civil authority; refusing to pay taxes, and the duties laid upon their traffick and merchandize; and who scrapled not to speak of their rulers, without any due regard to their office and character. Some of these turbulent christians were converts from judaism, and others from paganism. Tows in general had, long before this time, taken up a strange conceit, that being the peculiar and elect people of God, they were therefore exempted from the jurisdiction of any N 3

heathen princes or governors. Upon this ground it was, that fome of them, during the public ministry of our blessed saviour, came to him with that question-Is it lawful to give tribute unto Cæfar or not ? And this notion many of them retained after they were profelyted to the christian faith. As to the gentile converts, fome of them grofly mistook the nature of that liberty which the gospel promifed; and thought that by virtue of their subjection to Christ, the only king and head of his church, they were wholly freed from subjection to any other prince, as though Christ's kingdom bad been of this world, in such a sense as to interfere with the civil powers of the earth, and to deliver their fubjects from that allegiance and duty, which they before owed to them. Of these visionary Christians in general, who disowned subjection to the civil powers in being where they respectively lived, there is mention made in several places in the new-testament: The Apostle Peter in particular, characterizes them in this manner-them that-despise governmentpresumptuous are they, self-willed, they are not afraid to speak evil of dignities +. Now it is with reference to these doting Christians, that the apostle speaks in the passage before us, And I shall now give you the sense of it in a

[&]quot; Matt. xxii. 17. + 2 Pet ii. 10.

paraphrase upon each verse in its order, desiring you to keep in mind the character of the persons for whom it is designed, that so, as I go along, you may see how just and natural this address is; and how well suited to the circumstances of those against whom it is levelled.

The apostle begins thus—Let every soul * be subjett unto the higher powers; † for there is no power | but of God: the powers that be ‡ are

Every foul. This is an bebraifm, which fignifies every man; fo that the apostle does not exempt the clerit: such as were endowed with the gift of prophecy, or any other miraculous powers which subsisted in the church at that day. And by his using the bebrew idiom, it seems that he had the jewish converts principally in his eye.

The higher powers: more literally, the over-

in common.

By power, the apostle intends not lawless Areageb and brutal force, without regulation or proper direction; but just authority; for so the word here used properly signifies. There may be power where there is no authority. No man has any authority to do what is wrong and injurious, though he may have power to do it.

† The powers that be: those persons who are in fact vested with authority; those who are in possession. And who those are, the apostle leaves Christians to determine for themselves; but who

ever they are, they are to be obeyed.

ordained of God . ver. 1. q. d. " Whereas of fome professed Christians vainly imagine, that " shey are wholly excused from all manner of " duty and subjection to civil authority, re-" fuling to bonour their rulers, and to pay " taxes; which opinion is not only unrea-" fonable in itself, but also tends to fix a last-" ing reproach upon the christian name and " profession, I now, as an apostle and ambas-" fador of Christ, exhort every one of you, be " he who he will, to pay all dutiful submission " to those who are vested with any civil office. "For there is, properly speaking, no autho-" rity but what is derived from God, as it is " only by his permission and providence that " any possess it. Yea, I may add, that all " civil magistrates, as such, although they " may be beathers, are appointed and ordained " of God. For it is certainly God's will, that

Pordained of God: as it is not without God's providence and permission, that any are clothed with authority; and as it is agreeable to the positive will and purpose of God, that there should be form perfer vested with authority for the good of society; not that any rulers have their commission immediately from God the supreme Lord of the universe. If any affert that kings, or any other rulers, are ordained of God in the latter sense, it is incumbent upon them to shew the commission which they speak of, under the broad seal of heaven. And when they do this, they will, no doubt, be believed.

of fo uleful an institution as that of magistracy, 66 should take place in the world, for the ee good of civil fociety." The apostle proceeds-Wheever, therefore refisteth the power, refisteth the ordinance of God; and they that refift fhall receive to themsetves damnation. ver. 2. q. d. " Think not, therefore, that ye are guilte less of any crime or fin against God, when 44 ye factiously disobey and resist the civil authority. For magistracy and government 66 being, as I have faid, the ordinance and ap-" pointment of God, it follows, that to relift, 4 magistrates in the execution of their offices, 44 is really to relift the will and ordinance of God himself: and they who thus resist, " will accordingly be punished by God for 44 this fin in common with others." apostle goes on-For rulers are not a terrer to, good works, but to the evil . Will thou then,

^{*}For ralers are not a terror to good works, but to the rail. It cannot be supposed that the apostle defigns here, or in any of the succeeding verses, to, give the true character of Nove, or any other civilipowers then in being, and if they were in fact such persons as he describes, a terror to evil works only, and not to the good. For such a character did not belong to them; and the apostle was no sycophant or parasite of power, whatever some of his presented successors have been. He only tells what rulers would be, provided they acted up to to their, character and office.

not be afraid of the power? Do that which is good, and thou shalt have praise of the same. For be is the minister of God to thee for good, ver. 3d, and part of the 4th. q. d. " That you may " fee the truth and justness of what I affert, " (viz. that magistracy is the ordinance of "God, and that you fin against him, in oppo-" fing it,) consider that even pagan rulers, are or not, by the nature and design of their offices " enemies and a terror to the good and vir-"tuous actions of men, but only to the in-" jurious and mischievous to society. Will ye " not, then, reverence and honour magistracy, " when you fee the good end and intention of "it? How can ye be fo unreasonable? Only " mind to do your duty as members of fociety; " and this will gain you the applause and fa-" your of all good rulers. For while you do " thus, they are, by their office, as ministers of of God, obliged to encourage and protect you; "it is for this very purpose that they are " clothed with power." The apostle subjoins - But if thou do that which is evil, be afraid, for he beareth not the fword in vain. For he is the minister of God, a revenger, to execute wrath upon him that doth evil*, ver. 4. latter

^{*} It is manifest that when the apostle speaks of it, as the office of civil rulers, to encourage what is good, and to punish what is evil, he speaks only of civil

" good

latter part 1. d. "But upon the other hand, if ye refuse to do your duty as members of society; if ye refuse to bear your part in the support of government; if ye are disorderly, and do things which merit civil chassissment, then, indeed, ye have reason to be asraid. For it is not in vain that rulers are vested with the power of insticting punishment. They are by their office, not only the ministers of God for

ciwil good and evil. They are to confult the good of fociety as such; not to dictate in religious concerns; not to make laws for the government of men's consciences; and to inflict civil penalties for religious crimes. It is fufficient to overthrow the doctrine of the authority of the civil magistrate, in affairs of a spiritual nature, (so far a it is built upon any thing which is here faid by St. Paul, or upon any thing else in the new-testament) only to obferve, that all the magistrates then in the world were beathen, implacable enemies to christianity: fo that to give them authority in religious matters, would have been, in effect, to give them authority to extirpate the christian religion, and to establish the idolatries and superstitions of paganism. And can any one reasonably suppose, than the apostle had any. intention to extend the authority of rulers, beyond concerns merely civil and political, to the overthrowing of that religion which he himself was so . zealous in propagating ? But it is natural for those, whose religion-cannon be supported upon the footing of reason and argument, to have recourse to power and force, which will ferve a bad cause as well as a good one; and indeed much better.

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good to those that do well; but also his minishers to revenge, to discountenance and " punish those that are unruly, and injurious to their neighbours." 'The apostle proceeds - Wherefore ye must needs be fubjett not only for worath, but alfo for conscience sake, ver. 5. q. d. " Since therefore, magistracy " is the ordinance of God; and fince rulers " are, by their office, benefactors to fociety, "by discouraging what is bad, and encou-" raging what is good, and so preserving " peace and order amongst men; it is evi-"dent that ye ought to pay a willing fub-" jection to them; not to obey merely for " fear of expoling yourselves to their wrath " and displeasure, but also in point of rea-" fon, duty and confcience : Ye are under-" an indispensible obligation, as Christians, to-" honour their office, and to submit to them. " in the execution of it." The apolic goes u on - For, for this cause pay you tribute also: for they are God's ministers, attending continually upon this very ting, ver. 6. and . " And "here is a plain reason also why ye should: " pay tribute to them; for they are God's. "ministers, exalted above the common level-" of mankind; not that they may indulge. ** themselves in foftness and luxury, and beentitled to the servile homage of their fel-" low-men; but that they may execute and " office

office no lefs laborious than honourable: se and attend continually upon the public " welfare. This being their business and es duty, it is but reasonable, that they should es be requited for their care and diligence in " performing it; and enabled, by taxes lees vied upon the subject, effectually to prose fecute the great end of their institution, 44 the good of fociety." The apostle fems up all in the following words - Render therefore to all their dues: tribute . ta subom tribute is due; cuftom "; to whom cuftom; foor, to whom fear; beneur, to whom honour, wer. 7. q. d. " Let is noe, therefore, be faid of se any one of you hereafter, that you contemns " government to the reproach of yourselves, 46 and of the Christian religion. Neither your " being Yews by nation, nor your becom-" ing the subjects of Christ's kingdom, gives w you any dispensation for making disturbances " in the government under which you live. 44 Approve yourselves, therefore, as peaceable

Grotius observes, that the Greek words, here used, answer to the tributum and vestigal of the Romans; the former was the money paid for the foil and poll; the latter, the duties laid upon some forts of merchandize. And what the apostle here says, deserves to be seriously considered by all Christians concerned in that common practice of carrying on an illicit trade, and running of goods.

" and dutiful subjects. Be ready to pay to
"your rulers all that they may, in respect,
"of their office, justly demand of you. Ren"der tribute and custom to those of your,
"governors to whom tribute and custom be"long: and chearfully honour and reverence.
"all who are vested with civil authority, ac"cording to their deserts."

The apostle's doctrine, in the passage thus explained, concerning the office of civil rulers, and the duty of subjects, may be sumed up in the following observations; * viz.

That the end of magistracy is the good of oivil society, as such:

That civil rulers, as fach, are the ordinance and ministers of God; it being by his permission and providence that any bear rule; and agreeable to his will, that there should be forme persons vested with authority in society, for the well-being of it:

That which is here faid concerning civil rulers, extends to all of them in common it relates indifferently to monarchical republican

^{*} The several observations here only mentioned, were handled at large in two preceding discourses upon this subject.

lican and aristocratical government; and to all other forms which truly answer the sole end of government, the happiness of society; and to all the different degrees of authority in any particular state; to inferior officers no less than the supreme.

That disobedience to civil rulers in the due exercise of their authority, is not merely a political sin, but an heinous effence egainst God and religion:

That the true ground and reason + of our obligation to be subject to the higher powers,

+ Some suppose the apostle in this passage, inforces the duty of submission, with raus arguments quite distinct from each other; one taken from this confideration, that rulers are the ordinance. and ministers of God, (ver. 1, 2, and 4.) and the other, from the benefits that accrue to fociety. from civil government, (ver. 3, 4, and 6.) And indeed thefe may be diffind motives and arguments for submission, as they may be separately viewed and contemplated. But when we confider that rulers are not the ordinance and the minifters of God, but only so far forth as they perform God's wil, by acting up to their office and character, and so by being benefactors to society, this makes these arguments coincide, and run up into one at last: at least fo far, that the former of them cannot hold good for submission, where

is the ulefulnels of magistracy (when properly exercised) to human society, and its subserviency to the general welfare:

That obedience to civil rulers is here equally required under all forms of government, which answer to the sole end of all government, the good of society; and to every degree of anthority in any state, whether supreme or subordinate:

(From whence it follows,

That if unlimited obedience and non-refiftance, be here required as a duty under any one form of government, it is also required:

the latter fails. Put the sopposition, that any man. bearing the title of a magistrate, should exercise his power in fach a manner as to have no claimto obedience by virtue of that argument which is founded upon the usefulne's of magistracy; and you equally take of the force of the other argument also, which is founded upon his being the ordinance and the minister of God. For he is no longer God's ordinance and minister, than he acts up to his office and character, by exercifing his power for the good of fociety-This is, in brief, the reason why it is said above, in the fingular number, that the true ground and reofon, &cc. The use and propriety of this remark may possibly. be more apparent in the process of the argument; concerning refiffance.

as a duty under all other forms; and as a duty to subordinate rulers as well as to the supreme.)

And lastly, that those civil rulers to whom the aposse injoins subjection, are the persons in possession, the powers that he; those who are actually vested with authority.

There is one very important and interesting point which remains to be enquired into; namely, the extent of that subjection to the higher

* This must be understood with this provide, that they do not grofly abuse their power and trust, but exercise it for the good of those that are governed. Who these persons were, whether Nove, &c. or not, the sportle does not fay; but leaves it to be determined by those to whom he writes. God does not interpofe in a miraculous way, to point out the persons who thall bear rule, and to whom subjection is due. And as to the unalienable, indefeafible right of primageniture, the scriptures are entirely filent: or rather plainly contradict it: Saul being the first king among the Efractites; and appointed to the royal dignity, dering his own father's life-time: and he was focseeded, or rather superseded, by David the last born among many brethren-Now if God has not invariably determined this matter, it must, of course, be determined by men. And if is be determined by men it must be determined either in the way of force or of compast. And which of these is the most equitable, can be no question.

higher powers, which is here enjoined as a duty upon all christians. Some have thought it warrantable and and glorious, to disobey the civil powers in certain circumstances; and, in cases of very great and general oppression, while humble remonstrances fail of having any effect; and when the public welfare cannot be otherwise provided for and secured, to rise unanimously even against the sovereign himfelf, in order to redress their grievances; to vindicate their natural and legal rights: to break the yoke of tyranny, and free themfelves and posterity from inglorious servitude and ruin. It is upon this principle that many royal oppressors have been driven from their thrones into banishment; and many slain by the hands of their subjects. It was upon this principle that Tarquin was expelled from Rome : and Julius Cafar, the conqueror of the world, and the tyrant of his country, cut off in the fenate-house. It was upon this principle, that king Charles I. was beheaded before his own banqueting-house. It was upon this principle, that king James II. was made to fly that country, which he aimed at enflaving: And upon this principle was that revolution brought about, which has been fo fruitful of happy consequences to Great Britain. But in opposition to this principle, it has often been afferted, that the scripture in general (and the passage

passage under consideration in particular) makes all relistance to princes a crime, in any case whatever --- If they turn tyrants, and become the common oppressors of those, whose welfare they ought to regard with a paternal affection, we must not pretend to right ourfelves, unless it be by prayers and tears and humble entreaties: and if these methods fail of procuring redrefs, we must not have recourse to any other, but all suffer ourselves to be robbed and butchered at the pleasure of the Lord's amointed; lest we should incur the fin of rebellion, and the punishment of damnation. For he has God's authority and commission to bear him out in the worst of crimes, so far that he may not be withstood or controuled. Now whether we are obliged to yield fuch an absolute submission to our prince: or whether disobedience and relists ance may not be justifiable in some cases. notwithstanding any thing in the passage before us, is an enquiry in which we are all concerned; and this is the inquiry which is the main delign of the present discourse.

Now there does not feem to be any necessity of supposing, that an absolute unlimited obedience, whether active or passive, is here injoined, merely for this reason, that the precept is delivered in absolute terms, without

any enception or limitation exprelly mentioned. We are esjoined, (ver. 1.) to be fubjett to the . bigber powers: and (ver. 5.) to be fabjeet for confeience fake. And because these expressions are absolute and unlimited, (or more properly, general) foure have inferred, that the fubjection required in them, must be absolute and unlimited also: at least to far forth as so make peffive obedience and non-refiftance, a duty in all cases whatever, if not active obedience likewise. Though, by the way, there is here no distinction made between active and passive obedience: and if either of them be required lu an unlimited fense, the other mast be required in the fame feale alfor by virtue of the present argument; because the expressions are equally absolute with respect to both. But that unlimited obedience of say fort, cannot be argued merely from the indefiable enpreffions in which obedience is enjoined, aspears from herice, that expressions of the same nature, frequently occur in feripture, upon which it is confessed on all hands, that no fuch absolute and unlimited sease ought to be put. For example, Love not the world; neither the things that are in the world ; Lay not up for sourfelves treasures upon earth + ; Take therefore no thought for the morrow 11 are precepts expressed in at least equally ab-# 1 John ii. 15. + Matt. vi. 19- 1 Matt. vi. 34.

falute

folute and unlimited terms: but it is generally allowed, that they are to be maderstood with certain restrictions and limitations; fome degree of love to the world, and the things of it, being allowable. Nor, indeed, do the Right Reverend Fathers in God, and other dignified clergymen of the established church, seem to be altogether averse to admitting of restrictions in the latter case, how warm soever any of them may be against restrictions, and limitations, in case of submission to authority, whether civil or ecclesiastical. It is worth remarking also, that patience and submission under private injuries, are enjoined in much more peremptory and absolute terms, than any that are used with regard to submission to the injustice and oppression of civil rulers. Thus, I fay unto you, that ye resist not evil; but who soever shall smite thee on the right cheek, turn to him the other alfo. And if any man will fue thee at the law, and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloke. And whosever shall compel thee to go a mile with bim, go with him twain . Any man may be defied to produce such strong expresfions in favour of a passive and tame submisfion to unjust, tyrappical rulers, as are here used to inforce submission to private injuries. But how few are there that understand those expressions literally? And the scalon why they

do not, is because (with submission to the Quaters) common sense shews that they were not intended to be so understood.

· But to instance in some scripture-precepts, which are more directly to the point in hand. ---- Children are commanded to obey their parents, and fervants their masters, in as abfolute and unlimited terms as subjects are here commanded to obey their civil rulers. this same apostle - Children obey your parents in the Lord; for this is right. Honour thy father and mother, which is the first commandment with promise. - Servants, be obedient to them that are your masters, according to the flesh, with fear and trembling, with fingleness of your heart as unto Christ*. Thus also wives are commanded to be obedient to their husbands - Wives, Submit yourselves unto your husbands as unto the Lord. For the husband is the head of the wife, even as CHRIST IS THE HEAD OF THE CHURCH - Therefore as the church is subject unto Christ, so let the wives be to their own bufbands IN EVERY THING +. these cases, submission is required in terms (at least) as absolute and universal, as are ever used with respect to rulers and subjects.

^{*} Eph. vi. 1, &c * + Eph. v. 22. 23, 24.

But who supposes that the apostle ever intended to teach, that children, fervants and wives, should, in all cases whatever, obey their parents, mafters and husbands respectively, never making any opposition to their will, even although they should require them to break the commandments of God, or should causelessy make an attempt upon their lives? No one puts such a sense upon these expressions, however absolute and unlimited. Why then should it be supposed, that the apofile designed to teach universal obedience. whether active or passive, to the higher powers, merely because his precepts are delivered in absolute and unlimited terms? And if this bea good argument in one case, why is it not in others also? If it be said that resistance and disobedience to the higher powers, is here faid positively to be a sin, so also is the disobedience of children to parents; fervants to masters; and wives to husbands, in other places of scripture. But the question still remains, whether in all these cases there be not fome exceptions? In the three latter, it is allowed there are. And from hence it follows, that barely the use of absolute expresfions, is no proof, that obedience to civil rulers, is, in all cases, a duty; or resistance, in all cases a fin. I should not have thought it worth while to take any notice at all of this argument

argument, had it not been much infifted upon by some of the advocates for passive-obedience and non-resistance: for it is, in itself, perfectly triffing; and rendered considerable only by the stress that has been laid upon it for want of better.

There is, indeed, one passage in the new testament, where it may seem, at first view, that an unlimited submission to civil rulers, is enjoined. - Submit your selves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's fake To every ordinance of man. - However, this expression is no stronger than that before taken notice of, with relation to the duty of wives - So let the wives be subject to their own busbands --- IN EVERY THING. But the true folution of this difficulty (if it be one) is this: by every ordinance of man to is not meant every command of the civil magistrate without exception; but every order of magistrates appointed by man; ---- whether fuperior or inferior: for fo the apostle explains himself in the very next words - Wbetber it be to the king as supreme, or to governors,

* 1. Pet. ii. 13.

⁺ Literally every burn inflit tion, or appointment. By which manner of expression the aposition plainty intimates, that rulers derive their authority inmediately, not from God, but from men.

as unto them that are fent, &c. But although the apostle had not subjoined any such explanation, the reason of the thing itself would have obliged us to limit the expression [every ordinance of man] to such human ordinances and commands, as are not inconsistent with the ordinances and commands of God, the supreme lawgiver; or with any other higher, and antecedent, obligations.

It is to be observed, in the next place, that as the duty of universal obedience and nonresistance to the higher powers, cannot be argued from the absolute unlimited expressions which the apostle here uses; so neither can it be argued from the scope and drift of his reasoning, considered with relation to the perfons he was here opposing. As was observed above, there were some professed christians in the apostolic age, who disclaimed all magistracy and civil authority in general, despising government, and speaking evil of dignities; some under a notion that Jews ought not to be under the jurisdiction of Gentile rulers; and others, that they were fet free from the temporal powers, by Christ. Now it is with persons of this licentious opinion and character, that the apostle is concerned. And all that was directly to his point, was to shew, that they were bound to submit to magi-VOL. II. frac

Aracy in general. This is a circumstance very material to be taken notice of, in order to ascertain the sense of the apostle. For this being considered, it is sufficient to account for all that he fays concerning the duty of subejction, and the fin of resistance to the higher powers, without having recourse to the doctrine of unlimited submission and passive obedience, in all cases whatever. known that those in opposition to whom, the apostle wrote, allowed of civil authority in general, and only afferted that there were feme cases in which obedience, and non-refistance, were not a duty; there would, then, indeed, be reason for interpreting this passage as containing the doctrine of unlimited obedience. and non-resistance, as it must, in this case, be supposed to have been levelled against such as denied that doctrine. But fince it is certain that there were persons who vainly imagined, that civil government in general, was not to be regarded by them, it is most reafonable to suppose, that the apostle designed his discourse only against them. And agreeably to this supposition, we find that he argues the usefulness of civil magistracy in gegeral; its agreeableness to the will and purpose of God, who is ever all; and so deduces from hence, the obligation of submission to it. But it will not follow, that because civil governgovernment is in general a good inflitution, and necessary to the peace and happiness of human society, therefore there are no supposable cases in which resistance to it can be innocent. So that the duty of unlimited obedience, whether active or passive, can be argued, neither from the manner of expression here used, nor from the general scope and design of the passage.

And if we attend to the nature of the argument with which the apostle here inforces the duty of submission to the higher powers. we shall find it to be fuch an one as concludes not in favour of submission to all who bear the title of rulers, in common; but only, to those who actually perform the duty of rulers, by exercifing a reasonable and just authority, for the good of human fociety. This is a point which it will be proper to enlarge upon; because the question before us turns much upon the truth or falshood of this pofition. It is obvious, then in general, that the civil rulers, whom the apostle here speaks of, and obedience to whom he presses upon Christians as a duty, are good rulers *, such

By good rulers, are not intended such as are good in a meral or religious, but only a political O 2 sense;

as are in the exercise of their office and power benefactors to fociety. Such they are described to be, throughout this passage. Thus it is faid, that they are not a terror to good works but to the evil; that they are God's ministers for good; avengers to execute wrath upon him that doth evil; and that they attend continually upon this very thing. St. Peter gives the same account of rulers: they are for a praise to them that do well, and the punishment of evil doers. It is manifest that this character and description of rulers, agrees only to such as are rulers in fact, as well as in name: to fuch as govern well, and act agreeably to their office. And the apostle's argument for submission to rulers, is wholly built and grounded upon a presumption that they do in fact answer this character; and is of no force at all upon supposition of the contrary. If rulers are a terror to good works. and not to the evil; if they are not ministers for good to fociety, but for evil, and diffress by violence and oppression; if they execute wrath upon fober, peaceable persons, who do their duty as members of fociety; and faffer rich and honourable knaves to escape with

fen'e; those who perform their duty so far as their office extends; and so far as civil society, as such, is concerned in their actions.

impunity; if, instead of attending continually upon the good work of advancing the public welfare, they attend only upon the gratification of their own lust and pride and ambition, to the destruction of the public welfare; if this be the case, it is plain that the apostle's argument for submission does not reach them; they are not the same, but different persons from those whom he characterizes; and who must be obeyed according to his reasoning. - Let me illustrate the apostle's argument, by the following fimilitude: (it is no matter how far it is from any thing which has, in fact, happened in the world.) Suppose, then, it was allowed, in general, that the chryy were an ufeful order of men; that they ought to be effeemed v.ry highly in love for their works fake *; and to be decently supported by those whom they ferve, the labourer being worthy of his reward +. Suppose farther, that a number of Reverend and Right Reverend Drones, who worked not; who preached, perhaps, but once a year, and t'en, not the gospel of Jesus Christ, but the divine right of tythes; - the dignity of their office as ambassadors of Christ, the equity of fine-cures, and a plurality of benefices; -

^{* 1} Thef v. 13. † 1 Tim. v. 18.

the excellency of the d. votions in that prayerbook, which some of them hired chaplains to use for them; --- or some favourite point of church-tyranny, and antichristian usurpation; suppose such men as these, spending their lives in effeminacy, luxury and idleness; (or when they were not idle, doing that which is worfe than idleness; suppose such men) should, merely by the merit of ordination and cinfecration, and a peculiar, odd habit, claim great respect and reverence from those whom they civilly called the beafts of the laity *; and demand thousands fer annum, for that good service which they - never performed; and for which, if they had performed it, this would be much more than a quantum meruit : fuopose this should be the case, (it is only by way of finile, and furely it will give no offence) would not every body be aftonished at fuch infolence, injustice and impiety? And ought not fuch men to be told plainly, that they could not reasonably expect the esteem and reward due to the ministers of the gofpel, unless they did the duties of their office? Should they not be told, that their tit'e and habit claimed no regard, reverence or pay, separate from the care and work, and various duties of their function? And that while they neglected the latter, the former ferved only

to render them the more ridiculous and contemptible? The application of this fimilitude to the case in hand, is very easy.-If those who bear the title of civil rulers, do not perform the duty of civil rulers, but act directly counter to the fole end and de-. fign of their office; if they injure and oppress their subjects, instead of defending their rights and doing them good; they have not the least pretence to be honoured, obeyed and rewarded, according to the apostle's argument. For his reasoning, in order to shew the duty of subjection to the higher powers, is, as was before observed, built wholly upon the supposition, that they do, in fast, perform the duty of rulers.

If it be faid, that the aposse here uses another argument for submission to the bigher powers, besides that which is taken from the usefulness of their office to civil society, when properly discharged and executed; namely, that their power is from God; that they are ordained of God; and that they are God's ministers: and if it be said, that this argument for submission to them will hold good, although they do not exercise their power for the benefit, but for the ruin, and destruction of human society; this objection was obviated, in

part before. Rulers have no authority from God to do mischief. They are not God's ordinance, or God's ministers, in any other sense than as it is by his permission and providence, that they are exalted to bear rule; and as magistracy duly exercised, and authority rightly applied, in the enacting and executing good laws,-laws attempered and accommodated to the common welfare of the subjects, must be supposed to be agreeable to the will of the beneficent author and supreme Lord of the universe; whose kingdom ruletb over all +; and whose tender mercies are over all his works &. It is blasphemy to call tyrants and oppressors, God's ministers. They are more properly the meffingers of fatan to buffet us | . No rulers are properly God's ministers, but such as are just, ruling in the fear of God . When once magistrates act contrary to their office, and the end of their institution; when they rob and ruin the public, instead of being guardians of its peace and welfare; they immediately cease to be the ordinance and ministers of God; and no more deserve that glorious character than common pirates and bighwaymen. So that whenever that argument for

⁺ Psal. ciii. 19.

[§] Pfal. cxlv. 19. || 2 Cor. xii. 7.

fubmission fails, which is grounded upon the usefulness of magistracy to civil society, (as it always does when magistrates do hurt to society instead of good) the other argument, which is taken from their being the ordinance of God, must necessarily fail also; no person of a civil character being God's minister, in the sense of the apostle, any farther than he performs God's will, by exercising a just and reasonable authority; and ruling for the good of the subject.

This in general. Let us now trace the apostle's reasoning in favour of submission to the higher powers, a little more particularly and exactly. For by this it will appear, on one hand, how good and conclusive it is, for submission to those rulers who exercise their power in a proper manner: and, on the other, how weak and trifling, and inconnected it is, if it be supposed to be meant by the apostle to show the obligation and duty of obedience to tyrannical, oppressive rulers in common with others of a different character.

The sposse enters upon this subject thus

Let every sul be subject unto the higher
powers; for there is no power but of God:
the powers that be, are ordained of God*.

^{*} Ver. 1.

Here he urges the duty of obedience from this topic of argument, that civil rulers, as they are supposed to fulfil the pleasure of God, are the ordinance of God. But how is this an argument for obedience to fuch rulers as do not perform the pleasure of God, by doing good; but the pleasure of the devil, by doing evil; and fuch as are not, therefore, God's ministers, but the devil's! Whospower, sherefore, resisteth the power, resisteth the ordimance of God: and they that refift, fall receive to themselves damnation *. Here the apo-Ale argues, that those who refist a reasonable and just authority, which is agreeable to the will of God, do really refift the will of God himself; and will, therefore, be punished by him. But how does this prove, that those who resist a lawless, unreasonable power, which is contrary to the will of God, do therein refift the will and ordinance of God? Is refifting those who resist God's will, the same thing with refisting God? Or shall those who do fo, receive to themselves damnation! For rulers are not a terror to good works, but to the wil. Wilt thou then not be afiaid of the tow r? Do that which is good; and thou shalt have pafe of the same. For he is the minist r of God to thee fir good +. Here the aposle argues more explicitly than he had

Ver. 2. † Ver. 3d, and part of the 4th.

before done, for revering, and submitting to magistracy, from this consideration, that such as really performed the duty of magistrates, would be enemies only to the evil actions of men. and would befriend and encourage the good; and so be a common bleffing to society. But how is this an argument, that we must honour, and submit to such magistrates as are not enemies to the evil actions of men : but to the good; and fuch as are not a common bleffing, but a common curse, to society ! But if thou do that which is evil, be afraid: for he is the minister of God, a revenger, to execute wrath upon him that doth evil . Here the apostle argues from the nature and end of magistracy, that such as did evil, sand fuch only; had reason to be afraid of the higher . powers; it being part of their office to punish evil doers, no less than to defend and encourage such as do well. But if magistrates are unrighteous; if they are respecters of perfons; if they are partial in their administration of justice; then those who do well have as much reason to be afraid, as those that do evil: there can be no fafety for the good, nor any peculiar ground of terror to the unruly and injurious. So that, in this case, the main end of civil government will be frustrated. And what reason is there for submit-

[·] Ver. 4th, latter part.

ting to that government, which does by means answer the design of government Wherefore ye must needs be subject not only wrath, but also for conscience fake . Here apostle argues the duty of a chearful and con scientious submission to civil government, fre the nature and end of magistracy as he ha before laid it down, i. e. as the defign of was to punish evil doers, and to support and encourage fuch as do well; and as it must if fo exercised, be agreeable to the will God. But how does what he here fays, prove the duty of a chearful and confcientious subjection to those who forfeit the cha racter of rulers? To those who encourage the bad, and discourage the good? The argument here used no more proves it to be a fin to refift fuch rulers, than it does, to refift the devil, that he may flee from us +. For one is as truly the minister of God as the other. For, for this cause pay you tribute alfe; for they are God's ministers, attending continual'y upon this very thing &. Here the apostle argues the duty of paying taxes, from this confideration, that those who perform the duty of rulers, are continually attending upon the public welfare. But how does this argument conclude for paying taxes to fuch princes, as are continually endeavouring to ruin the pub-

[•] Ver. 5. + James iv. 7. § Ver. 6.

3. T. k: k===== Lie . 72 --fur, 3 == - > Flore I Lying rules. Since -- RL = -- III - m - : 64 IN-4== **4 3 3** - - 2/ ---T=: -this ING THE obecience. bear the . .. to him ... DOE JAY . IRO: 'im' I :--7. Fr. . .

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gard to the apostle's character as an inspired writer, or even as a man of common understanding, will not represent him as reasoning in such a loose incoherent manner; and drawing conclusions, which have not the least relation to his premises. For what can be more absurd than an argument thus framed? "Ru-" lers are, by their office, bound to consult "the public welfare and the good of society: "therefore you are bound to pay them tri-" bute, to honour and to submit to them, even when they destroy the public welfare, and are a common pest to society, by acting in direct contradiction to the nature and end of their office."

Thus, upon a careful review of the apofile's reasoning in this passage, it appears that his arguments to enforce submission, are of such a nature, as to conclude only in savour of submission to such rulers as he himself deferibes; i. e. such as rule for the good of society, which is the only end of their institution. Common tyrants, and public oppressors, are not intitled to obedience from their subjects, by virtue of any thing here laid down by the inspired apostle.

I now add, farther, that the apostle's argument is so far from proving it to be the duty duty of the people to obey, and submit to, such rulers as act in contradiction to the public good *, and fo to the defign of their office. that it proves the direct contrary. For, please to observe, that if the end of all civil government, be the good of fociety; if this be the thing that is aimed at in constituting civil rulers; and if the motive and argument for submission to government, be taken from the apparent usefulness of civil authority; it follows, that when no such good end can be answered by submission, there remains no argument or motive to enforce it; and if inflead of this good end's being brought about by submission, a contrary end is brought about, and the ruin and misery of society effeeled by it : here is a plain and politive reafon against submission in all such cases, should they ever happen. And therefore, in such cases, a regard to the public welfare ought to make us with-hold from our rulers, that obedience and subjection which it would otherwife be our duty to render to them. it be our duty, for example, to obey our king,

^{*}This does not intend, their acting so in a few particular instances, which the best of rulers may do through mistake, &c. but their acting so babitually; and in a manner which plainly shows, that they aim at making themselves great by the suin of their subjects.

merely for this reason, that he rules for the public welfare, (which is the only argument the apostle makes use of) it follows, by a parity of reason, that when he turns tyrant, and makes his subjects his prey to devour and to destroy, instead of his charge to defend and cherish, we are bound to throw off our allegiance to him, and to refift; and that according to the tenor of the apostle's argument in this passage. Not to discontinue our allegiance, in this case, would be to join with the fovereign in promoting the flavery and mifery of that fociety, the welfare of which, we ourselves, as well as our sovereign, are indispensibly obliged to secure and promote, as far as in us lies. It is true, the apostle puts no case of such a tyrannical prince; but by his grounding his argument for fubmiffion wholly upon the good of civil fociety; it is plain he implicitly authorifes, and even requires us to make resistance, whenever this shall be necessary to the public safety and happiness. Let me make use of this easy and familiar similitude to illustrate the point in hand-Suppose God requires a family of children to obey their father and not to relift him: and inforces his command with this argument; that the superintendence and care and authority of a just and kind parent, will contribute to the happiness of the whole fa-

mily; fo that they ought to obey him for their own fakes more than for his: suppose this parent at length runs distracted, and attempts in his mad fit, to cut all his children's throats: now, in this case, is not the reason before asfigned, why these children should obey their parent while he continued of a found mind. namely, their common good, a reason equally conclusive for disobeying and resisting him, fince he is become delirious, and attempts their ruin? It makes no alteration in the argument, whether this parent, properly speaking, loses his reason; or does while he retains his understanding, that which is as fatal in its confequences, as any thing he could do, were he really deprived of it. This similitude needs no formal application.

But it ought to be remembered, that if the duty of universal obedience and non-resistance to our king or prince, can be argued from this passage, the same submission under a republican, or any other form of government; and even to all the subordinate powers in any particular state, can be proved by it as well: which is more than those who alledge it for the mentioned purpose, would be willing should be inferred from it. So that this passage does not answer their purpose; but really overthrows and consutes it. This matter deserves to be more particularly considered.—The advocates

for unlimited submission and passive obedieuce, do, if I mistake not, always speak with refetence to kingly or monarchical government, as distinguished from all other forms; and, with reference to submitting to the will of the king, in distinction from all subordinate officers, acting beyond their commission, and the authority which they have received from the It is not pretended that any persons besides kings, have a divine right to do what they please, so that no one may resist them, without incurring the guilt of factiousness and rebellion. If any other supreme powers oppress the people, it is generally allowed, that the people may get redrefs, by resistance, if other methods prove ineffectual. And if any officers in a kingly government, go beyond the limits of that power which they have derived from the crown, (the supposed original source of all power and authority in the state) and attempt illegally, to take away the properties and lives of their fellow-subjects, they may be forcibly refisted, at least till application can be made to the crown. But as to the fovereign himself, he may not be resisted in any case; nor any of his officers, while they confine themselves within the bounds which he has prescribed to them. This is, I think, a true sketch of the principles of those who defend the doctrine of passive obedience and non resistance. Now

Now there is nothing in scripture which supports this scheme of political principles. As to the passage under consideration, the apostle here speaks of civil rulers in general; of all persons in common, vested with authority for the good of fociety, without any particular reference to one form of government, more than to another; or to the supreme power in any particular state, more than to subordinate pow-The apostle does not concern himself with the different forms of government*. This he

The essence of government (I mean good government; and this is the only government which the apostle treats of in this passage) consists in the making and executing of good laws-laws attempered to the common felicity of the governed. And if this be, in fad, done, it is evidently, in itself, a thing of no consequence at all, what the particular form of government is;—whether the legislative and executive power be lodged in one and the same person, or in different persons;-whether in one person, whom we call an absolute monarch; whether in a few, fo as to conflitute an ariflocracy; -whether in many, so as to constitute a republic; or whether in three co-ordinate branches, in such manner as to make the government partake something of each of these forms; and to be, at the same time, effentially different from them all. If the end be attained, it is enough. But no form of government feems to be fo unlikely to accomplish this end as absolute monarchy -Nor is there any one that has fo little pretence to 2 divine original, unless it be in this fense, that God first

he supposes left entirely to human prudence and discretion. Now the consequence of this is, that unlimited and passive obedience, is no more enjoined in this passage, under monarchical government; or to the supreme power in any state, than under all other species of government, which answer the end of government; or, to all the subordinate degrees of civil authority, from the highest to the lowest.-Those, therefore, who would from this pasfage infer the guilt of relifting kings, in all cases whatever, though acting ever so contrary to the design of their office, must, if they will be confistent, go much farther, and infer from it the guilt of refistance under all other forms of government; and of relifting any petty officer in the flate, though afting beyond his commission, in the most arbitrary, illegal manner possible. The argument holds equally strong in both cases. All civil rulers, as such, are the ordinance and ministers of God; and they are all, by the nature of their office, and in their respective spheres and stations, bound to consult

first introduced it into, and thereby overturned, the commonwealth of Israel, as a curse upon that people for their folly and wickedness, particularly in defiring such a government. (See 1 Sam. viii chap.) Just so God, before, sent quaits amongst them, as a plague, and a curse, and not as a blessing. Numb. chap. xi.

the public welfare. With the same reason therefore, that any deny unlimited and passive obedience to be here injoined under a republic or aristocracy, or any other established form of civil government; or to subordinate powers, acting in an illegal and oppressive manner; (with the same reason) others may deny, that fuch obedience is enjoined to a king or monarch, or any civil power whatever. For the apostle says nothing that is peculiar to kings; what he fays, extends equally to all other perfons whatever, vested with any civil office. They are all, in exactly the same sense, the ordinance of God; and the ministers of God; and obedience is equally enjoined to be paid to them all. For, as the apostle expresses it, there is NO POWER tut of God: and we are required to render to ALL their DUES; and not MORE than their DUES. And what these dues are, and to whom they are to be rendered, the apostle fayeth not; but leaves to the reason and consciences of men to determine.

Thus it appears, that the common argument, grounded upon this passage, in favour of universal and passive obedience, really over-throws itself, by proving too much, if it proves any thing at all; namely, that no civil officer is, in any case whatever, to be resisted, though acting in express contradiction to the design of his

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his office; which no man in his fenfes, ever did
or can affert.

If we calmly consider the nature of the thing itself, nothing can well be imagined more directly contrary to common fense, than to suppose that millions of people should be subiected to the arbitrary, precarious pleasure of one fingle man; (who has naturally no superiority over them in point of authority) fo that their estates, and every thing that is valuable in life. and even their lives also, should be absolutely at his disposal, if he happens to be wanton and capricious enough to demand them. unprejudiced man can think, that God made ALL to be thus subservient to the lawless pleafure and phrenzy of ONE, fo that it shall always be a fin to refift him! Nothing but the most plain and express revelation from heaven could make a fober impartial man believe fuch a monstrous, unaccountable doctrine, and indeed, the thing itself, appears so shockingso out of all proportion, that it may be queftioned, whether all the miracles that ever were wrought, could make it credible, that this doctrine really came from God. At present, there is not the least syllable in scripture which gives any countenance to it. The hereditary. indefeasible, divine right of kings, and the doctrine of non-resistance, which is built upon the

the supposition of such a right, are altogether as fabulous and chimerical, as transubstantiation; or any of the most absurd reveries of ancient or modera visionaries. These notions are fetched neither from divine revelation, nor human reason; and if they are derived from neither of those sources, it is not much matter from whence they come, or whither they go. Only it is a pity that such doctrines should be propagated in society to raise sactions and rebellions, as we see they have, in sact, been both in the last, and in the present, REIGN.

But then, if unlimited submission and passive obedience to the higher powers, in all possible cases, be not a duty, it will be asked, the state of the same we obliged to submit? If we may innocently disobey and resist in some cases, why not in all? Where shall we shop? What is the measure of our duty? This doctrine tends to the total dissolution of civil government; and to introduce such seems of wild anarchy and confusion, as are more fatal to society than the worst of tyranny."

After this manner, fome men object; and indeed this is the most plausible thing that can be said in favour of such an absolute submission as they plead for But the worst (or rather the best

best) of it, is, that there is very little strength or folidity in it. For fimilar difficulties may be raifed with respect to almost every duty of natural and revealed religion.-To instance only in two, both of which are near akin, and indeed exactly parallel, to the case before us. It is unquestionably the duty of children to fubmit to their parents; and of fervants, to their masters. But no one afferts, that it is their duty to obey, and fubmit to them, in all supposable cases; or universally a fin to refift them. Now does this tend to subvert the just authority of parents and masters? Or to introduce confusion and anarchy into private families? No. How then does the fame principle tend to unhinge the government of that larger family, the body politic? We know, in general, that children and fervants are obliged to obey their parents, and masters respectively. We know also, with equal certainty, that they are not obliged to submit to them in all things, without exception; but may, in some cases, reasonably, and therefore innocently, resist them. These principles are acknowledged upon all hands, whatever difficulty there may be in fixing the exact limits of submission. there is at least as much difficulty in stating the measure of duty in those two cases, as in the case of rulers and subjects. So that this is really no objection, at least no reasonable one, against

against refistance to the higher powers: Or, if it is one, it will hold equally against refistance in the other cases mentioned. It is indeed true, that turbulent, viciousminded men, may take occasion from this principle, that their rulers may, in some cases, be lawfully relisted, to raise factions and disturbances in the state; and to make resistance where resistance is needless, and therefore, finful. But is it not equally true, that children and fervants of turbulent, vicious minds, may take occasion from this principle, that parents and masters may, in some cases be lawfully relisted, to relist when relistance is unnecessary, and therefore, criminal? Is the principle in either case false in itself, merely because it way be abused; and applied to legitimate disobedience and resistance in those instances, to which it ought not to be applied? According to this way of arguing, there will be no true principles in the world; for there are none but what may be wrested and perverted to ferve bad purpofes, either through the weakness or wickedness of men*.

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^{*} We may very fafely affert these two things in general, without undermining government: One is, That no civil rulers are to be obeyed when they enjoin things that are inconsistent with the commands of God: All such disobedience is lawful and glo-VOL. II.

P rious;

A PEOPLE really oppressed to a great degree by their sovereign, cannot well be insensible

rious; particularly if perfons refuse to comply with any legal establishment of religion, because it is a gross pervertion and corruption (as to doctrine, worthing and discipline) of a pure and divine religion, brought from heaven to earth by the fon of God, (the only king and head of the christian church) and propagated through the world by his inspired spostles. commands running counter to the declared will of the supreme legislator of heaven and earth, are null and void: and therefore disobedience to them is a duty, not a crime. Another thing that may be afferted with equal truth and fafety, is, I hat no government is to be submitted to, at the expence of that which is the fele end of all government, -the common good and fafety of fociety. Because, to submit in this case, if it should ever happen, would evidently be to set up the means as more valuable, and above, the end: than which there cannot be a greater folecism and contradiction. The only reason of the institution of civil government; and the only rational ground of submission to it, is the common safety and utility. If therefore, in any case, the common safety and utility would not be promoted by submission to government, but the contrary, there is no ground or motive for obedience and submission, but for the contrary.

Whoever confiders the nature of civil government must, indeed, be sensible that a great degree of implicit confidence, must unavoidably be placed in those that bear rule: this is implied in the very notion of authority's being originally a trust, com-

· mitted

fensible when they are so oppressed. And such a people (if I may allude to an ancient fable) have

mitted by the people, to those who are vested with it. as all just and righteous authority is; all besides is mere lawless force and usurpation; neither God nor nature having given any man a right of dominion over any fociety, independently of that fociety's approbation, and confent to be governed by him-how as all men are fallible, it cannot be supposed that the public affairs of any state, should be always adminiftered in the best manner possible, even by persons of the greatest wisdom and integrity. Nor is it sufficient to legitimate disobedience to the bigher powers that they are not so administered; or that they are, in fome instances, very ill managed; for upon this principle, it is scarcely supposable that any government at all could be supported, or subsist. a principle manifefly tends to the diffolution of government; and to throw all things into confusion and anarchy.-But it is equally evident, upon the other hand, that those in authority may abuse their trust and power to fuch a degree, that neither the law of reason, nor of religion, requires, that any obedience or submission should be paid to them; but on the contrary, that they should be totally difcarded; and the authority which they were before vested with, transferred to others, who may exercife it more to those good purposes for which it is given.-Nor is this principle, that refiftance to the higher powers, is in some extraordinary cases, justifiable, so liable to abuse, as many perions seem apprehend it. For although there will be always fome petulant, querulous men, in every state-men of factious, turbulent and carping dispositions,-

have, like the Hesperian fruit, a DRAGON for their protector and guardian: nor would they have

glad to lay hold of any trifle to justify and legitimate their caballing against their rulers, and other sedi-'tious practices; yet there are, comparatively speaking, but few men of this contemptible character. It does not appear but that mankind, in general, have a disposition to be as submissive and passive and tame under government as they ought to be. - Witness a great, if not the greatest, part of the known world, who are now groaning, but not murmuring, under the heavy yoke of tyranny! While those who govern, do it with any tolerable degree of moderation and juffice, and in any good measure act up to their office and character, by being public benefactors, the people will generally be easy and peaceable; and be rather inclined to flatter and adore, than to infult and refult them. Nor was there ever any general complaint against any administration, which lafted long, but what there was good reason for. Till people find themselves greatly abused and oppressed by their governors, they are not apt to complain; and whenever they do, in fact find themselves thus abufed and oppreffed, they must be stupid not to com-To fay that subjects in general are not proper judges when their governors oppress them, and play the tyrant; and when they defend their rights, administer justice impartially, and promote the public welfare, is as great treason as ever man uttered; -it is treason, - not against one fingle man, but the state - against the whole body politic; -it is treason against mankind; - it is treason against common sense; - it is treason against God. this impious principle lays the foundation for justifying

have any reason to mourn, if some HER-CULES should appear to dispatch him - For a nation thus abused to rise unanimously, and to refift their prince, even to the dethroning him. is not criminal; but a reasonable way of vindicating their liberties and just rights; it is making use of the means, and the only means, which God has put into their power, for mutual and felf-defence. And it would be highly. criminal in them, not to make use of this. means. It would be stupid tameness, and unaccountable folly, for whole nations to sufferene unreasonable, ambitious and cruel man, to wanton and riot in their mifery. And in such a case it would, of the two, be more rational to suppose, that they that did NOT resist, than that they who did, would receive to themselves. damnation. And

fying all the tyranny and oppression that ever any prince was guilty of. The people know for what end they set up, and maintain, their governors; and they are the proper judges when they execute their trass as they ought to do it;—when their prince exercises an equitable and paternal authority over them;—when from a prince and common father, he exalts himself into a tyrant—when from subjects and children, he degrades them into the class of slaves;—plunders them, makes them his prey, and unnaturally sports himself with their lives and fortunes.——

THIS naturally brings us to make fome reflections upon the refiftance which was made about a century fince, to that unhappy prince, KING CHARLES I; and upon the ANNIVERSARY of his death. This is a point which I should not have concerned myfelf about, were it not that feme men continue to speak of it, even to this day, with a great deal of warmth and zeal; and in fuch a manner as to undermine all the principles of LI-BERTY, whether civil or religious, and to introduce the most abject slavery both in church and state: so that it is become a matter of universal concern.-What I have to offer upon this subject, will be comprized in a short anfifer to the following queries, viz.

For what reason the resistance to king Charles I. was made?

By whom it was made?

Whether this resistance was REBEL-LION*, or not?

*N. B. I speak of rebellion, treason, sainthip, martyrdom, &c. throughout this discourse only in the scriptural and theological sinfe. I know not how the law defines them; the study of that not being my employment—

How the anniversary of king Charles's death came at first to be solemnized as a day of sasting and humiliation?

And lastly,

Why those of the episcopal clergy, who are very high in the principles of ecclesiastical authority, continue to speak of this unhappy man, as a great SAINT and a MARTYR?

For what reason, then, was the resistance to king Charles made? The general answer to this inquiry is, that it was on account of the tyranny and oppression of his reign. Not a great while after his accession to the throne, he matried a French catholic; and with her feemed to have wedded the politics, , if not . the religion of France, also. For afterwards, during a reign, or rather a tyrapay of many years, he governed in a perfectly wild and arbitrary manner, paying no regard to the constitution and the laws of the kingdom, by which the power of the crown was limited; or to the folemn oath which he had taken at his coronation. It would be endless, as well as needlefs, to give a particular account of all the illegal and desporic measures which he took in his administration; --- partly from his P 4 own

own natural lust of power, and partly fromthe influence of wicked counsellors and ministers. --- He committed many illustrious members of both houses of parliament to the Tower, for opposing his arbitrary schemes .---He levied many taxes upon the people without confent of parliament; --- and then imprisoned great numbers of the principal merchants and gentry for not paying them .---He erected, or at least revived, several arbitrary courts, in which the most unheardof barbarities were committed with his knowledge and approbation.-He supported that more than fiend, archbishop Laud and the clergy of his stamp, in all their church-tyranny and hellish cruelties .- He authorised a book in favour of sports upon the Lord's day; and feveral clergymen were persecuted by him and the mentioned pious bishop, for not reading it to the people after divine service .- When the parliament complained to him of the arbitrary proceedings of his corrupt ministers, he told that august body, in a rough, domineering, unprincely manner, that he wondered any one should be so foolish and insolent as to think that he would part with the meanest of his fervants upon their account -He refused to call any parliament at all for the space of twelve years together, during all which time, he governed in an absolute lawless and despotic

manner - He took all opportunities to encourage the Papifis, and to promote them to the highest offices of honour and trust-He. (probably) abetted the horrid massacre in Ireland, in which two hundred thousand protestants were butchered by the roman-catholics. - He fent a large fum of money; . which he had raifed by his arbitrary taxes; into Germany, to raise foreign troops, in order to force more arbitrary taxes upon his subjects. -He not only by a long feries of actions, but also in plain terms, afferted an absolute uncontroulable power: faying even in one of his. speeches to parliament, that as it was blasphemy to dispute what God might do; so it was fedition in subjects to dispute what the king might do .- Towards the end of his tyranny, he came to the house of commons with an armed force *, and demanded five of its principal members to be delivered up to him - And, this was a prelude to that unnatural war which he foon after levied against his own dutiful subjects; whom he was bound by all the laws of honour, humanity, piety,

^{*} Historians are not agreed, what number of foldiers attended him in this monstrous invasions of the privileges of parliament fome says three hundred, some four hundred; and the author of The bistory of the kings of Scatland, says sive hundred.

and I might add, of interest also, to defend and cherish with a paternal affection - I have only time to hint at these facts in a general way. all which, and many more of the same tenor, may be proved by good authorities: fo that the figurative language which St. John uses concerning the inft and beneficent deeds of our bleffed Saviour, may be applied to the narighteous and execrable deeds of this prince, viz. And there are also many other things which king Charles did, the which, if they flould be written every one, I suppose that even the world itself, could not contain the books that should be written. Now it was on account of kind Charles's thus afforming a power above the laws, in direct contradiction to his coronation oath, and governing the greatest part of his time, in the most arbitrary oppressive manner; it was upon this account, that the refiftance was made to him, which, at length, iffued in the loss of his crown, and of that head which was unworthy to wear it.

But by whom was this resistance made? Not by a private junto;—not by a small seditious farty; not by a few desperades, who, to mend their fortunes, would embroil the state;—but by the LORDS and COM-

^{*} John xxi. 25.

MONS of England. It was they that almost unanimously opposed the king's measures for overturning the constitution, and changing that free and happy government into a wretched. absolute monarchy. It was they that when the king was about levying forces against his fabjects, in order to make himself absolute, commissioned officers, and raised an army to defend themselves and the public: and it was they that maintained the war against him all along, till he was made a prisoner. This is indisputable. Though it was not properly fpeaking the parliament, but the army, which put him to death afterwards. And it ought to be freely acknowledged, that most of their proceedings, in order to get this matter effected; and particularly the court by which the king was at last tried and condemned, was a little better than a mere mockery of justice.-

The next question which naturally arises, is, whether this resistance which was made to the king by the parliament, was properly rebeltion, or not? The answer to which is plain, that it was not; but a most righteous and glorious stand, made in defence of the natural and legal rights of the people, against the unnatural and illegal encroachments of arbitrary power. Nor was this a rash and too sudden opposition. The nation had been patient under the oppressions

pressions of the crown, even to long-suffering;
—for a course of many years; and there was no rational hope of redress in any other way—
Resistance was absolutely necessary in order to preserve the nation from slavery, misery and ruin. And who so proper to make this resistance as the lords and commons;—the whole representative body of the people;—guardians of the public welfare; and each of which was, in point of legislation, vested with an equal, co-ordinate power, with that of the crown *! Here were two branches of the legislature

The English constitution is originally and esfentially free. The character, which Julius Cafar and Tacitus, both give of the ancient Britains fo long ago, is, That they were extremely jealous of their liberties, as well as a people of a martial foirit. Nor have there been wanting frequent instances and proofs of the same glorious spirit (in both respects) remaining in their posterity ever since, in the struggles they have made for liberty, both against foreign and domestic tyrants. Their kings hold their title to the throne, folely by grant of parliament; i.e. in other words, by the voluntary confent of the people. And, agreeably hereto, the prerogative and rights of the crown are flated, defined and limited by law; and that as truly and strictly as the rights of any inferior officer in the flate; or indeed, of any private subject. And it is only in this respect that it can be faid, that " the king can do no wrong." Being restrained by the law, he cannot, while he confines

giffature against one; — two, which had law and equity and the constitution on their side, against

confines himself within those just limits which the law prescribes to him as the measure of his authority, injure and oppress the subject. -- The king, in his coronation oath, fwears to exercise only fuch a power as the conftitution gives him a and the subject, in the oath of allegiance, swears only to obey him in the exercise of such a power. The king is as much bound by his oath, not to infringe the legal rights of the people, as the people are bound to yield subjection to him. From whence it follows, that as foon as the prince fets himself above law, he loses the king in the tyrant: he does to all intents and purposes, unking himself, by acting out of, and beyond, that sphere which the conflitution allows him to move in. And in such cases, he has no more right to be obeyed, than any inferior officer who acts beyond his commission. The subjects obligation to allegiance then ceases of course: and to resist him. is no more rebellion, than to refift any foreign invader. There is an effential difference betwixt gevernment and tyranny; at least under such a conflitution as the English. The former confifts in ruling according to law and equity; the latter, in ruling contrary to law and equity. So alfo. there is an effential difference betwixt refisting a tyrant, and rebellion; the former is a just and reafonable felf defence; the latter confifts in refifting a prince whose administration is just and legal; and this is what denominates it a crime. -- Now it is evident, that king Charles's government was illegal, and very oppressive, through the greatest part of his reign: and, therefore, to relift him, was no more reballion, than to oppose any foreign invader, or any other domestic oppressor.

against one which was impiously attempting to overturn law and equity and the conflitution; and to exercise a wanton licentious seereignty over the properties, consciences and lives of all. the people: - Such a fovereignty as fome inconfiderately ascribe to the supreme governor of the world.-I fay, inconfiderately; because God himself does not govern in an absolutely arbitrary and despotic manner. The power of this Almighty King (I speak it not without cantion and reverence; the power of this Almighty King) is limited by law; not indeed, by acts of parliament, but by the eternal laws of truth, wifdom and equity; and the everlasting tables of right reason; - tables that cannot be repealed, or thrown down and broken like those of Moses. - But king Charles fat himself above all these, as much as he did above the written laws of the realm; and made mere humour and caprice, which are norule at all, the only rule and measure of his administration. And now, is it not perfectly ridiculous to call refistance to such a tyrant, by the name of rebillion? -the grand rebellion! Even that-parliament, which brought king Charles II. to the throne, and which run loyally mad, feverely reproved one of their own members for condemning the proceedings of that parliament, which first took up arms against the former king. And upon the same principles

that the proceedings of this parliament may be censured as wicked and rebellious, the proceedings of those who, since, opposed king James II. and brought the prince of Orange to the throne, may be censured as wicked and rebellious also. The cases are parallel.—But whatever some men may think, it is to be hoped that, for their own sakes, they will not dare to speak against the REVOLUTION, upon the justice and legality of which depends (in part) his present MAJESTY's right to the throne.

If it be faid, that although the parliament which first opposed king Charles's measures. and at length took up arms against him, were not guilty of rebellion; yet certainly those persons were, who condemned, and put himto death; even this perhaps is not true. For he had, in fact, unkinged himself long before, and had forfeited his title to the allegiance of the people, so that those who put him to death, were, at most, only guilty of murder; which indeed, is bad enough, if they were really guilty of that; (which is at least disputable.) Cremwell, and those who were principally concerned in the (nominal) king's death, might possibly have been very wicked and defigning men. Nor shall I say any thing in vindication. of the reigning by octify of those times; or of Gromsoell's male administration during the in-

ter-regnum: (for it is truth, and not a party, that I am speaking for.) But still it may be said, that Cromwell and his adherents were not properly speaking, guilty of rebellion; because he, whom they beheaded, was not properly speaking, their king; but a lawless tyrant.—Much less, are the whole body of the nation at that time to be charged with rebellion on that account; for it was no national ast; it was not done by a free parliament: And much less still, is the nation at present, to be charged with the great sin of rebellion, for what their ancestors did, (or rather did NOT) a century ago.

But how came the anniversary of king Charles's death, to be folemnized as a day of fasting and humiliation? The true answer in brief, to which inquiry, is, that this fast was instituted by way of court and compliment to king Charles II. upon the refleration. All were defirous of making their court to him; of ingratiating themselves; and of making him -forget what had been done in opposition to his father, fo as not to revenge it. To effect this, they ran into the most extravagant professions of affection and loyalty to him, infomuch that he himself said, that it was a mad and bairbrained loyalty which they professed. And amongst other strange things, which his first parliament -4

parliament did, they ordered the thirtieth of January (the day on which his father was beheaded) to be kept as a day of folemn humiliation, to deprecate the judgments of heaven for the rebellion which the nation had been guilty of, in that which was no national thing; and which was not rebellion in them that did it—Thus they foothed and flattered their new king, at the expence of their liberties:—And were ready to yield up freely to Charles II. all that enormous power, which they had justly refisted Charles I. for usurping to himself.

The last query mentioned, was, Why those of the episcopal clergy, who are very high in the principles of ecclesiastical authority, continue to speak of this unhappy prince as a great saint and a martyr? This, we know, is what they constantly do, especially on the thirtieth of January;—a day sacred to the extolling of him, and to the repreaching of those who are not of the established church. Out of the same mouth on this day, proceedeth blessing and cursing*; therewith bless they their God, even Charles, and therewith curse they the differences: And their tongue can no man tame; it is an unruly evil; full of deadly poison. King Charles is, upon this solemnity, frequently compared to our

^{*} James iii. 8, 9, 10.

Lord Jesus Christ, both in respect of the holiness of his life, and the greatness and injustice of his sufferings; and it is a wonder they do not add something concerning the merits of his death also—But blessed faint and royal marryr are as humble titles as any that are thought worthy of him.

Now this may, at first view, well appear to be a very strange phanamenon. For king Charles was really a man black with guilt, and laden with iniquity *, as appears by his crimes before mentioned. He lived a tyrant; and it was the oppression and violence of his reign, that brought him to his untimely and violent end at fast. Now what of faintship or martyrdom is there in all this? What of faintthip is there in encouraging people to profane the Lord's Day? What of saintship in falshood and perjury? What of faintship in repeated robberies and depredations? What of faintship in throwing real faints, and glorious patriots into gabls? What of faintship in overturning an excellent civil constitution?-and proudly grasping at an illegal and monstrous power? What of faintship in the murder of thousands of innocent people; and involving a nation in all the calamities of a civil war? And what of

martyrdom is there, in a man's bringing an immature and violent death upon himself, by being wicked overmuch †? Is there any such thing as grace, without goodness? As being a follower of Christ without following him? As being his disciple, without learning of him to be just and beneficent? Or as saintship without sanctity? If not, I fear it will be hard to prove this man a saint. And verily one would be apt to suspect, that that church must

+ Eccles. vii. 17.

I Is it any wonder that even persons who donot walk after their own lufts, should scoff at such faines as this, both in the first and in the lost days, even from overlofting to overlafting? 2 Pet. iii. 3, 4h - But perhaps it will be faid, that these things are MYSTERIES, which (although very true in themselves) lay-understandings cannot comprehend: or, indeed, any other persons amongst us, befides those who being INWARDLY MOVED BY THE HOLY GHOST have taken a trip merofs the Atlantic to obtain epifcopal ordination and the intelible character - However, if these confer erated gentlemen do not quite despair of us, it is hoped that, in the abundance of their charity, they will endeavour to illucidate these dark points; and at the fame time, explain the creed of ano ber of their eminent faints, which we are told, that unless we believe faithfully, (i. e.) believingly) we cannot be faved: which creed, (or rather riddle) notwithstanding all the labours of the pious ---and metaphyfical Dr. Waterland, remains somewhat anigmatical Still.

he but poorly flocked with faints and martyrs, which is forced to adopt such enormous finners into her kalendar, in order to fwell the number.

But to unravel this myflery. of (nonfenfe as well as of) iniquity, which has already worked for a long time amongst us *; or, at least, to give the most probable folution of it; it is to he remembered, that king Charles, this bux-·l· fque upon saintship and martyrdom, though fo great an oppressor, was a true friend to the Church ;- fo true a friend to her, that he was very well affected towards the roman catholics; and would probably have been very willing to. unite Lambeth and Rome. This appears by his marrying a true daughter of that true mother of harlots+; which he did with a dispensation from the Pope, that supreme BISHOP; to whom when he wrote, he gave the title of MOST HOLY FATHER. His queen was extremely bigotted to all the follies and fuperstitions, and to the hierarchy of Rome; and had a prodigious afcendency over him all his life. It was, in part, owing to this, that he (probably) abetted the massacre of the protestants in Ireland; that he assisted in extirpating the French protestants at Rochelle; that

^{- 2} Theff. ii. 7. † Rev. xvii. 5.

he all along encouraged papifts, and popishty affected clergymen, in preference to all other persons, and that he upheld that monster of wickedness, ARCHBISHOP LAUD, and the bishops of his stamp, in all their church tyranny and diabolical cruelties. In return to his kindness and indulgence in which respects, they caused many of the pulpits throughout the nation, to ring with the divine absolute, indefeafible right of kings; with the praises of Charles and his reign; and with the damnable fin of refisting the Lord's anointed, let him do what he would. So that not Christ, but Charles, was commonly preached to the people.-In plain English, there feems to have been an impious bargain struck up betwixt the fcepter and the furplice, for enflaving both the bodies and fouls of men. The king appeared to be willing that the clergy fhould do what they would,-fet up a monstrous hierarchy like that of Rome, -a monstrous inquisition like that of Spain or Portugal,-or any thing else which their own pride, and the devil's malice, could prompt them to: provided always, that the' clergy would be tools to the crown; that they would make the people believe, that kings had · God's authority for breaking God's law; that they had a commission from heaven to seize the estates and lives of their subjects at pleasure; and that it was a damnable fin to refift them.

even when they did fuch things as deferved more than damnation -This appears to be the true key for explaining the mysterious doctrine of king Coarles's faintship and martyrdom. He was a faint, not because he was in his life a good man, but a good churchman; not because he was a lover of belian is but the hierarchy; not because he was a friend to Christ, but the croft. And he was a martyr in his death, not because he bravely suffered death in the capse of truth and righteoniness, but because he died an enemy to liberty and the rights of conscience; i. e. not because he died an enemy tofin, but diffenters. For these reasons it is that all bigotted clergymen, and friends to churchpower, paint this man as a faint in his life, though he was such a mighty, such a royal finner; and as a martyr in his death, though he fell a facrifice only to his own ambition, avarice, and unbounded lust of power. from prostituting their praise upon king Charles, and offering him that incense which is not his due, it is natural for them to make a tranfition to the diffenters, (as they commonly do) and to load them with that reproach which they do not deserve; they being generally professed enemies both to civil and ecclesiastical tyranny. We are commonly charged (upon the thirtieth of January) with the guilt of putting the king to death, under a notion that it

was our ancestors that did it; and so we are represented in the blackest colours, not only as schismatics, but also as traitors and rebels and all that is bad. And these lefty gentlemen usually rail upon this head, in such a manner as plainly shews, that they are either grofly ignorant of the history of those times which they speak of; or, which is worse, that they are guilty of the most shameful prevarication, flander and falshood .- But every perty prieft, with a roll and a gown, thinks he must do fomething in imitation of his betters in lesun, and shew himself a true fon of the church : And thus, through a foolish ambition to appear confiderable, they only render themselves contemptable.

But suppose our fore-fathers did kill their mock saint and martyr a century ago, what is that to us now? If I mistake not, these gentlemen generally preach down the doctrine of the imputation of Adam's sin to his posterity, as absurd and unreasonable, notwithstanding they have solemnly subscribed what is equivalent to it in their own articles of religion. And therefore one would hardly expect that they would lay the guilt of the king's death upon us, although our fore-fathers had been the only authors of it. But this conduct is much more surprising, when it does not appear that our ancestors.

ancestors had any more hand in it than their own.—However, bigotry is sufficient to account for this, and many other phænomena, which cannot be accounted for in any other way.

Although the observation of this anniversary feems to have been (at least) superstitious in its eriginal; and although it is often abused to very bad purposes by the established clergy, as they serve themselves of it, to perpetuate strife, a party spirit, and divisions in the christian church; yet it is to be hoped that one good end will be answered by it, quite contrary to their intention; it is to be hoped, that it will prove a standing memento, that Britons will not be slaves; and a warning to all corrupt counfellors and ministers, not to go too far in advising to arbitrary despotic measures.—

To conclude: Let us all learn to be fre?, and to be loyal. Let us not profess ourselves vassals to the lawless pleasure of any man on earth. But let us remember, at the same time, government is facred, and not to be trifled with. It is our happiness to live under the government of a Prince, who is satisfied with ruling according to law; as every other good prince will—We enjoy under his administration all the liberty that is proper and expedient for us. It becomes us, therefore, to be contented,

contented, and dutiful subjects. Let us prize our freedom; but not use our liberty for acloke of maliciousness *. There are men who. firike at liberty under the term licentioufnefs. There are others who aim at popularity under . . the disguise of patriotism. Be aware of both. Extremes are dangerous. There is at present amongst us, perhaps more danger of the latter than of the former. For which reason I would exhort you to pay all due regard to the government over us; to the KING and all in authority; and to lead a quiet and peaceable . life + .- And while I am speaking of loyalty to our earthly prince, suffer me just to put you in mind to be loyal also to the supreme RULER of the universe, by whom kings reign, and princes decree justice t. To which king eternal, immortal, invisible, even to the ONLY WISE GOD | be all honour and praise, DOMI-NION and thankfgiving, through IESUS > CHRIST OUR LORD. AMEN.

^{• 1} Pet. ii. 163 + 1 Tim. ii. 2. ‡ Prov. viii. 15. -

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*CONSECRATION

OF THE

BISHOPS

IN

DUBLIN,

By the Lord Primate in the year 1660.

HEREAS we have thought fit to appoint the 27th of this instant January 1660, for the consecration of bishops; to the end therefore that the same may be so ordered, as decency and the dignity of so holy an office shall require; we have thought sit, by the advice of our brethren the bishops, who are to assist in that sacred administration, and with whom we have consulted in that behalf, to order,

That at feven o'clock in the morning of the faid day, the lords bishops elect do attend us, at the dean of Christ church his house, and

Q 2

The editor considers this small piece as a prelatic comment on the words of Christ, my kinedom is not of this world; and as such it is here published.

that all the bishops consecrators be there also in their cornered caps, rochets and chimers.

That notice be given to the faid deans of the two cathedral churches of *Dublin*, that they likewise are expected to attend at the same time and place in their formalities.

That the faid deans respectively shall give orders to the dignitaries, prebendaries, canons, petit-canons, vicars, choral; and choristers, that they do attend at the same hour, in their respective formalities in the body of Christ-church.

That the vice-chancellor, or pro-vice-chancellor of the university, all doctors of divinity, and of the law, as also all the ministers and civilians in this city, with the whole university, do likewise repair thither, so far as they can conveniently furnish themselves with gowns and formalities to their respective offices and dignities appertaining.

That the order of proceeding be as follows ;

That the pursuivant of the court of prerogative, and the apparator general bare headed.

The vergers of the faid two cathedrals also bare headed.

The chorifters two and two, and the rest of the procedents also in order, two and two as followeth.

Vicars chorals.

Petit-canons.

Prebendaries.

Dignitaries.

The faid two deans.

The bishops elect in their albs.

The lord primate's gent. usher, and secretary bare-headed.

The ford primate.

The other bishops consecrators two and two.

The beadle of the university.

The vice-chancellor, or pro-vice-chancelor, and provoft.

Deans and doctors two and two.

That the abovefaid orders may proceed with a filent, folemn, and flow paced gravity, until the time of entrance into the west-gate of St. Patrick's church, where the vicars and chorifters are to proceed finging into the choir, and there continue finging the to deum, accompanied with the organ, until the archbishops, bishops, and the rest of the principal precedents shall be placed and seated in their respective stalls.

- That the office of morning prayer be folemnly celebrated by the dean of the faid church: Which ended, Dr. Jer. Taylor, lord bishop elect of Down, defigned to preach the concio ad clerum, is to afcend the pulpit during the finging of per veni nobis.

That

That after the faid bishop hath ended his fermon, he be conveyed by the verger to his stall-

That upon his lordship's descent from the pulpit an anthem be sung.

That from the end of the anthem the voices of the organ be heard, and continued until the lord primate and the other bishops who are to confecrate, ascend into the enclosure wishin the rails, and somewhat longer; at least till the noise, which may be occasioned by the usual motions of the people from their places after fermon, shall cease.

That after the primate and bishops consecrators are seated in their chairs, and the sound of the organs continuing, the vicar-genneral (as sent by the said primate) is to go to the lords elect, suting in their stalls, and so with the dean of St. Patrick to conduct their lordships to the enclosure, and there to range them in their order according as direction shall be given by the primate.

That then the office of confectation be celebrated, which ended, the anthem to that purpose composed by the dean of St. Patrick's, called quam denue exaltavie deminus caronam, be sung as it here followeth.

Amben ofter the tenfecration.

Treble.

Now that the Lord bath readvane'd the crown, Which thirst of spoil and frantic zeal threw dawn.

Tenor.

Now that the Lord the mitre has reflor'd,
Which with the crown lay in the dust abborr'd.
Treble—Praise him ye kings? Chorus all
Tenor—Praise him ye priests fing
Glory to Christ our high priest, highest king.

Treble.

May Judah's royal scopere still some clean,

Tenor.

May Asson's boly rod fill bloffoms boar.

Treble and Tenor.

Sceptre and rod rule still, and guide our land, And those whom Gad anoists feel no rude hand, May love, peace, plenty, wait on crown and chair, And may both share in blessings as in care.

Chorus.

Angels look down, and joy to see, Like that above, a monarchy. Angels look down, and joy to see, Like that above, an bierarchy. Baron, Richard .

THE

PILLARS

OF

PRIESTCRAFT

AND

ORTHODOXY

SHAKEN.

As for the rending of the church, we have many reafons to think it is not that which ye labour to prevent, so much as the rending of your pontifical fleeves: That schism would be the forest schism to you.

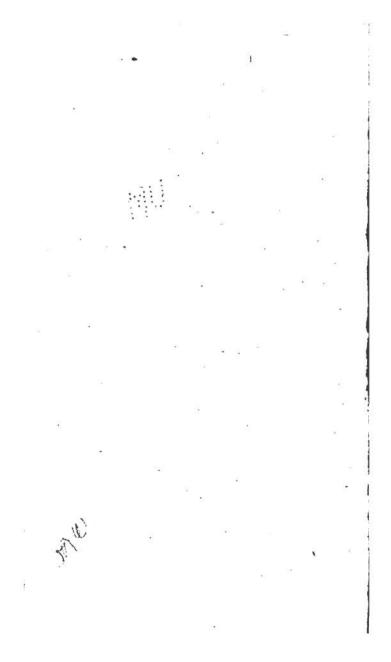
Neither can religion receive any wound by diffrace thrown upon the prelates, fince religion and they furely were never in fuch amity. They rather are the men who have wounded religion, and their fripes must heal her.

VOL. III.

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LETTER

TO THE

Reverend Dr. SNAPE;

Wherein the

AUTHORITY

OF THE

Christian Priesthood

IS MAINTAIN'D;

The UNINTERRUPTED SUCCES-SION of BISHOPS from the Apostles Days is lineally deduced; and the Cavils of HERETICS and FANATICS are answer'd.

By a CURATE of WILTS.

From the THIRD EDITION.

First Printed in the Year 1718.

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A

LETTER

TO THE

Reverend Dr. SNAPE, * &c.

Reverend SIR,

INCE writing letters in print to ar friend, is so much in fashion, I hope I shall not incur your displeasure, if I run in with the herd of those, who, following your footsteps, have with the utmost familiative address'd themselves to their superiors: and, though but a country curate, presume to apply myself to you, who are at present one of the most renowned champions of our distress'd church, which has been so violently attack'd of late, by men whose interest as well as profession—should have led them to defend ber.

VOL. III.

^{*} These two setters to Dr. Snape have been generally ascribed to Bishop Fleetwood: and the late Dr. Birch, a good judge in these matters, told me that he always understood Bishop Fleetwood to have been the author; but that Dr. Herring's timidity made him omit them in the collection of the Bishop's works.

We all fee how she has been torn and mangled of late, how her power hath been question'd, her honour debased, and her true grandeur vilify'd; and all this hath been done, only to-make way for cornal reason and bare religion; as if power, honour and riches were no effential part of our church.

It is true, reason and religion are very good things, when locked up amongst the Arcana of a church; but when they come to be once proflituted to the hands of the vulgar, they are the most dangerous instruments of its ruin. Then will the sheep begin to judge of their shepherds fermons, and calling loudly for their bibles, pretend to be their own interpreters : and this detestable licence shall be commended. under the specious name of christian liberty. Our great adversary the bishop of Banger, hoping to get all the fanatics on his fide, and thereby more effectually accomplish his pernicious designs against ws, has trump'd up this doctrine of fearching the scripture, and submitting our conscience to no man's direction. To support which herely, he tells us, ' that no fet of men (not even the clergy whom we very infly call the church) have any authority to direct the consciences of men; that Christ is king in his own kingdom, and that no power on earth can add by-laws to the laws of Christ:

Christ; and that to add sanctions, rewards. or punishments to his laws, is to dethrone Christ; that we priests are not by divine right. but only a laudable bumane institution; and that our claim to our facerdotal powers by an uninterrupted succession from the apostles, is a chimera; that our excommunications are idle terrors of men; and that the laity may go to heaven without our intervention, "without benefit of clergy." If this be not wresting out of our hands the very leadingfrings of the laity, and at once destroying the power of the clergy, if this be not making the church of Christ a Babel, and his kingdom a realm of confusion, I know not what is, Thus does a governor of our church flew ' himself less zealous for her, than the filver-Smiths at Ephefus were for their Diana; whilst they cry, Great is the goddess of the Ephesians, he cries, Small is the power of the church of England. However fince your great felf are pleased to enter the lifts against him, fince you have been follow'd by fuch an able fecond as the dean of Chichester, and since Mr. Law has laid down his plan of church power, to the utter confusion of the new herefy; I shall not fear to throw in some few of my answers to the bishop's arguments; which I will venture to fay no one has handled with more freedom, nor declared themselves against with

more fincerity, nor has any one spoke out the sentiments of the orthodox priesthood with more christian zeal.

First then, the bishop affirms, that our church has not any power to add by-laws to the laws of Christ. I would fain know whether he doth not allow; that any little body politic hath a power to make by-laws for their own bonour, profit or fafety; if fo, shall not our church or clergy, a-body the most politic in the world, be permitted to have a poor privilege, which is not deny'd to the pettiest borrough, or to the meanest corporation? That our bishops, deans, archdeacons, and the rest of our brethren, whose revenues exceed those of all: the bodies corporate in England, should not be admitted to an equality with any other fett of prophane laymen, who are stiled, mayor, aldermen and common-council, feems to me not only. blasphemous, but even ridiculous to affirm, Oh! poor church, to what low ebb art thou. reduced?

In the second place, the bishop affirms, that to add sanctions of this world to the laws of Christ, is to act against Christ, for his kingdom is not of this world. I must ask the bishop another question here, and that is, Whether in the time of Christ and his apostles, men were not afflicted, for their want of faith, and for their.

their fins, by corporal and temporal punishments from heaven, fuch as blindness, lameness, pally, &c? I think, from our Saviour's common phrase in curing these infirmities, thy fins are forgiven thee, that it plainly appears that these were temporal punishments for sin: and yet no one can affirm that these temporal punishments were a bar to the eternal ones. So now inthe christian dispensation, corporal punishments. and temporal discouragements may be annexed. to the want of faith, and to the commission of particular fins, and yet no way interfere with the eternal chastisements reserved for sinners in another world. And indeed, as the punishment of fin here on earth has by the greatest . divines been believed to be an alleviation of it hereafter. I cannot fee but that christian charity and common humanity teach us to fall heavy upon all infidels, schismatics and beretics, and to perfecute them with the utmost rigour out of mere good nature: at least we cannot blame those of our brethren that act upon fo . good a principle.

Thirdly, The bishop denies, That any set to of men can have a power over other mens consciences, or that they can interpret the laws of Christ authoritatively for any one, for no church is infallible. In answer to this affertion, I shall the deal more sincerely with the prelate than any of his antagonists have done, and own at once,

that I think our church is infallible. And though at this moment you may think I fay too much, yet I shall in its proper place prove that you have faid the fame thing, and then I am fure I need not fear my being in an error. To return to the thing in question. I readily agree with the bishop, that it would be nonfense in terms to fay that a church that was fallible could act infallibly. Which if a church cannot do, she cannot pretend to impose her interpretation of Christ's laws upon others, because they may be in the right and she in the wrong. And indeed though no church but the Roman has claimed infallibility in words, yet none in the world but claims it in fact. To convince mankind of this truth, I defy any one to thew me an instance of a church, that hath acknowledged itself in an error. Did not the fynod of Dort proceed every whit as vehemently against the minority (which is in other words the beretics) as the council of Trent? Indeed they had not fo many engines of this world at their command, but they seemed to have a spirit to have set as many at work. I have known many worthy men who have believed the infallibility of a general council; nay all pious christians do entirely submit to the decrees of the four first general councils, as infallible. And why a divine of the church of England, may not al-

low the convocation infallibility, I know not. For my own part, I fee no abfurdity in allowing, that when an affembly of regularly ordained. divines meet to establish a doctrinal point, there may be an infallible spirit present, directing the resolutions of the majority. Omitting all the cloud of witnesses, which I could bring from the fathers, from the councils, and from the pope's declarations, to evince this matter, I shall only mention that wife article in the decrees of the council of Trent, of which father Paul gives us an account: That all feculars ought to receive that dostrine of faith which is given them by the church, without disputing or thinking farther about it. And among the These propounded by the Jesuits to be maintained in their public hall at Clermont, there were these two remarkable ones.

Thefis XIX. \ Thefis XIX.

Christum nos thus we acknowledge ita caput agnostimus, at illius church, that at his departure into heaven, when he was no longer to govern his cali abiit, primum Petro deinder fuccessorial commission in the seander quam to his successors, in whom he ipse habuit infal-

chedra loquuntur. they speak from the chair.

Thesis XX.

Thefis XX.

Datur ergo in ecclesia controwersiarum fidei judex infallibilis, etiam extra concilium generale.

There is therefore in the church an infallible judge of faith, even without a general council.

And now give me leave, worthy doctor, to quote a paragraph out of your* first letter to the bishop, wherein you thus acknowledge Christ to be the head of the church. At his departure into heaven, when he was no longer to govern his church in person, he provided for the good government of it by others, when he commissioned to bear rule and authority over his subjects, to be his vicegerents, to act in his name and stead, and to perpetuate a succession of men, thro' all the succeeding ages in the world, in whom the same powers should be lodged; and the' he made none of them infallible, &cc.

Now tho' at first sight this may seem to be a total renouncing any title to infallibility, yet I shall in its proper place, shew that you mean.

nothing less. This therefore may by an incurious reader be taken for a transcript from the shoftly fathers above-mentioned, but to a criticaleye will appear to be a great improvement on their narrow scheme, which confines the fucselfion to one armed chair. A poor local business! If we understand one another, this, Dr. Snape, is your meaning, That when Christ went to beaven, be provided for the good government of his church by others, that is, by his twelve apostles, (at the head of whom, he placed St. Peter) whom he commissioned to exbound his laws, to bear rule and authority over his subjects, (even over our fellow-subjects * the fallen angels, whom they often cast forth. and disposses'd of their fastnesses) to be his vicegerents to all in his name and flead; a power which they could never have prefumed to exercife, had they not for that purpose been made infallible by the Holy Ghoft. as they were not made immortal, it was necesfary for the preservation of the church, that when these at offles went to heaven themselves. they should leave others in their room to perform their functions in the church, that fo there might be a perpetual succession of men, thro' all succeeding ages, in whom the same powers (of infallibility, vicegerency, and the like) were to be

^{*} Snape's second letter, p. 43...

ledged : Dater ergo infallibilis controversiarum fidei judex. That is, we have infallibility fomewhere, and fome how or other ledged in our church. For what fignifies an uninterrupted succession from the apostles, if their successors are not vested with the SAME POWERS which they had? But why do I call them successors. fince they can have no right to be stiled such. unless they have the SAME POWERS? Will any one fay that a doge is or can be properly faid to succeed a monarch? Though he should pretend to fit on the fame throne, and to put on the same dress and pageantry with the king that preceded; yet if he does not fucceed to the legal authority and power, a man shall as foon persuade me that Asop's beast in the lion's skin was what he pretended to be, as that fuch a doge can continue the fuccession of a menarchy. So that to deny infallibility to our church, is at once to destroy its whole title to an uninterrupted fucceffion from the apostles; it is taking away the divine right of episcopacy; it is diminishing or rather (I fear) abrogating all church authority, by founding it upon the poor fecular basis of a decent human institution. This may ferve to fhew the danger and folly of disclaiming infallibility.

Iconfess at the end of that paragraph, which I already cited out of your first letter to the bishop,

bishop, you say that be (Christ) made none of. them (the apostles successors) i fallible. This the world has understood to be faying, that shey had and that they had not the fame powers with the apostles, in the same breath. Such expressions in the bishop must indeed have pass'd for gross nonsense, because that he, being unacquainted with our church-logick, could not have brought himself off. But I will undertake that, thro' the help of some nice distinctions, you shall appear very consistent, with all us true fons of the church, and which . is harder yet with your own felf. For it is plain, that you do not any where affert that the successors of the apostles are not infallible. but that he (Christ) made none of them fo. Now every one knows that infallibility was the gift of the Holy Ghoft, a considerable time after Christ was ascended into heaven. And since we are, none of us, Arians, (as many of the bishop's friends are) but do allow a distinction of persons in the Trinity, it is evident that you affirm a truth, when you fay, Christ made none of them infallible. Thus may you fee how, by a subtle distinction kept in Petto till a time of need, we can avoid the charge of nonfense and contradiction. A liberty never communicated to the laity; as being a right only annexed to the indelible character. And indeed, we feldom fail of making use of our privilege; for when

when we write for protestantism we never forget to tack a popish salvo, and when we Write for popery, we put in a protestant salvo. In which art of writing, our good friend the dean has discovered a most admirable talent. From what has been faid, it manifestly appears, that you never really declared against infallibility, as the generality of readers thought you did. But, worthy doctor, your feeming falvo, I confess, was very prudently subjoined to your claim of apostolical powers, that thereby (as you * term it) our claim might appear the more INNOCENT. For those superficial readers, the laity, should we be so imprudent as to claim fullness of power and infallibility at the same time, (tho' the one does necessarily include the other) might be fo alarmed and provoked, as to deny us both. No, Sir, let us but get our power once confirmed, and we shall not ask any body leave to be infallible. For we see that the power of our secret friend. the pope, does not fo much confift in his infallibility, as his infallibility is built on his power. Thus, Sir, tho' our church politics utterly forbid us to speak out, unless we are drove to a pinch: yet you yourfelf, as well as all other true churchmen, do know, that the apostles left. behind them a succession of men vested with the

Second letter, p. 51.

fame powers with themselves, one of which we are sure was infallibility; and tho' we do not think it expedient to mention the word (which like Balaam's angel might open the mouth of our beast the laity) yet tacitly we claim no less. And therefore I cannot think the bishop has acted a fair part in bringing an argument against us which is only sounded upon an opinion that we dare not speak our mind freely, and support our just claim to authoritative power in interpreting scriptures, by owning our infallibility, which that learned prelate knew was the only thing that could entitle us to it.

The last argument which the bishop has urged against our church's interest, which I shall take notice of; is, that the notion of an uninterrupted succession of bishops is not to be supported from any words of scripture, and is not to be made out in history; and that 'twould be wicked to make such a nicety a thing on which our salvation should depend. I answer to this, I was once determined to have produced these many texts out of scripture, which you affirm that you could bring to evince the contrary. Now as I knew that you could not mean the common edition of the scriptures, I looked into an old bible in my study; which unluckily hap-

First letter, p. 20.

cession at the same time, and mark out the man whom I prefer. Farther, reverend doctor, I can assure you that there is no one sact related here, for which I cannot cite as my authors, either Platina, Baronius, Onuphrius, Concil. Constant, Bale, Agrippa, Wesfelus, or father Paul.



A

LIST

OF

Christ's Vicegerents,

WIT H

An account of many of their acts of infallibility for the good government of the church.

A. D. 44. Schism first. St. Peter and St. Paul.

HE list of our vicegerents does unfortunately begin with a schism, for Paul as anti-pope did withstand St.

Peter to his face. And although without question St. Peter be our man, yet was he not a pope after our own hearts, for he did not bear rule, and besides was a married man.

57. 2. Linus.

Historians have very much question'd whether there ever was a bishop of this name, which would make our fuccession doubtful, but that we are sure this difficulty was started by hereticks.

1. D. 67. 3. Clesses.

Also called Anaclerus; he did not live long enough in his office, to leave many marks of his infallibility behind him.

68. 4. Clement

Being banished to an island, where two thousand christians were hewing marble, furnish'd them with a spring of fresh water by a miracle.

84. 5. Anacletus

Ordered priests not to let their beards nor hair to grow.

96. 6. Evariftus

Ordained that priests should be honoured and shaven; and that no accusation of the laity should be receiv'd against a bishop.

109. 7. Alexander

Order'd that the people should be married by none but priests.

117. 8. Sixtus I.

Invented holy water, and order'd it to be bleft with falt, and sprinkled, in order to chace away and coerce the rebellious subjects of Christ, the deviis. He first brought up the use of linen surplices.

127. 9. Telesphorus

Enacted that no layman should presume to touch the garment of a clergyman.

A. D. 138. 10. Higinius Brought in fasting in Lent.

142. 41. Pius I.

Found out chrism.

153. 12. Anicetus

Condemned St. Polycarp for his wearing long hair.

163. 13. Concordius Soterus

Decreed all marriages to be null without the
benediction of a prieft.

174. 14. Eleutherus
Was a great lover of sweet-breads.

186. 15. Victor I.

Excommunicated the Western churches for not keeping Lent, at the same time when he did.

198. 16. Zepherinus

Order'd that the wine at the communion should not be consecrated (as before it had been) in wood or glass, but in gold or filver: Also that no bishop accused by his patriarch or enetropolitan should be condemned, but by the apostolit see.

218. 17. Califins

Died of a fiftula.

226. 18. Urban L.

Invented the form of confecrating churchyards; and ordained that lands and farms might be given to God, but ought to be divided among the clergy.

1. D. 231. 19, Calphurnius

Order'd pfalms and mattins to be fung in churches, to drive away the evil fpirits that troubled poor people in their graves.

236. 20. Anterus Wrote a legend.

. 237. 21. Falianus

Order'd that chrism used in the Lord's supper should be renewed once a year, and the old burned.

251. 22. Schifm fecond, Cornelius, Novatianus.

Cornelius was certainly a true fuecessor: for with exorcisms and holy water, he drove all the rats out of a church near Ravenna.

253. 23. Lucius

Ordained that heretics should not be rebaptized.

Ordained that heretics should be rehaptized.

257- 25. Sixma IL. Invented copes, and other vestments.

260. 26. Diopolius

Allotted to every minister his own church, parish and salary.

271. 27. Felix

Ordered masses to be sung in churches for the dead martyrs.

1. D. 275. 28. Eutychianus

Ordered all fruits, and especially beats and grapes, to be consecrated upon the altar; he likewise would have marryrs baried in purple.

283. 29. Caius

Like an honest pope, ordered that no layman should commence a suit against a clergyman.

Sacrificed to Hercules, Jupiter and Saturn, in the temple of Vesta.

304. 31. Morcellus

Divided Rome iath twenty pariffies; was groom of the hables to Maximins, in which office he dy'd.

309. 32. Eufebius

Ordered that so bishop should be fued.

341. 33. Miliades

Ordained that no fulls fliould be kept on . Thus filey or Sunday.

314. 34. Silvefter.

Under his administration, and by his approbation, Authory the hermit set up the monastic course of life. He was the first pope that wore a crown of gold.

335. 35. Marcus

Ordered that the Nicene creed should be sung

A. D. 337. 36. Julius I.

Censured the Eastern bishops for calling a council at Antioch, without his leave; order'd that no clergyman should plead before a lay judge, or be sentenced by him. He was the first that confirmed the Athanasian creed.

355. 37. Schism third. Liberius, Felix I.

Liberius was by the church esteemed as the true pope: tho' he condemned the Athanasian creed, which his infallible predecessor had confirmed.

361. 38. Felix II.

Instituted plumb-porridge at Christmas. He ran with the Arians, but held with the Athanasians.

366. 39. Schism fourth. Damosus, Ursin.

Damasus was an adulterer, but Ursin was an heretic. So that the former must by Dr. Snape and me be allowed the best successor: for herefy in an infallible chair is infinitely worse than adultery.

385. 40. Siricius

Ordered that whosoever should marry a widow, or a second wife, should lose his benefice.

398. 41. Anastasius

Granted a pardon from fin for five hundred days to any, that should say a prayer of his composing, and beginning Jesu Christi, &c.

A. D. 402. 42. Innocent I.

Ordered a fast in the church every Saturday.

416. 43. Zozinus

Ordained the bleffing of wax-tapers upon Easter-eve; and confirmed the decrees of the council of Carthage, or in other words the Pclugian berefy.

419. Schifm fifth. 44. Boniface, Eulolius.

Boniface was the true vicegerent, for he ordered that no Roman should touch the consecrated pall or incense, and also that no servant or debtor should be admitted amongst the clergy:

423. 45. Celeftine I.

Was an excellent fidler.

432. 46. Sixtus III.

Got a nun with child.

446. 47. Leo I.

Invented processions on faints days, and or-

461. 48. Hilarius

Built almost fifty new churches, and invented the litany.

467. 49. Simplicius

Found, by his followers means, the bones of Elista, the body of St. Barnabas, and the golpel of St. Matthew, written in his own

30 The Pillars of PRIESTCRAFT hand. He also decreed that no clergyman should hold a benefice of a layman.

A. D. 483. 50. Felix III.

Ordained that churches should only be confectated by bishops.

492. 51. Gelafius I.

Excommunicated the emperor Anaftafius, and anathematized the king of the Vandals. He regulated the canon of scripture to his own fancy, declaring it herefy for laymen to judge of it.

496. 52. Anaftafius II.

Excommunicated the emperor Anaftafius for being an Eutychian, when he himself (for being one) was afterwards for laken by his whole clergy. He died by voiding his bowels in a privy-house.

498. 53. Schism finth. Symmachus, Lawrence, Peter II.

Symmachus, by the affiltance of a hundred and twenty bishops with their clergy, in arms, got the day from his other two rivals.

514. 54. Hermifda Left behind him many natural children.

523. 55. John I.

Was a hearty friend to the Arians.

526. 56. Felix IV.

Invented extreme unction, and for the benefit of the clergy, divided the chancel from the church.

A. D.

A. D. 530. 57. Schisin seventh. Beniface II. Dioscorus.

Boniface was the right pope, for he retanted his Arian notions in order to qualify himself for the chair. But his antagonist was a Simoniack.

532. 58. John II.

Was a great projector.

534. 59. Agapetus

Was a great friend to Theodatus, who murflered that miracle of the age, Amalafuintha, queen of the Goths.

535. 60. Schiff eighth. Silverius, Vigilius. Silverius was natural fon to Hormifda, but a heretic; we shall therefore esteem Vigilius as our true successor to St. Peter, since he was only guilty of perjury; a small fault now a days in a churchman.

555. 61. Pelagius 1.

Poisoned Vigilius, and decreed that the seturar arm ought to be called in to suppress biretics and schifmatics.

561. 62. Yohn III.

Established the custom of worshipping the bones of saints.

575. 63. Benediet I..

Died of grief.

572. 64. Pologius II.

Disputed with the bishop of Constantinople against the resurrection of the body.

1. D. 590. 65. Gregory I.

Invented purgatory, the invocation of faints, lustrations on the purification of the virgin, flations and pilgrimages; caused all priests to put away their wives, but soon condemned this infallible decree, when upon draining one fish-pond, he found the heads of six thousand infants there.

604. 66. Subinianus

Opposed all that his infallible predecessor had done; and was torn in pieces by the people of Rome, for keeping up a vast hoard of corn in a time of famine.

606. 67. Boniface III.

Obtained the title of Universal B shop from the usurper Phocas, upon his approving and confirming his title. He began to use the modest phrase of Volumus et Jub mus.

606. 68. Boniface IV.

Joined with Phocas as his predecessor had done, and thereby obtained great privileges for the church. With these two Bonifaces properly began the papal primacy.

612. 69. Deodatus

Made a law that no woman should marry a man, whose father had been her godfather, as being too near of kin.

616. 70. Boniface V.

Made the church an afylum for the greatest villanies, by privileging all thieves, murderers, Sc. that should take sanctuary in any church or chapel.

1. D. 622. 71. Henerius I.

Was a Monothelite Heretic, and stands comdemned as such by pope Agatho, by the sixth, seventh and eighth general councils, and assuch was excommunicated by Lee II.

637. 72. Soverinus

Was a pious charitable man, but a bad pope; for he not only did nothing to enlarge the power of the church, but even facrile-gioufly permitted its treasures to be diminathed.

638. 73. John IV.

Worthy doctor, you will doubtless be pleased with this pope, who was famous for his love of black-puddings, notwithstandings the decrees of the council of ferusalem, held by pope fames, at which our first vicegerents pope Peter also affished.

641. 74. Theodorus

Took the bones of St. Primus, and St. Fellucanus out of their graves, fer them im filver, and left them in St. Stephen's chapelito be worshipped by all good catholics.

647. 75. Martinus I...

Olympius being fent to the church to feize bim, was firnck blind just in the instantiwhen he was going to execute his orders. And from this pope's time, the chair has plained.

The Pillars of Parester apt

the power of littling people blind, as often as it is for the interest of the church, that they should not see. This man ordered priests to have their poles shaven.

1. D. 654. 76. Engenius

Was so charitable and so humble a man, and did so little to augment the power of the church, that were it not to keep our succession perpetuated, you and I, doctor, would scarce own him for a vicegerent. This sad man ordered that bishops should have prisons to confine disorderly priests in, whereas we know prisons ought only to be made for the laity.

657. 77. Vitalianus

Was the first that introduced organs into the church, as a mechanical help to internal devotion, lest men should pray without intensens of heat.

672. 78. Desdatas II.

Built churches, and introduced the customs of fasting upon sith in Lent.

676. 79. Dono

Paved St. Peter's posch with marble, and withed he could have done it with the sculla of beretics.

679. 80. Agathe

Ordained that all popes decrees should be received as if they were uttored by St. Peter's own mouth.

A. D. 882. 81. Les II.

684. 82. Benedict ft.

Obtained of the emperor, that popes hould be chosen by the clergy, without needing his confirmation. He first assumed the title of Christ's vicegirent.

685. 83. Yohn V.

Lay'd a-bed all his popedom, and was famous for writing a book concerning the dignity of the Pall.

686. 84. Conon

Poilon'd himself, being, as some affirm, difiracted.

687. 85. Sergius I.

His true name was Bocco di Porce, of Swine-Snout; but not liking his name, he introduced the fashion of the popes changing their names, which has continued ever fince. He was a notorious adulturer.

por. 86. John VI. Repaired three churches.

705. 87. John VII.

Refused to call a fund to fettle some points of faith then in dispute. He was a bastard to John VI. and like Nebuchadnezzar, every where erected images, and made the people fall down and worship them.

707. 88. Sisinnius

Died of the gout.

36

1. D. 707. 89. Conftantine

Prevailed with Theodoret the emperor's admiral in Italy, to seize upon the archbishop of Ravenna, for denying the power of the chair, and to burn out his eyes. This was the first pope that offered his feet to be kissed.

716. 90. Gregory II.

Raifed a rebellion against the emperor Lea. Ifaurus, because he caused images in churches to be pulled down.

731. 91. Gregory III.

Made a golden image of the Virgin Mary, which he ordered to be worthipped on pain of excommunication.

741. 92. Zachary:

Excommunicated Virgilius, as a detestable bereic, for afferting that there were antipoden

752. 93. Stephen II.

Was pope three days.

752. 94. Stepben HTi

Was the first pope that was carried on mean. shoulders. He added the exarchat of Ravenna, to the patrimony of St. Peter, as knowing that Christ's kingdom may sometimes be of this world.

757. 95. Schism ninth. Paul II. Theophilus, Conftantine, Philip.

Paul was the true vicegeront. He wrote a book in defence of what is commonly called idolatry, calling images the Layman's Kallendar.

A. D. 768. 96. Stephen IV.

Assembled a council at Rome to assert the honour of images, against the konoclasti (image-breakers) of the East.

772. 97. Hadrian I.

Established image-worship, at the second council of Nice. Covered the poor sisherman Peter with silver and gold, and added Spoleto and Beneventum to his patrimony.

796. '98. Lee III.

Was fet upon by conspirators, who not only whipped his breech, but also plucked out his eyes and his tongue, which (as the Legendary says) were so well restored to him next day by the apostles, that he pronounced sentence on those that did it, and saw them executed:

816. 99. Stephen V.

Lived but seven months infallible.

817. 100. Paschal I.

Joined in an affaffination plot, in which many of the emperor Lewis's great men were murdered in the Lateran. He first founded the college of cardinals, who were at first but parish priests in Rome, but soon became mates for kings.

824. 101. Schism tanth. Eugenius II. Zinzinus.

Eugenius was the right pope, for he excommunicated all that did not own him as fach.

A. D. 827. 202. Valentina

Was cheaked with a fish hone, furty days after his election. He was too good a man to be a good pope.

828. 303: Gragory IV. Instituted the feast of All-Saints.

844 104 Sergius II:

Removed a great many feints bones to better graves.

847. 105. Leo VI.

Introduced Peter-pence.

855. 106, Jahn VIII,

By fome finetics, nalled Pope Joan. Shie was an English Woman, Githerte by name: and after having disquired herself in man's anparel. the travelled to Athens with her lover: where she became so great a proficient in learning, that all the clergy looked upon her as the ablest divine in the whole church. She was ar length cholen pope, and after the had conferred orders, made abbots, ordained bishops, priests, and deacons, confectated churches. baptized infants, and played the pope for one year, four months, and four days, this literal where of Babylon, between the Coloffian sheatre, and St. Ciments, fell in labour, was delivered of a baftard-child, and died on the fpor. For this reason, succeeding poper were placed in a perphyry chair with a hole in the bottom. and immediately after the election, genitals . renitals were to be fearched by the youngest deasen. Now, though almost fifty different authors confirm this flory, yet we true churchmen must inust upon it, that De was a true vicegerent, no weman, but a regular priest, and rightful fucceffor of St. Peter. For if the were not fo, we may chance not to have one billan or canonical priest in all England. For who knows but the present fett may be such as were ordained by others, who were ordained by men, whose ordination originally came from our he vicegerant. Whose right and analification therefore if we should be so imprudent as to deny, we might at once defirou the whole divine right of episcopacy, and reduce the poor church of England to fuch a male, as to fland merely upon the feeder bofis of an act of parliament,

857. 107, Benedict III. Anoftafius III.

Renedict is the man whom I prefer, who was himself buried by his own direction before St. Peter's threshold, an honour St. Peter had never received from any pope before.

858. 108. Nicholas I.

Introduced the fashion of praying in an theknown tongue, and for the honour of God made every one address themselves to him in Latin.

A. D. 867. 109. Hadrian II.

Was put into the chair by a faction at Rome, and then excommunicated the emperor for not owning him immediately.

872. 110. Febn IX.

Took it into his head to dispose of crowns, and anointed Lewis emperor, for which he was forced to fly; and afterwards to retain the chair, submitted to Charles the MId, and anointed him emperor.

882. 111. Martin II.

He was only given to forcery; fo long as he abstained from herefy, we may receive him for a vicegorent.

884. 1-12. Hadrian MI.

By a decree deprived the emperors of that right, which they had always claimed and enjoyed, of electing the popes.

885. 113. Stephen VI.

Was esteemed the best chest-player of his time. Shewed himself a great friend to witches, adulterers, and likewise to the church.

890. 114. Schifm twelfth. Formofus, Sergius III.

Formofus obtained the chair by bribery, and by force obliged his rival to fly out of Laby.

895. 114. Boniface VE

Cardinal Baronius affirms that this man was and canonically choien. Alas! doctor, either

we must differ from a cardinal (which we do not care to do) or we must give up our uninterrupted succession.

1. D. 895. 116. Stephen VII.

Dug up the body of his predecessor, Formosus, to try him for herely; and having convicted his infallibility, cut off the three singers of his right hand, wherewith he used to give blessing, and to consecrate.

897. 117. Romanus

Condemned his infallible predecessor for his barbarity to Formosus.

897. 118. Theodorus

Restored all the decrees of Formosus, which Stephen had abrogated. Which of their infallibilities was in an error, we will not here determine.

897. 119. John X.

Called a council to condemn all Stephen's

899. 120. Benedict IV.

Was pope but five months.

The church was without any vicegerent four years, which was a fad thing.

903. 121. Schism thirteenth. Lee V. Christopher.

Christopher unpoped Lee, after he had governed the church for forty days; upon which the poor man broke his heart and died.

1. D. 904. 122. Sergius IV.

Unpoped Christopher; kept Marozio, a noble woman, as his whore; and lastly instituted the bearing of candles at the feast of the purification, which from thence has been called Candlemas-day,

911. 123. Anaftafius IV.

Was a quiet man, and did nothing either good or bad during his whole pontificate.

912. 124. Lando

Was an admirer of lalt fifth and eggs, and very famous for fasting.

913. 125. John XI.

The bastard of Sergius, and much versed in the art of war.

028. 126. La VI.

Being thrown into prison, at the end of six months, his christian patience being quite worn out, he died of grief, some say of poison.

928. 127. Stephen VIII ..

By some is called the VIIth. Was a peaceable man, and did nothing for the good of the church.

930. 128. John XII.

Another of Sargini's baffards, and a notorious friend to reliques. He poisoned Les and Supplen, his predecessors; and being caught in adultery, was slain by an impudent layman, that said he was the husband to his holises's mistress.

A. D. 935. 129. Lee WIL.

Was a great patron of monks and friars.

939. 130. Stephen IX.

Was all his time bufied in civil wars.

943. 131. Marinus.

All that's remarkable of him, is that forme writers call him Martin III.

Was the first that instituted music at Vespers.

956. 133. John XIH.

Was accused in a fynod before the emperor Othe, for having put out the eyes of some of his cardinals, plucking out the tongues of others, cutting off the hands, feet, fingers, nofes, and genitals of others: for ordeining deacons (to perpetuate our succession) in a stable, for making boys bishops for money, for ravishing both virgins and pilgrims, and lastly for calling upon the devil for affiftance at dice, and drinking to his health. For these spiritual acts of vicegerency, the emperor fet him aside, and placed Leo in his stead. But no fooner was the emperor gone from Rome, than John returned, drove Leo out, and repossessed the chair. In which he continued to act as vicegerent, till being caught in bed with another man's wife, he was like his predecessor John XII. slain by the husband in the very act of adultery.

A. D. 963. 134. Schism fourteensb. Lee VIII. Benedict V.

Lee like a true pope call'd for affistance from the fecular arm, which seized upon his rival, and made him end his days in a prison.

965. 135. John XIV.

Invented the bleffing and baptizing of bells, which, before his time, were unhallowed things.

972. 136. Dono II.

Was a lazy pope, and a great eater, which is all that we hear of his holiness.

972. 137. Penedict VI.

Was imprisoned, and afterwards strangled in his prison, which *Platina* affirms was much too gentle a death for him.

972. 138. Boniface VII.

Came to the popedom by two murders, that of Benedic, and that of John, a deacon that opposed him, whose eyes he first plucked out, and then killed him. This vicegerent alas! stole all the church-treasure.

975. 139. Benediet VII.

Lived a whole Lent upon almonds, raisins and milk.

983. 140. John XV.

Died in a gaol for want of necessaries, having been thrown into that place by the people of Rome, whom he had most violently oppressed.

1. D. 985. 141. John XVI.

Sold the church-plate and jewels to enrich his kindred, whose example hath been for the most part followed ever fince.

995. 142. John XVII.

Barenias questions much, if there ever was such a pope; but you and I, doctor, will not permit a popish cardinal to rob us of a fuccessor; for if he does not know the church's interest, we do.

996. 143. Schism sisteenth. Gregory V. John XVIII.

Gregory was the right man, who invented the ringing the little bell before mass. I cannot deny that John had some claim to the chair, for Platina says he was a thief and a robber.

998. 144. Silvefter II.

Was a great necromancer: he fet up a brazen bead, which he consulted, as many catholics have done since. One day, as he was officiating at high mass, at St. Cross of Jerusalem at Rome, those rebellious subjects of Christ the devils took his vicegerent away, and he was never heard of more.

1003. 145. John XIX.

Is looked upon by the historians as no Pope at all, but is always counted one by true churchmen, who are determined never to give up the divine right of bishops. He is said to have been an excellent magician.

A. D.

1. D. 1903. 146. John XX.

Till his time the people of Rome always chose their own pape: but this man took that privilege out of their hands, and vested it in the clergy, in whom it has ever since continued to be jure divino.

1009. 147. Sergius V.

Commonly called IV. He was a Pythagoran, and forbid all his elergy eating beans: He was the first vicegerent of the prince of peace, that confectated swords.

1012. 148: B.mediet VIII.

Wester an enegation on the monastic life, was married, and died, he and his family of the plague.

1024. 149. John XXI.

Platina and others affirm he never was in holy orders; but fince he ordained bishops, priesss and deacous, we might as well give into the story of Pope Joan, as allow this man to have been a lay-viorgerent.

1033. 159. Sebijm finteensb. Benedid IX. Sidvester III. 151. Gregory VI.

Benedict was a forcerer, Schuefter a fodemite, and Gregory an ujurer. Three persons so well gifted, that I am at a stand to determine who had the best claim. To avoid mistakes, let us join the three together, and we may assist that amongst them, they made up one woll qualify'd page,

A. D. 1047. 152. Clement II.

Did nothing remarkable besides making all the people in Rome perjure themselves, a thing commonly practised by divines.

1048, 153. Demofus.Ih.

Poisoned his predecessor, and enjoyed the

1049. 154. Let IX.

Invented the ufeful doctrine of transubfrantiation; and to make the absurdity swallowd, gave out that Christ and he had many personal conversations.

1055. 155. Viller IL.

Excommunicated many of his clergy for fornication, by whom he was poiloned as a syrannical vicegerent.

1057. 156. Sebifm seventeenth. Stephen X. Benedict X.

Stephen was our right fuccessor, for he femtenced a man to death for saying St. Peter did not die at Rome.

1059. 157. Niche'as II.

Excommunicated and perfected all those that denied transubstantiation, and made Berengarius recant his errors, which were the same tenets, that the church of England now holds.

A.D. 1061. 158. Schism eighteenth. Alexander II.

Alexander, like a true head of the church, deprived all laicks of the right of investiture to facred functions.

1073. 159. Schism nineteenth. Gregory VII.

Gregory (by others called Hildebrand) made his way to that dignity by poisoning five of his predecessors; excommunicated Henry III. and made him wait bareheaded and barefoot three days, before he would readmit him into the church.

1086. 160. Schism twentieth. Victor III.
Clement III.

Victor excommunicated Henry III. as his predecessor had done, and was possoned in a chalice for his pains.

1088. 161. Urbanus II.

Made a decree that no layman should give an ecclesiastical benefice. From his quarrelsome temper was nicknam'd Turbanus.

1099. 162. Schism twenty-first. Paschal II.
Guibert, Alberta d'Atella, Frederick, Maginulphus.

Poschal was the true pope, and had been a creature of Gregory VII. He made a league with the emperor Henry IV. and confirmed it with the most solemn oaths; but no sooner

was Henry gone out of Italy, when he revoked all that he had done, and excommunicated him; nay, and made him wait at his door bare-foot, before he would recall the excommunication.

1118. 163. Schifm twenty fecond. Gelasius II. Gregory VIII.

Gelasius was the true successor, to whose piety the world owes the soundation of the knights templars.

1119. 164. Califtus II.

Decreed that no loufy person should enter the church, and declared it was adultery for a bishop to forsake his see; by which we may understand who my lady bishop is.

1124. 165. Schism twenty-third. Honorius II.

Honorius, to manifest his sincere love to the church, put to death Arnulphus, a lowchurch preacher in those times, for inveighing against the pride and usurped power of the Romish church.

1130. 166. Schism twenty fourth. Innocent II. Anacletus II. Victor IV.

Innecent doubtless was the truest vicegerent, for he ordained that no layman should prefume ever to lay violent hands on a clergyman.

A. D. 1143. 167. Celeftin III.

Commonly called II. Was the first inventor of that christian method of cursing by bell, book and candle.

1144. 168. Lucius II.

Brought up the orthodox custom of eating pancakes and fritters on a Shrove-Tuesday.

1145. 169. Eugenius III. Repaired seven churches.

1153. 170. Anastafius FV.

Converted the Pantheen, where the heather deities were worshipped, into the Maria Rotunda, where popish saints are prayed to.

1154. 171. Hadrian IV.

From a beggar at St. Albans, came to be pope; and being thus mounted, to try how well he could ride, made the emperor Frederick Barbarossa hold his stirrup, after which he excommunicated him, because he would not hold the empire as a fief or tributary to the pope. He absolved all the subjects of William king of Sicily from their allegiance; and, in a word, was a true friend to the church.

1159. 172. Schism twenty fifth. Alexander IN.
Victor IV. Paschal III.

Alexander was my man, for he trod upon the emperor Frederick's head, saying, Super assistance at basilistum ambulabis; the emperor (as if he had been tutored by the bishop of Banger) Bangor) answered, Non tibi sed Petro, that is, You cannot pretend to that power the Peter might, who was an apostle, and infallible; to which the pope replied, (as if you and I had been by to advise him) et mihi et Petro, the same powers are lodged in me as were in Peter.

A. D. 1181. 173. Lucius III.

Attempted to abolifh the whole conftitution at Rome, and bring it into subjection to himself; in which he succeeded so far, as to destroy the whole consular power.

1186. 174. Urban III.

Was a great encourager of the holy war, but died of a fright.

1187. 175. Gregory VIII.

Was pope two months, and fick all the time, whether infallibility did not agree with his confitution, or what else ailed him, I cannot tell.

1188. 176. Clement III.

Pardoned all fins that were committed by any that should afterwards die in the holy wars. He excommunicated the Dones for maintaining the marriage of their clergy.

1191. 177. Cleftin III.

First with his seet put the crown upon the emperor Otho's head, and then kick'd it off, taying, Per me regnant reges, that is, My kingdom is of this world.

1. D. 1198. 178. Innocent III.

Excommunicated the emperor Otho IVth. made king John of England hold his crown as tributary, and confirmed the heavenly doctrine of auricular confession.

1217. 179. Honorius III.

By this vicegerent's instigation, St. Dominick fet the engines of this world at work, and practifed wholesome severiues against the heretical Waldense and Albigenses, of whom not above a hundred thousand suffered for believing what is now the doctrine of our church, but was then a damnable heresy, the last determination of the church being against it.

1227. 180. Gregory IX.

Excommunicated his patron Frederick II. by whose means alone he was made pope: to shew that gratitude cannot influence the church in favour of a man that opposes their power. However, to shew that there is a way of influencing the church, (tho' not by gratitude) he absolved the emperor upon payment of one hundred and twenty ounces of gold.

1241. 181. Celeffin IV.

Died of poison eighteen days after his election, before he knew that he was infallible.

1242. 182. Innocent IV.

Persecuted Robert Grofthead, bishop of Lincoln, for calling him Anti-Christ. He first directed

directed the cardinals to wear red hats, which beretics say, was a certain token that they belonged to the searlet where.

1. D. 1254. 183. Alexander IV.

Declared all the Saracens were in a state of damnation, and not finding they fought the worse, died of grief.

1261. 184. Urtan IV.

Excommunicated Mainfroy king of Sicily, and published a croifade against him, pronouncing a great number of pardons and benedictions to those of his subjects, that should either dethrone or kill him.

1265. 185. Clement IV.

Was first a foldier, then a lawyer, and last of all a pope.

The fee of Rome was vacant two years, which was a fad thing.

1271. 186. Gregory X.

Exacted of all the clergy a tenth part of their livings towards the charge of the holy war: but no occasion happening, applied it all to his own private use.

1275. 187. Innocent V.

Was the first that kept a solemn coronation.

1276. 188. Hadrian V.

Died thirty-fix days after he was elected.

1276. 189. John XXII.

Was a very good physician, and an expert astrologer; notwithstanding which great helps, Platina affirms he acted very foolishly.

C 3. A. D.

A. D. 1277. 190. Nichelas III.

Was the real author of that very wholefome severity to the French in Sicily, knownby the name of the Sicilian vespers.

1281. 191. Martin IV.

Entirely answered the doctrine which you and I, Sir, have so often afferted. For he certainly sate in Christ's stead, when the ambassadors of Palermo, kneeling, repeated thrice to him these words, — Thou that takest away the sins of the world, have nercy us on us. Which address his holiness received very graciously. He kept for many years a concubine of his predecessor Nicholas's.

1285. 192. Honorius IV.

Excommunicated Peter king of Arragon, and his fon; and opposed our Engl sh king in levying taxes.

1288. 193. Nicholas IV.

Made himself mediator to all the princes in Europe, and would have sent them all fauntering into the holy wars.

1294. 194. Caleftin V.

Was too simple and too honest a man to

1294. 195. Boniface VIII.

Made up for the inactive spirit of his predecessor; invented the market of indulgences, and for every hundred years sounded a jubilee; at which time every man's sins were forgiven, -

upon his visiting St. Peter and St. Paul at their churches in Rome. Philip, king of France, convicted him in open parliament of symony, murder, atheism, usury, adultery, and also of a secret league with the Saracens. I am forry to say that, for our arguments sake, you and I, doctor, must accept of this man for one of Christ's vicegerents.

A. D. 13033 196. Benedict XI.
Was poisoned for his probity.

1304. 197. Climent V. Was the first that fixed a standing price upon indulgences.

1315. 198. Schifm twenty-fixth. John XXIII.
Nicholas V.

John was the true head of the church. He saused Peter a monk and many of his followers (who taught that Christ had no property, and also that his disciples had none) to be burned alive. He was also of opinion-that in the text My kingdom is not of this world, the word NOT was spurious, and cought not to remain in any orthodox tible. This is an answer to the modern herefy that we never thought of, and deserves well to beconsidered.

1334. 199. Benediet XII.

Excommunicated the emperor Lewis, and gave away all his dominions in Italy,

A. D. 1342. 200. Clement VI.

Ordered the jubilee to be kept every fifty years, the hundred years market coming round too feldom for the church's benefit.

1352. 201. Innocent VI.

Burned Johannes de Rupe Scissa, for pretending to assert, that the Scripture might be interpreted by a private judgment; by which it appears, that had the bishop of Bangor lived then, he might have been burned for his notions.

1362. 202. Urban V. .

Excommunicated Barnabon king of Milan, for denying his infallibility; was a great stickler for the privileges of holy church, and confirmed the order of St. Bridget.

1370. 203. Gregory XI.

Mover lived at Rome, till upon his suspending a bishop for non-residence, he was asked how he could punish a fault he committed himself.

1378. 204. Schism twenty-seventh. Urban VI.

Urban, the true successor, took five of the cardinals that had voted against him, and putting them into sacks, threw them into the sea.

1389. 205. Boniface IX. Benedict XIII.

Boniface, the real pope, while the other lived at Avignon, seized a priest at the head of

a confiderable number of priefts in white garments, and suspecting he had a design of making himself pope, ordered him to be burned alive.

A. D. 1404. 206. Schifm twenty-eighth.
Innocent VII. Benedit XIII.

Innocent, our vicegerent, upon being reproached by the citizens of Rome, for breach of his oath, ordered eleven of them immediately to be beheaded, faying, that was the only way to remove schifm and sedition.

1406. 207. Schifm twenty-ninth. Gregory XII.

Benedict XIII.

Gregory, the true head of the church, did nothing of consequence, but excommunicate his opponent. Which he did in order to make him a beretic, and so render void the oath which he had made to him, that if he were chosen Pope, he would resign to him; but fides cum bereticis non est servanda.

1409. 208. Schism thirtieth. Alexander V. Benedict XIII.

Deposed Ladislaus king of Naples, and gave his kingdom away to Lewis of Anjou.

1414. 209. Schifm thirty first. John XXIV.

John was deposed by the council of Confiance as a drunkard, an incestrous person, a pedlar of pardons, and an instidel. In the same council, Benedict was likewise deposed. One of the resolutions of the council was, That a g8 The Pillars of PRIESTCRAFT: general council legally summoned, was invested; with the supreme authority next to Jesus Christ.

Then it was that infallibility crept into a general council.

A.D. 1417. 210. Sebifu thirty-fesoud.

Martin V. Clement. VIII.

The latter of these abdicated the popedom, soon after he had obtained it. But Marrie, like a wife man, thought sit to dismise the council of Constance, upon its being proposed there to consider of a referencien of manners amongst the clergy. This was the good popethat condemned Wickliff, and effectually quelled those disturbers of the church's unity. John Huss and Serome of Prague, by the help of those necessary engines called fire and stagget.

1431. 211. Sebifm thirty-third, Eugenius IV.

Eugenius, the true vicegerent to the prince of peace, was, during his whole popedome, engaged in a war.

1447. 212. Nichelas VI.

Bave an indulgence to a friend of his, to a go to a forcerer, for the secovery of ficiengoods.

1455 213 . Califais III.

Canonized Vincent Ferrier, a notorious wi-

1458. 214. Pius II.

Was a quier man, and of no use to the church,

church, which flands in need of men of active.

A. D. 1464. 215. Paul III.

Commonly called II. He decreed all learnings to be herefy, and very truly declared ignorance to be the mother of devotion. He told Platina that all laws human and divine were lodged! in his breaft.

1471. 216. Sixtus IV.

Murdered one of the princes of the Medici family by hired affaffins, whilft he was at mals. He permitted public bawdy houses to be kept in Rome, upon their paying him certain fines; and brought in the use of beads.

14844 217; Innocent VIII.

Collected a vast sum of money for a waragainst the Turks, and employ'd it all in a warwith the klag of Naples, who was a christian.
He was much given to excesses in drinking and
to venery.

1492. 218. Alexander VI.

Obtained the popedom by nothing but bribery. He was poilon'd by a mistake with the very dase, which his son had prepared for a rich cardinal that supped with him. He very frankly own'd all his bastards, which were no small number; was accused of committing incest with his sister, and of having entered into a compact with the devil.

A. D. 1503. 219. Pius III.

Was poison'd twenty fix days after he was chosen.

1505. 220. Julius II.

Was a true member of the church militant, for he never was out of war, all his lifetime. He fodomitically ravished two noble Venet an youths, had two bastards, and dy'd of a fever at seventy years of age. He was remarkably zealous for the power of the church, which one good quality may cover a multi-tude of sin;, in the opinion of us staunch churchmen, sooner by much than charity.

1514. 221. Les X.

He fold pardons at very reasonable rates. And was heard by some beretics (as they have affirm'd in print) to say that the gospels might more properly be called the fables of Christ. But this we successionists believe to be fabulous.

1522. 222. Adrian VI.

Acknowledged that he himself was fallible, and that the church of Rome was a sink of vices. This therefore is the worst of all our successor, and we should disown him, could we perpetuate our succession without him. This we may say, that he deserved as little to be pope as a certain person does to be a bishop, since both of them betray the secrets of their order.

1512. 223. Clement IX.

In this vicegerent's time, there arose a sett of men with the bishop of Banger's notions,

and to the great disturbance of the church's peace and unity, taught these heretical doctrines: That no man was infallible, and therefore no man was qualified to act in Christ's stead: That Christ was king in his own kingdom; and therefore no man could impose their interpretations of his laws upon others: That all his laws were contained in Scripture, and that every thing necessary to falvation was there fo plainly delivered, that the meanest capacity might understand it : and that every one was to read in that book, and judge for themselves. At the same time. translations of the bible were made in all languages. Thus was the vid of the temple rent in twain, and hidden mysteries were exposed to the eyes of the vulgar. These free-thinking notions prevailed fo far, that at length the fecular power in this nation embraced them; and cutting off a noble revenue from the church, (what now a-days would amount to ten or twelve millions per annum, for which many honest churchmen sigh to this day.)

Schism thirty-fourth.

King Henry VIII. made himself supreme head of the church, which example all our kings have followed. And as this title has been confirmed by acts of parliament, which make it a premunire to speak against it: so ever since that time, it has been the fashion in England

62 The Pillars of PRIESTCRAFT to look upon the Raman Gathelicks as the fchifmatics.

Out of prudence I proceed no farther in malift, but shall leave every honest churchman to quess who are the rest of my vicegerents: I. doubt not but we shall understand one another's meaning, as well as if we spoke aut. However if any of our friends should be so dull as not to know what we would have, let them. confult Dr. Hicks's works, and Leffey's Cafe of the Puntificate, and the Regale. There he may. discover, not only where the fincerest of us lodge the supremacy, but also learn the absolute neechity of an uninterrupted fuccession of men vefted with that supremacy, without which, itfeems, we must all be unaveidably damned. And akhough fome weak brethren may bepuzzled in this affair, because they know we have fwallowed certain odd saths, which feem to contradict both our conversation and destrine : yet, if they will but confider how unreafonable. and how antichriftian it is, that we spiritual members of the church stould be tied down by ouths invented by hymen, they may foon difcover where it is, that we place our uninterrupted : fuccession of Christ's vinegerents.

You fee, learned doctor, that I have cleared op the hierarchy of our church, and replaced

the divine right of episcopacy upon its true and felid bofit; as basis not to be shaken by the breath of every fcoffing free-thinker. Let thenthe hillion, and his feconds, the memies of all revelation, read here, and be confounded. Let them fee here a perpetuated fuccession of infallible men from the apostles days; though indeed they. are many of them guilty of facts, which in any larman might have ferved for foils to the actionsof a Nero or Haliogopalus; yet fince they were committed by elergymen, are only to be regarded as fanctified trifles, and venial Peccadillo's : as appears from the pious annotations in our Orthodox. Testament on the 23d chapter of St. Matthew, which affirm, That netwithflanding the biften of Rome were over fo wicked of life; yea, though some traiter as evil as Judastwere bishop thereof, it should not be prejudicial to the church. Thus, reverend Sir, it is plain, that no objection of weight can be started amainst us: For were our succession composed of devil invarnate, provided they were regularly ordained, it would be never the worfe; nay in . the condition things now stand, it would be. much the better. For the more power Satan had (and he certainly would have vast powerwere he a pape) the greater would the obligation be upon the laity of keeping us up, as a.

[.] Painted at Rhims, 1582,

spiritual standing army against him. To fay the truth, were our enemy (or shall I call him our friend) the monarch of hell totally subdued and crushed, I doubt it would fare with us, as it did with many of the gentlemen of the fword, fince the death of Lewis XIV. --- We should either be disbanded or reduced to half-A misfortune which those gentlemen of a carnal warfare might easily have avoided, had they taken us foiritual militia for their example, and either fought booty, or taken care not to cast forth and disposses the enemy too often of their fastnesses. A priestly foresight, which the rash D. of M- wanted in Flanders. a layman, but thank our stars we of the clergy have more prudence than to rout our enemies too much, and therefore we shall never run the rifque of being laid aside, as he was. which end, instead of attempting to remove the wickedness, the ignorance and superstition of the vulgar, three main props of our facerdotal power, let us preach up nothing but party fermons, let us cry up our own 'authority, and continually alarm the nation with the danger of the church; and I cannot in the least doubt, but we shall see the honest laity content still to follow us with strings in their nofes. To shew you, doctor, that I have not been idle in this grand affair; I can affure you that, though I am but a country curate, I have been for these

many years inculcating into my congregation the belief of my mission from heaven; I have often told them that I am God's ambassader; that I ought to be treated by the best of my parish, with a submission due to so great a person, otherwise it was an affront upon him that sent me: And I have so far succeeded, that the least consempt of me fixes upon any man the name of fanatic: A title, which I have taught my slock to dread, more than that of atheist, blasphemer, drunkard, whoremasser, or swearer.

Thus, Sir, though our office be originally to preach Christ, yet you know it is very wholefome and for the good of the church to preach our selves too. And as we can shew no credentials for our embaffadorsbips, fo it will be very expedient for us to keep the laity from making any strict enquiries into them; for which good purpose, let us true churchmen stand by one another; and if any one shall be so bold (which of late too too many of our own order have been) as to question our authority, let us never stick a moment at branding him with the names of funatic, atheift, free-thinker and enenemy to all revelation. And as a great emperer of Rome led the way, and you have honestly followed his example, let us dress up all our enemies in wolves and bear-skins, and then we need not fear their being worry'd and baited

by a true church-mob, whenever they have an opportunity. And as our own bulky reputation will eafily weigh down that of another man, when it is crack'd or almost wasted away; so it will not be improper to employ all the hands we can, in raking for dirt to throw at our adversaries, especially those of unblemished characters. In which pleasing task, I can promise you the pious endeavours of many of my brethren here, who have taken indefatigable pains in spreading your works.

I hold it prudence in all cases to follow the: advice of the old proverb, and cry where first: for which reason I think we ought to stigmatize all our opposers with the name of papist as well as of fanatic. For fince our denying the liberty of private judgment may be demonfirated to be directly opposite to the foundation on which the reformation was built, weshould not easily get off the imputation of popery, had we not been before-hand with our adverfaries, and called them papifis and enemies to our church, first. Again our scheme of church government is the same with that which the Jesuits maintain to be their publicthe fes, and our doctrine of possibilities is exceeding like theirs of probabilities *; now left our great enemy the bishop of Banger should!

^{*} Vid. Lettres Provinciales. Let. V.

in upon us the reproach-of adhering to Jesuicical notions, which we could not well clear
ourselves from, we begin with him, and not
only charge him with inclining to Jesuitism,
but likewise with entertaining one of that fraternity in his bense. It is true the poor resugrehas sufficiently convinced us that he is no Jesuit, but that shall never satisfy us; whilst he
continues under the same patronage, he shall
also continue under the same name: and whilst
he converses among the seconds of our grands
adversary, we will admit of no proof of his
conversion, but doem him as much a Jesuit, as +
if we saw him efficiating at high mass.

And here, Sir, though we use the words Jefuit and high mass to frighten our weak brethren from joining with our enemies; yet I
would not have any one imagine that there is
any harm in the things themselves. I confess
had Mr. Pillonniere still efficiated at high mass,
he would have found better quarter from us;
for 'tis not probable thar any sett of true
priests should be real enemies to such a religion
as that of the Romish church, which is so admirably calculated for the power, honour, and
grandeur of its clergy. Alas, hath he been
one of those quick-sighted fathers, and not

^{*} Snape's second Let. p. 66.

found out, that we long for those onions, fweeter than any that ever grew in Egypt: Had he been a man of penetration, he must have long ago found out the drift of all our pious endeavours. He might have observed that when we had a catholic prince on the throne, then it was that our famous doctrine of PAS-SIVE OBEDIENCE and NON-RESISTANCE was most inculcated, as the only medium for a popish king to establish his religion here by. He might have observed how carefully we have propagated the doctrine of divine indefeasible hereditary right; which had it taken its desired effect, I leave the world to judge of what religion our king would now have been.

The bishops Jesuit might have observed what we meant by the word church, whose danger (like mercury in a barometer, wholly govern'd by the power of external air) was observed to rife or fall, just as popery lost or got ground here. Thus in king Charles the IId's time, the church was very healthy; in king James the IId's, the flourish'd exceedingly, till he unwifely began to put our paffive doctrines in praclife upon ourfelves, which made car nuture a little rebel against our principle. In king William's reign, the poor church languished under a deep confumption; which was fomewhat restored by the two first years of Queen Anne: But as foon as ever the Duke of Marlborough

brough beat our friends beyond fea, our ecclefiaftical weather-glass role, and the church was never in fuch danger: But this was foon over, for the queen at a touch cured all our evil, by putting an end to the church-destructive war, clapping up a peace, that had we been beaten, we could not have obtained one more for the benefit of our church; and lastly, by degrading the conquering general, and placing one in his room, who was a zealous fon of our church, for which he now fuffers exile with his and our FRIEND. These indeed were glorious fimes! But alas! our pious queen and our most christian ally died just in the nick of time; what QUALMS our poor church has had ever fince, must needs be known to Mr. Pillonniere. Besides all this, he can never really think we hate him for being one of the Jesuits, if he will but farther consider in how many things we of the bigh-church follow their steps.

The fesuits in their theses of Lovain, in the year 1645, say , It is only a venial sin to calumniate and impose false crimes to ruin their credit, who speak ill of us. Now can any man that reads the dean of Chichester's, Mr. Law's or your writings, conclude from them, that any of us true sons of the church differ from this teact of those worthy fathers? I am sure our

Lettres Provinciales. Let. XV.

The Pillars of PRIESTCRAFT treatment of the bishop of Banger proves that we are of their mind. And as the good fathers of Lovain prove their right of calumniating by their matchless doctrine of ‡ probabilities; fo we by the help of possibilities support our calumnies. As for example, Pillonniere may possibly be a Jesuit still, ergo, he is a Jesuit still. This is our peculiar church-logic, and as you say + every one who understands reasoning (which indeed none but we staunch churchmen dos will agree with you.

Again, the reverend fathers the fefuits hold it lawful to do evil, provided it be for the good of the church. Now if this were not also our religious principle, how could we justify the many honest church mobs which we have stirred up to burn and plunder meeting-boufes for the sake of the church: or how could any of our gown have appeared at Presson, had not the good of the church been thought to license our breaking our eaths, and sanctified rebellion?

Again, those ghostly fathers the Jesuits teach the direction of the intention, with that excellent doctrine of mental reservation, by which a man may commit any crime, and avoid the sin. Now if some honest men amongst us

¹ Lettres Provinc. ubi supra. + Snape's second Letter, p. g.

had not some such small belps, they could never have swallowed the oaths of allegiance and abjuration HEARTILY, WILLINGLY, and TRULY, as most of us do: But as these ouths are taken for the good of the church, and for the retaining of benefices in orthodox hands, the uprightness of the intention atones for the fin of perjury, if we should chance any of us to be -guilty of so venial a fin. Pursuant to this principle too; if we find one of the laity implicit in his obedience to us (let him be ever fo profligate, or ever so great a stranger to the infide of a church) we pronounce him a better churchman than a follower of the bishop of Banger, though he were ever so regular in his dife, or ever fo constant in going to church : Because these actions can have no true merit in them, while his intention is diabolically directed to the destruction of the true and unlimited authority of the church, which is the chief thing that a believer should be attached to.

The Jesuits, as well as all other catholicks, deny the laity the use of the scriptures. And even in this point we do not differ from them, so much as we would make weak brethren believe we do: For form sake indeed we put the bible into the people's hands, but then we deny them the use of it, as much as any Jesuit can. For if any one pretends to read it with

more understanding than a boy at a reading-school; if any one shall dare to chalk out to himself from thence rules of life, of conscience, or of faith, without consulting us, the saucy shoemaker will quickly be told, that he is gone beyond his last: Negative discouragements and (if we have them in our power) positive punishments shall soon teach him that his soul is not his own.

To proceed. As the fathers the Jesuits hold it lawful * to murder and affaffinate princes, who are not for the unlimited power of the church, and can prepare for that purpose Barrieres, Chaftels and Ravilliacs: So we never wanted our Perkins, Friends, Fenwicks and Shepheards, whenever we thought our church was in danger. Not to run parallels farther, by comparing the extensiveness of charity amongst the Jesuits with what we practise, which would be only proving one Sofia was like another; I am fure I have faid enough to convince any hearty Jesuit, that it is much more prudent for him to join with us of the high-church, than to affociate with the bishop of Banger and his fanatical companies.

Therefore I beg you to communicate this letter to Mr. Pillaniere; a Jesuit be certainly

^{*} See appendix to the Summary of Religious Houses in England and Wales, p. 88 to the end.

was, and therefore is fo now; and I doubt not but as he is a Jefuit, upon duly weighing what is here urged, he will defert that scandalous cause, which he is now embarked in, to flock with birds more of his own feather. And when we have bereft our antagonist of the man who belped him to all his evafions, equivocations, and mental reservations; how easy will it be to run down an heretic, that hath nothing but reason and scripture left to support his cause: reason and scripture, two weak supports, when fet in competition with the engines of this world. which ought to be employed by us, the vicegerents of Christ *, for restraining offenders againft us, and to keep in awe the disturbers of the church's peace and unity. Let the bishop remember the fate of John Hufs, Jerome of Prague, Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, and the rest of the remarkable disturbers of the church's anity; and whatever ill-grounded opinions he may have entertained concerning us, because we wear the name of pretestant, I can affure him, he would find he had a woful cause to defend, were we intrusted with those engines of this world, by which our happy brethren beyond fea daily preferve the authority, peace, and unity of the church.

^{*} Snape's first Letter, p. 20. VOL. III. D

Having thus fully confuted the bishop's arguments, and settled the vicegerency in Christ's kingdom in the popes till the reformation; tho' where it now continues, I neither dare nor will bluntly affirm: In order to put in every honest churchman's mouth a desence of our plan of church-government, I shall lay down a short specimen of it, sounded on the foregoing churchmaxims. And to do this with more case (since I have proved that the kingdom of Christ, notwithstanding all texts to the contrary, may be of this world) I will liken it to something that is actually now in this world, and that shall be to your Dionysian monarchy at Eaton.

First then, as you sit supreme governor, eacompassed round with secular engines, and vested with power to set them on work, for the terrifying and keeping in awe all those, who attempt to disturb the seace of your school: So our grand vicegerent (whether he be a pope, a king, an archbishop, or a collective body of clergy) ought to sit supreme in the spiritual kingdom, assisted with secular engines, and vested with power to set them at work, as often as the peace and unity of the church shall be molested.

As you have the fame powers with the first master that ever taught in your school, which were master, and which, when you leave the school, you will transmit to another, who will upon his demission substitute likewise another, thereby to perpetuate a succession of school masters at Eaton: So our present spiritual head of the church bath the same powers with the sirst vicegerent delegated to him; which powers, when he can no longer remain supreme on earth, will be transmitted to others, who are to perpetuate a saccession of such vicegerents through all succeeding ages of the world.

As in your Eatonian kingdom it sometimes happens, that when negative discouragements are not sufficient to keep your subjects in order, you apply positive punshments, and that effectual engine the rod: So in our ecclesiastical kingdom, when little negative discouragements, such as occasional and schism bills, are found insufficient towards preserving church unity, a positive application of sines and penalties, and sometimes of fire and sagest is not a method wholly displeasing to staunch churchmen at bottom.

As none of your children have any right to judge for themselves, or to question your infallibility in expounding the classics, even though you taught that Bavius and Mævius were

better poets than Virgil or Horace: So none, of those babes the laity should pretend to judge for themselves, or question the church's interpretations of Scripture, but receive them as infallible; nay, they ought to submit to the church's authority, though she taught that Suarcz and Bellarmine were greater divines than St. Paul and St. James.

As no boy ought to plead conscience for being absent from school, or refusing to come to repetition, or for not performing any task you shall set him: So no layman ought to plead conscience for not coming to church, or for refusing to join in the common-prayer, or for not submitting to all the impositions the church shall think sit to lay upon him.

Lastly; As you have many vice-praceptors, who act under you, and share with you in all the privileges of your government, as well as in teaching and punishing your subjects, who cannot call those vice-preceptors to an account without rebelling against your power: So our spiritual governor hath us his deputy governors to act under him, as well in teaching and punishing, as in all other exercises of dominion over the laity, who are not to question us his bely users for any thing we do.

Thus have I shewn you, learned doctor, that the laity are no better than school-boys, whose reason, whose consciences, whose backs, and fides, in fhort, whose body and fouls ought to be under our discipline. This is the glorious church-scheme we ought to stand by. This is what the wife and politic among us have always been endeavouring to establish. Since the biflop of Banger therefore, and a fest of free-thinking laity pretend that every man has a right to judge for himself, which destroys our whole goodly defigns at once; let all honest churchmen, such as you and I, join heart and hand in defence of our church's sewer; let us leave no stone unturned to make our adversaries character odious; for which holy purpose, let us run into company, betray conversation, invent scandal, and to support it, print children and old wives tales. Nay to ferve the church, let the faying of June be written in all our hearts.

Flettere, fi neques, superes, achironta moveb; that is,

To ferve our cause, if heaven should prove uncivil, We'll humbly crave assistance of the devil.

So till another occasion, I remain,

Reverend S I R.

Your most bumble fervant,

D 3

S. T.

N. B, By church, clergy and churchmen, I do not mean those of our gown in general, but only those chosen vessels that are chiefly zealous for our power, and our dignity, and our riches. And in this sense I desire you, reverend Sir, to understand these words throughout my letter.

THE

CURATE of WILTS

HIS

Second LETTER

To the Reverend

Dr. S N A P E:

OR,

Reasons against the Bill now depending in the House of Commons.

BEING

A Full Answer to the Bishop of Bangor's Late Book, Entitled, The Common Rights of Subjects defended.

WHEREIN

The Divine Authority of our Church Establishment, and the Necessity of Continuing Penalties on All Differences from it, are demonstratively proved.

First printed in the Year 1719.



THE

CURATE OF WILTS

HIS

Second LETTER

To the Reverend

Dr. S N A P E.

Reverend Sir,

replied to our worthy brother Sherlock's most learned and confistent vindication of those locks and bolts of our excellent church, the corporation and test acts; and
believing that great man is now perfectly tir'd
with the low and ted ous work of answering
his lordship; I shall, in his defence, and under
your patronage, fully consute, not only all his
lordship has said in his last book, but all he
has at any time said, or shall at any time here-

D 5

after fay, in defence of the common rights of nankind; and shall shew that all national churches have and may deprive men of as many of those rights as they think sit; and in order to it, may make use of any means, tho' never so improper, even of what his lordship calls a prostitution of the holy facrament; and may instict any penalties on those, who, agreeable to those common rights of mankind, dare to disagree with any such established national thurch.

I fay, reverend Sir, I shall do all this, in an address to you; because, how well soever the master of the temple may have defended these points, or any other very foreign to them, in the course of this debate with his lordship; I know that modest writer will readily consent that your character should be most conspicuous in the elose of this controverfy; and, notwithstanding his indefatigable pains, would gladly be now not fo much as thought of, that you may finish gloriously what you at first fo fagaciously begun. Therefore, that I may not rob you of any applause, at the same time I revive your name in the world. I shall borrow my main argument from a paffage in your fe. and letter *; and which, I think, continues in every edition.

[.] P. 60, &c.

Having in the former letter unanswerably made appear that our fuccession of bishops is uninterrupted from the apostles, and that your position, that they are vested with the same powers, is therefore undeniably true: I believe you doubt not of my abilities for the prefent undertaking; wherein I shall maintain another of your remarkable affertions, and on which, as I shall make appear, the whole stress of the controversy depends, viz. 'That ever fince miracles ceased, the temporal powers were commissioned by Christ, in their stead. to aid and affift his spiritual vicegerents, the church. From whence it will plainly follows. that the religion established by Such temporal powers, that is, the ecclefiaftical conftitution of any realm, is of equal divine authority, as that which obtained by the power of miracles. [I have dignify'd the word fuch with capitals, that every reader may fee I intend to draw no conclusions hartful to the church, when I confider the temporal magistrate as Christ's commissioner: For I defire here it may be remarked once for all, that his commission is only valid, when 'tis exerted in aid and affiftance of Christ's fpiritual vicegorents, the clarge?

I shall not concern myself how far this argument extends, or what influence it will have

on churches established by Mahometan or Pagan temporal powers; but at present shall confine what I have to fay to our own ecclefiaftical conflitution, established by Christ's commissioner, the civil magistrate: And shall thew that the billion of B. has widely mistaken the principle upon which this establishment. which he calls the reformation, was fettled; which was, not that of every man's right tojudge for himself; but that of the temporal magistrate's right to judge what establishment: to fettle: And therefore, that all, who are fubiects of the temporal magisfrate, ought to be the subjects of such his ecclesiastical establishment. The argument, as I have collected from your book, stands thus .:.

Christ commissioned spiritual vicegerents to:

To inforce which new laws, miracles were: fometime continued in the church.

But miracles ceasing, Christ commissioneds likewise temporal vicegerents to aid and affish his spiritual vicegerents, in putting their new-laws in execution; and to add civil fanctions, by virtue of that commission.

And that civil governors have this commiffion from Christ, of being nursing-fathers and nursing of punishing all dissenters from their settlement; you plainly prove by an evident prophecy, and from the christian example of David, who hated right fore the enemies of the church, even as though they were his own enemies.

To apply this your account of Christ's fettlement of vicegerents, spiritual and temporal, to the ecclesiastical constitution of England.

Our bishops (or clergy) are uninterrupted fuccessors of Christ's spiritual vicegerents, delegated by him to make new laws, &c.

At present there are no miracles to support their new laws.

Therefore our temporal powers are commiftioned by Christ to aid and assist the spiritual vicegerents, the elergy, &c.

Accordingly our temporal governors have added civil fanctions and penalties, in aid and affiftance of the new laws enacted by these Christ's spiritual and temporal vicegerents.

And how conformable our practice is to the behaviour of the Pfalmift, needs not to be mentioned; for we bate right fore all who differ from us.

I know, Sir, that many arguments and objections have been brought against the temporal magistrate's power in religion; and that 'twill be faid this example of David's cannot '. be urged to christians, who are commanded to love their enemies; yet, I doubt not, but you have a fufficient answer to every such little cavil. In the mean time, the reader is defired to observe, that in defending ecclesiastical constitutions, 'tis not so much as pretended that the laws of Christ, (which are the christian religion) but the new laws of his vicegerents. (which are the establishment) are to be defend-And how necessary their defeace has univerfally been thought, may be judged from the rigour with which all opposers have ever been treated. For as you fay, + On what would his lordfhip have our church depend? On God's providence, will be fay? On the promise of Christ? I admire your answer to such defenders of an established church: # A wery plorious encouragement, I confess, a fecurity that cannot fail ! No, my good lord of Banger, we. know better the means of fecuring establishments, than to admit of any rights in common to mankind, which we imagine may, endanger

⁺ Snape's 2d Letter, p. 62, bid.

the church's: And as our brother Sherlock has learnedly proved, bolts and bars are a far fronger, and therefore a far better defence, than reason or argument, or any of Christ's promises.

As to what his lordship has urged, that the fame methods of defending established churches would as effectually have prevented the foreading of christianity itself, and would have prevented the reformation obtaining at all, and will prevent it where it is not: I briefly anfiver, that his lordship's objection, with respect to christianity, is entirely fereign to the purpole: For the question is not, What would favour or prejudice christianity; but, What will favour or prejudice the church? And as to the reformation itself, 'tis plain, and must be so acknowledged by us, that at that time Christ's temporal viengerents acted too much against the church; and might possibly have rain'd the church, if the foiritual vicegerents had not excreed themselves, and prevented its going farther. But however that was, 'ties certain, that the reformation itself was began by the temporal magistrate's power, supported and carried on by the magistrate's power, and carried on no farther than the magistrate's power permitted.

I know, indeed, there were many persons then, as well as before, who claimed a right of private judgment: But that right was fo far from being the foundation of the reformation. in reality; that, when the civil magistrate had effected the reformation; that right was not only not allowed, but every man, who differed in the least from any established church, was declared, as before, a heretic or schismatic. Nay, at the time of the reformation, when the temporal vicegerents thought fit to take off odium from fome, who before were deemed the schismatics, and to declare them Christ's spiritual vicegerents, in the room of the difplaced ones; this gave little countenance tothe right of private judgment; the men who obtained this favour being only those, whose known principles agreed with the doctrine and worship established by the temporal powers. They knew better things, then to leave every man to make the best of his bible; which was only left in fact to be consulted by every man in order to support what was then established. not to discover any thing contrary to it. Which I think undeniably plain from hence, that notwithstanding mankind have generaling by the licentious use of scripture and reason fince the reformation, feen the falfity of many doctrines then established, they have not yet

had power to make their general judgment cancel such established doctrines; for fear lest the right of private judgment being allowed, it might shew many mysteries to be only those of iniquity; and prove dangerous in the issue to the power of the priesthood.

And, I believe, reverend doctor, we may challenge any one to shew that this foundation-principle, as his lordship calls it, has met at any time, or in any country, where the reformation is established in one national church, with better treatment, than at first: Nay, so far are Christ's spiritual vicegerents from at all approving it, that I challenge any one to deny that it has not met with much worse, where the temporal aiders and assisters have not restrained the hands of the church?

From all which it plainly follows, that ecclesiastical constitutions, however reformed, are so far from allowing this right consistently, or owing their settlement to this right, that they have done all in their power to banish such a right out of the world; which, if once admitted, they have thought might endanger every establishment in it. 'Tis not dean Sherlock alone, but every writer in England against diffenters, who has ridiculed this right; and most foreign protestants, as well as papiss, have

have treated every claimer of this right with the highest reproaches, and sometimes with the severest penalties.

'Tis true, we do not always lodge this right folely, or at all, in the temporal powers, when we argue on this head; but we constantly and uniformly keep it out of the hands of private men, when disputing with schismatics: Nor have any been so weak as to affert this claim equally for all men, but in disputes with the Roman catholicks: which was owing to not confidering the reformation as the effect of power, rather than of the prevalence of truth. For however truth might then accidentally prevail, our concern fince has been rather for the excellent establishment of bishopricks, deaneries and other emoluments of the church that remained to it, than for any of the docrines determined to be true at the reformation. Nor have we at any time deviated from this regard; for tho' it is certain, that most of the doctrines then fettled, we now difbelieve; yet we have appeared, at all times, with great zeal against every private innovator, who either would not implicitly subscribe our church's articles, and fubmit to her determinations; or who, after such subscription, has dared publickly to question their truth.

behaviour of ours proceeding not from our own approbation of the doctrinss, or diflike to the principles avowed by fuch persons we condemned: but from a fear lest the integrity of those persons should lead them on farther, and thereby lay open the pales of the church, in fuch a manner as to admit others to enjoy it's good things. And I doubt not but I could produce fuch inflances of our zeal on these occasions, as might sufficiently deter others from daring to scruple or contradict any decifion of the church. Nay, if our hands were not now tied up, and the temporal powers did not refuse their necessary aid, his lordship of Banger, might feel ____ more than I shall fay at prefent.

Upon the whole, 'tis manifeltly chaines, that all established churches, the referenced as well as romanists, have dealed this right of private judgment to all their members: And if enquired into, 'twill be found likewise that all synods and councils have determined at all times against the allowance of this right; and have censured and condemned every man, who has been known to make use of it, contrary to the judgment of any established church: Nay, 'twill be found, upon examination, that even many of those who have contended for it, have have

have afterwards given it up, and disclaimed it, and sometimes have wrote and acted violently against it. So prevalent is the force of truth—or something else.

I come now to consider the facramental test; which was made for the farther securing our ecclesiastical constitution, when we had the aid and assistance of Christ's commissioned officer, the civil magistrate: And I doubt not but his lordship's account of that will be sound equally repugnant to truth, with his account of the reformation.

As to what is faid about proflituting an institution of our blessed Lord's to a purpose of this world, which was ordained folely to a purpose of another; I think, reverend Sir, it has likewise no place in the present debate: Nor if it had, I cannot fee it will answer any purpose of his lordship's in that part of the argument I am about to refute. For admitting fuch an act of parliament as the teft act is, to be a proffitution of a law of Christ; I bedieve his lordship will not deny but the legislators at that time, might pass such a law: Nor can I fee that his lordship has proved they could not enact it for one of the centrary ends Dr. Sh. rleck has affigued, unless his lordship can prove, that legislators have at all times known the end for which they make laws; and that they have always seen the, laws they make answer the ends they proposed by them. The contrary of which, I think, his lordship has proved in the case of civil penalties. Indeed I do not say, it could be enacted for a proof of a man's affection to our ecclesiastical establishment; but if his lordship will call it weakness, I'll venture to say they were weak enough to enact it, in order to keep out of offices all-such who were not so affected to our ecclesiastical establishment, as to prefer it to any other.

The arguments his lordship has brought against such a prostitution of an appointment of Christ to a different purpose, I allow, might have their weight with christians, as such. But, I beg his lordship to consider us as settled by ecclesiastical and temporal vicegerents of Christ; by laws of the land, in making of which the various tempers of mankind were interested; tho, as I have proved before, exactly agreeable to your scheme of Christ's settlement: I say, let his lordship consider this, and 'twill entirely overthrow all his arguments; and he will find that what ought strongly to affect christians as christians, cannot,

not, by any power of his lordship's, at all influence established churches. To be a christian, his lordship will find to be one thing, and so be a member of an established church, another; and sometimes, another very different from even the possibility of being a christian.

However unchristian therefore perfecution may be in itself, yet when its thought necessary by an establishment for self-defence; or however profane, the profittuting an institution esteemed by all christians the most facred: Yet when Christ's temporal vicegerents see either or both of these necessary, for the self-defence, or pleasure, of his spiritual vicegerents; they become commendable, and sit to be desended by such great men as the worthy dean of Chichester* has shewn himself throughout the present controversy.

I confess while I was writing the above, I was not so fully satisfied in your proof of the commission Christ has given to his spiritual vicegerents, and temporal vicegerents, to make new laws so seemingly contradictory to his own: But as I doubt not of your capacity to make that appear, I shall proceed in justifying whatever shall be done by such commissioners.

Dr. Sherlock, late bishop of London.

I shall next reverend Sir, consider the necesfity of civil penalties on account of mere differences in religion; whereby all men may see the unreasonableness of repealing any law, which enacts any such penalty; I mean the unreasonableness at present of repealing the accossonal and schism acts.

"To prove the necessity of such penal laws. I need only call them fetf-defence, (as the iudicious Dr. Sherlock has done;) and 'twill be sufficient. Every man has so feeling a sense of felf-defence, that 'twill justify' the knocking a heretic or schismatic on the head, as easily as the excluding him from an office: And therefore our differers, instead of complaining of the moderate penalties now laid upon them. should thank God our apprehensions of selfdefence have not made it necessary to imprison or murder them. For what may'nt we fear . from those wicked people, who will not submit to Christ's commissioned vicegerents, if they should get power, and fancy themselves vicegerents too, and go on to fancy, that for their felf-defence they might perfecute us, who' would then necessarily diffent from their new laws, because we are fure we are now in the right. The

The objection against force being a proper means of persuasion, we readily admit. then this objection is fo far from condemning. that it approves our practice. For as our defign is felf defence, it must be allowed it is very likely to prevent persuasion; and therefore very likely to prevent any heretic's or Chismatic's return to the church, who generally are fond of truth and conviction, and who, as I have observed before, if in the church might make mad work. I own the case of those men may seem very hard to all who have not a due regard to the felf-defence of the church; but that duly considered will clear up all difficulties. For at the same time that we thut schismatics out of the church, and punish them for their being so, and use the most probable means of keeping them out; we weigh what dangers might accrue to the church, and for her felf-defence only we thus punish such malignants,

'Tis to be prefumed that a very reverend prelate had well pondered this scheme of church-self desence, when, instead of consenting to the repeal of any of her securities, he would have guarded her by new penalties, from suffering any of her members to innovate even in the most speculative points. He doubtless

well considered how much the peace of the church depended upon curbing the unbounded use of reason; and therefore gravely and wiselyproposed to stop all enquiry, thereby to secure her quiet and repose.

In fhort, reverend Sir, all penalties, negative or positive, if used for the good of the church, are proper means, and sit to be used. By them we keep all the offices, and consequently all the incomes, of the church, in the hands of good churchmen; that is, of men who know how to value them: Thereby we keep good churchmen in the state; that is, those in it, who augment rather than decrease our power: And thereby, in way of self-defence, all the blessings of this world are equitably taken out of the hands of others, and secured to those of the church.

I know this last method of denying to others the same rights with us churchmen, and which, as you say, is only a negative discouragement, has been ridiculed by our adversaries as impolitic; and I have lately seen a paper, * (whose continuance may prove fatal to the church; as it encourages what the church has always most discouraged, free-thinking and free en-

^{*} The Free-thinker, Dec. 22, 1718.
WOL. III. E quiry;)

quity :) which has affected this half-perfecution to be the beight of felly; and has proved that if that be justifiable, the inquisition is more so. To which I reply; that all persecution, as & have proved before, is allowed to be juflifiable. if thought necessary for the self-defence of the At present moderate penalties are thought sufficient; at least no more can be obtained from the aiders and affifters, the civil powers: But if we should see danger encrease, (and our enemies cannot deny but we fee danger, at least as soon as it appears,) the clergy are a watchful guard, and would foon give the alarm; and, if they had interest enough with the magistrate, would not fail to augment their fecurities, and carry on their felf-defence, till they should not be upbraided with doing things by halves.

To prove this, I need but mention the conduct of a vigilant churchman even while our Sion fits in tears, and power is kept too much out of our hands. No sooner did he hear of the spreading of latitudinarianism, by condemning the abuse of confessions of faith; but he publishes a letter to prohibit the author preaching in any of the French pulpits: He has

^{*} See this letter in Mr. Rej's account of French persecution, appendix.

not recourse to the low method of reason and argument; but exerts authority, and gains the heretic. And we have seen, but a few days since, the same great man's care for our most bely faith, and for the peace and quiet of the church, in a circular letter to his incumbents: Which being writ with singular perspicuity, I refer the reader to it.

So that those who infult our lenity, mey fee from hence, and other instances I might bring: that, if we had fufficient authority, they mighe have less reason to sneer at our forbearance. The disobedient of every kind would then feel the full force of felf-defence; and be taught more modesty than to think differently from what is established. For though mire-opinions can never be hurtful in themselves to any society; yet in the church they are equally punishable with the vilest practices; as they betray an opposition in the judgment to the determined fense of the church, and thereby bring her authority into question; which, next her wealth, is the great thing to be contended for. .

You fee, reverend Sir, the many reasons there are to continue the laws now in force against different : How necessary they are for

the felf defence and fecurity of all that's valuable in the church; and the imminent dangers it would be exposed to, if these laws were repealed. Diffenters would then be thought as honest as churchmen, and as capable of places of profit and trust; and thereby a liberty be given to all men to think differently from the judgment of our ecclesiastical constitution, without their sear of losing any thing by it; and how many doctrines and practices of our church may then be departed from, let every true churchman think of with horror.

We believed indeed, that the old substantial reason that it is not now the time, would have prevented even the attempt of a repeal; but seeing that has not had its usual weight, but the bill is gone through one house, I have thought it necessary to urge all the other arguments that can be urged to hinder its success in the house of commons; and I doubt not of your thanks and the thanks of all staunch churchmen, suitable to my service.

Perhaps that part of my letter about the facramental test may be thought needless, as the clause was rejected in the upper house, which related to it: But though nothing should be attempted farther in its repeal, I thought

thought proper to press the arguments on its side, as far as I could, that all persons may see how well the topic of self-defence will bear out any established church, in whatever it shall do for that end.

But let us suppose, that other reasons should prevail with some in the house of commons, and that not only the clause relating to the facramental test, but even another clause of the most extensive nature, should be admitted into the bill; what dreadful outcries might we not raise! That you may the better judge of what I mean, I shall insert the clause as 'tis handed about in print.

"HEREAS in a late act made prime Gul. & Ma. for exempting their majesties protestant dissenting subjects from several penalties, &c. there are several restrictions and limitations, whereby divers of his majesties peaceable and good subjects are lest uncapable of the benefit of the said exemption: Therefore for the ease and quieting the minds of all such his majesty's good protestant subjects, be it enacted, &c. that every onewho shall, instead of the several subscriptions and declarations therein required, declare and subscribe his unseigned E 2 "affent

" affent to, and belief of, the holy christians religion, as contained in the scriptures of the old and new testament, and of the creed, commonly called the apostles creed, and shall also take the oath, &c and make the declaration against popery, in the said act required; shall have the full benefit of all the said exemptions by that act intended, in the same manner as if he had performed all the conditions and qualifications by that act hitherto required; any thing in the said act or in any other acts to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

You cannot but see to what a dreadful state we must be reduced. should such clauses obtain. The church would, by the repeal of the test, be left much more unguarded, than by the repeal of the occasional and schism acts; because many of the schismatics, having too much feeming conscience, will still be kept out if the latter obtains, rather than proflitute an institution of Christ's to the purposes we have appointed: But by the removal of the teft, and the admission of the other clause, our church will be fo laid open, that christianity alone will be made the teft. There will then be an end of the power of fome over the consciences of others; and men will be led to form their judgments, only by the laws of the gof-

pel, and the motives of another world. If fuch pernicious claufes should be enacted, the difturbers of the church's repole would have no other restraint, but the precepts of christianity; and all eniformity in sentiment would be abolished, but what arises from truth, and a fine re enquiry after it. By these and a few fech means, christianity would be reduced to the condition, in which Christ left it : and all the many, and frequently contrary, decisions of the church in all ages given up to the unerring decisions of Christ, of which then every man will be allowed to judge for himfelf, and not the church for him. Christ's spiritual vicegerents must then submit to Christ; and his semporal vicegerents would then no longer aid and affift them in putting their new laws in execution. In fort, there would then be an and of your famous scheme of vicegerents.

Let the melancholly confideration of these things, bring you, reverend doctor, from your feat at Eaton; and make you suspend your ardous application to the classics for a while, to attend the sinking cause of the church. I might alarm you and others on this occasion, in your own pathetic manner, awake, ye Snafes! ye Sherlacks! ye Carons! ye executera's of the committee! Are ye all asseep

when your honour and your darling scheme of church-power is at stake? Is there none of your fraternity that have catacity, leifure or inclination for this necessary work? For shame. let us not fit still; but let all tongues and all pens be employed in the honest purpose of felf defence; we know all things are lawful, if expedient for the welfare of the church : Let fome of us therefore cast calumnies on the great author of this mischief, that enemy of our power, and afferter of the liberties of mankind: Let us endeavour to make him appear folemnly perjured; as injuring the character of our Lord and Saviour; and as destroving all the common notions of right and wrong, if they happen to stand in the way; or else let us exhibit him to the populace, as a whining. complaining, low and tedious writer, fit only to make women and children weep; or elfe as artful cunning and prevaricating; and all this, only in order to advance his own worldly interest and advantage.

Let us not be weary in well-doing; but let us go on clamouring for the church, and reproaching all we dislike as enemies to it. Let us talk loudly of fecret designs among the diffenters; represent them all as schismatics; and all schismatics in a state of damnation; and

then

then when we have shut them out of God's favour, 'twill not be difficult to make them hated by men.

Above all, let the pulpits ring, on the great anniversary of this month, of the mischief perpetrated in the times of confusion; let us charge it all on the dissenters, and on any part of them that we would have appear most odious; and let us charge it upon them, not as accidentally done by them, or as provoked to it by any ill usage; but as necessarily flowing from their principles; which we cannot their render too monstrous: Charge them as hating all government; as enemies to all christians, but those of their own party; but especially charge them with an hereditary aversion to every individual of the church of England.

By these and the like means the populace may be wrought up to madness; and we know what effects their madness produced in the late pious queen's time, the great temporal vicegerent of Christ; and what devastations followed all over the kingdoms; till at last she was so enlightened as to part with her ministry. But of that I need say no more; it being fresh in every one's memory.

Let us comfort and encourage ourselves in

the use of the same means; and though any bill should now pass prejudicial to our ambitious hopes, we know not what changes we may be able to effect: At least if we are not able to work upon the insteadle temper of the present temperal vicegerent, we shall by these godly methods have the pleasure of embarrassing and perplexing his affairs, as we did those of his predecessor king William.

. You fee, reverend Sir, I have done all that can be expected from a country curate; I have defended, upon your principle, the divine authority of our established church, as fettled by Christ's commissioners the civil magistrates, in aid and affifiance of his fpisitual vicegerents, the clergy. I have inferced the noceffity of fubmission to such vicegerents upon the same principles; and have shewn that these commissioners of Christ may make use of any means, however unchristian, or improper, no fecure fuch eftablishment; and may instict what penalties they please on all diffenters from it, especially if they apprehend it negelfary for their felf-defence : To firengthen this argument, I have shewh it to be the practice of all churches, the reformed as well as nopith, whenever they have at any time thought it proper for their felf-defence: And have, laftly.

lastly, added what advice I think proper to be taken in the present juncture, drawn from my observations on the practice of all truechurchmen.

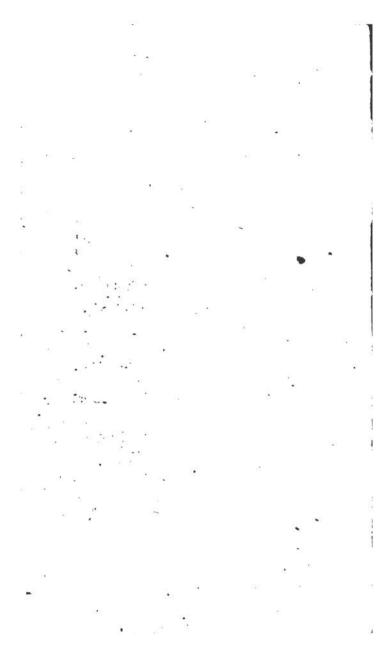
I have only to request of you and our brethren of influence, in return for these my labours, that, for the benefit of my bookseller, you would recommend this small tract to all young clergymen and others, who preach charity-sermons in the city of London and parts adjacent, as containing proper hints for such composures. Which will not only forward that laudable design; but will much oblige

Reverend SIR.

Your humble fervant,

Jan. 3. 1718 9i

R. F.



LETTER

TO A

FRIEND

In LANCASHIRE,

Occasioned by a

REPORT,

Concerning

Injunctions, and Prohibitions, by
AUTHORITY;

Relating to some Points of Religion, now in Debate.

First printed in the Year 1714.

• ...

LETTER

To a Friend in Lancashire,

Cecasioned by a Report, concerning Injunctions and Probibitions by Authority; &cc. *

SIR.

greater concern, than I have ever discovered in you on any other account. You tell me, that you have affurances from many in your parts, whose intelligence is very good, that there is certainly a design on foot, amongst the represent fathers of our church, to procure from the civil authority, such directions, injunctions, or probibitions, as may effectually put a stop to the debates, which have been of late revived concerning the destrine of the

That this tract was written by bishop Hoadly, the judicious will fee from the style, and manner of pointing, peculiar to the bishop: and I add, Dr. Bi. ab declared bishop Hoadly to be the author.

trinity. Upon which, you expossulate with an unusual warmth: You declare the prote-flant cause, (considered as distinct from the popish,) to be left destitute of all support; and you conclude, at last, Tell it not in Gath, publish it not in the streets of Ascalon.

I do not at all wonder, that you abound in those parts with all fuch reports and stories, as carry any reflexion along with them upon the protestant cause. You are there, perfectly furrounded with those, whose bufiness it is to invent, propagate, and improve, every thing of that fort: As we have multitudes about this great city, to help forward the same work : and to distract the minds of men from seeing or improving the present glorious view of public happiness, which God hath wonderfully placed before our eyes. Nor do I wonder that you, . . being perfuaded of the truth of the report. should grow warm within at the uneasy thought of fuch a procedure; because I know you to be a follower of Christ, and not of any master upon earth; and a protestant entirely upon that avowed principle of protestantism. viz. that all men have a right to confult the Scriptures, as the rule of their own faith and . practice : Which I have heard you often affirm they cannot be, unless a perfect liberty be left for debating

and ORTHODOXY shaken. 11-3' debating their true sense, in all points, and at all times equally.

But you will excuse me, if I do not express the same warmth of concern, upon the same occasion; when I tell you that I am so far from believing the truth of the report, that I cannot help being consident that it is one of those numerous inventions, with which our popish adversaries are continually at this time loading our cause, and keeping up the spirits of all in their interest: which, I must tell you, would not be at the heighth they now are at, without the greatest art and management.

Can I possibly admit it into my thoughts, that my lords the bishops, than whom no men, apon that bench, fince the reformation, ever more thoroughly understood the cause of religien: of strenuously opposed every degree of popery and antichristianism: Can I ever believe that persons of such understanding, and such integrity, can possibly be embark'd in such a design, which must in effect destroy the weight of all their own arguments against the church of Rome; and not only weaken, but root up the foundation of the reformation itself? Far be it from me, to entertain even the suspicion of it. Their lordships understand the grounds of protestantism too well, to think of such methods. And

And the undeniable evidence of such arguments, as we have often discoursed over, is too clear to them, I verily believe, ever to permit them to attempt the remedy of any imagined evil consequences, at the expence of the christian cause itself.

If, when we write against the papist, it be true, that points, the settled by all ecclesiastical authority, may and ought to be freely discussed and debated: shall it not be true, when we ourselves are concerned?

If we are glad, in all our debates with them, to fly to the Scriptures; and to declare them to be the rule of faith: Shall we not permit that liberty to all others; which we can only claim, as it is the common right of all christians, and not as any thing appropriated to ourselves?

If the Scriptures be the rule of my faith, indeed and not in words only: How can it be so, if I be not to judge for myself, what is in it, and what is not? For, if the determinations of others, are to bind me up, or tie me down, to such a particular interpretation; then, it is not the Scripture, which is the rule of my faith; but those determinations of others.

If the Scripture be the rule of faith, and upon this very account, an appeal constantly to be made to it: How can this be done, if debates and enquiries are suppressed?

If it be the rule of faith, it must be so equally in all points. If not in all points; then in no point. And, if in all; how can any one or more points be excepted, without giving up the whole? or declaring, that it shall be our rule or not our rule, as we think sit?

If we be not infallible in all things; we are not infallible in any one. And so reciprocally, if in any one; then are we equally infallible in all. But infallibility is laughed out of countenance, in all our disputes with the Romanists: How is it possible then, to except any one article, or paint, out of the number; without recurring to that infallibility, which we so justily explode? can it possibly be assirted, that, tho' we are not infallible in all our decisions; yet in this we are: and therefore ordain, that no farther light, can, or shall, break in upon us?

If we be not infallible, we may err. If we may err; we may err in all points, equally. If in all points;

point; then in any one particular point. And fo, if we allow debates, and enquiries, in any; there is no remedy: We are obliged, in confcience, to allow them in all.

If the whole protestant cause be so entirely built upon this, that it would never have sub-slifted in the world, but by calling all private persons to the Scriptures themselves; and persuading them to labour after a right understanding of them: How can this same cause possibly be defended, without the same allowance in all cases equally, of an appeal to them, about the true meaning of the same Scriptures? Or, was that method only a fort of scaffolding in religion; to be pulled down again, as soon as the substitute was erected to our mind?

If the Scripture be the rule of faith, in all things; then, all christians have a right to consult and debate about the true meaning of this rule, in any particular point. And, if so; then, what is it to except any particular point out of the number; and to declare that, about this, there shall be no farther debates, but all shall acquiesce in the settled interpretation of the texts that relate to it: What, is this, I say, but to say that the Scripture is not the rule of saith to private persons in this particular point?

If it be constantly objected against the Romanists, as the greatest evil, that they shut up the Scriptures from their people; and only dish out to them such dostrines as themselves please: How shall we ever be able to object this again; or to insist upon the wickedness of it; if we ourselves, as to this one point, do the very same? I say, the very same. For, what is it to suppress all debates about the true meaning of the texts, relating to one article; but, in truth, to shut up those particular texts, as effectually, as if they were not in being? And what is it to shut up any particular texts, but to declare in effect that we have a right to shut up all, whenever we see sit?

When texts of Scripture are in words proposed to us, with such a particular interpretation affixed to them; and such a particular dectrine deduced from them; and no allowance for debates about them: Can they be said, any more properly, to be texts of Scripture for our use; than if these interpretations, or destrines, were given out to us, without them? And, do not the words of Scripture, in this method; become only a form, for decency and ceremony sake?

If the popists decree you shall not debate the meaning of those words, this is my body but take them according to the determinations of their church, to fignify a change into Chris's natural body, without any farther enquiries a and the protestants declare this to be unchristian and unwarrantable: With what grace can they themselves afterwards decree, that tho' this be fo unchristian, in this point, or any other that we ourselves do not admit; yet, in the destrine of the trinity, it is very just, and right, and very christian, to ordain, that no one shall dispute about any particular text relating to this; either, whether it be found in any manufcript; or, supposing it genuine, what is the true meaning of it? Let the things be placed together in the light of comparison; And then, let the difference of procedure be found out, if possible ?

Is it truth, or falshood, we defire to preserve? If it be truth; it stands not in need of such methods. If falshood, it ought not to be taken care of.

Is it truth, or fal/hood, we defire to guard against? If fal/hood; this method is rather likely to make it pass for truth, when it is not permitted to shew itself. If truth; then we are self-condemned. Or rather, remove all debates;

A bates; and truth and fallood, are only so many sillables put together, signifying no more than established, and not established.

If it be faid, that it is reasonable to suppose fuch points well fettled after fo many years possession; the papists must have the advantage, in this argument; who have fo much greater length of time, to justify their most absurd tenets : besides that they must be now, true or falle, just what they were at the beginning of the reformation, when they were fettled: unlefs time can alter those two properties; or turn fallitle men into infallible. It is allowed that no one interpretation of any text, or doctrine drawn from it, can be fettled i sfallibly. And therefore, whatever it be, it may be false : and therefore, it is always certain, it may and ought to be examined. Especially, this must hold good in all points of a nice and extraordinary nature, fettled all at once, before there could be opportunity for exact and diffusive enquiries.

Is it all at last to be resolved into peace, and quiet? This removes truth or falshoot, out of the question. And, if this be a good argument for civil discouragements, and probibitions; then blessed be the inquisition, which most effectually keeps all things quiet: and blessed be that studied by the state of the sta

flutidity and ignorance, which flourisheth under fuch discipline. Let us recall these into the world: and all will be as filent, as desolation itself. But, indeed, we know how to give a substantial answer to this, when the papists urge this. We can reply to them, " This is a falle " notion of the peace of the church; which " confilts not in the unity of profession, but the " unity of affection. God requires of us, to " fearch into his truths: and we are to be. " judged at last, by our own judgments. We " have a right to be borne with, in our diffe-" rences of opinion from one another. For " the event; we leave it to God. But we " think nothing can preferve a true peace, but " the allowance of mutual debates; and the " exercise of mutual forbearance. This ends in " charity. The other method, besides the " making truth and fallhood, and all religions " equal, promotes peace only by promoting " ignorance; and confults quiet, at best, no otherwise, than as the destroying all civil " liberty, prevents tumults. The remedy, be-" fides the fcandal to religion, is worse than " the desease. Nay, it is but a partial unequal " remedy. It could not prevent the reforma-" tion, (which was a terrible breach of the so peace of the church, in the Romanists opi-" nion;) nor many other leffer efforts. ce falls

falls hard upon none, but such honest souls
falls hard upon none, but such honest souls
fouls
fas will still dare to speak what they think
fruth and right. But it is a glorious advantage to all, who are more concerned about
freferments, than about true raligion."

This, and much more, can we say, when the papists preclude us from all religious debates, under the poor pretence of peace and quiet. Let us apply this to ourselves, in God's name: or, let us give up our cause: which must have sunk in its very infancy, if this argument had been good in itself; or thought good by us.

How much more might be added? And, can you possibly imagine, that my lords the bishops, who have the clearest view of what is of importance to the protestant cause; and, what is more, who are truly christians, not to be moved to promote truth itself by any method, which Christ himself never pointed out to them: Can you possibly think, that such men; protestants, and christians, with that venerable good man at their head, whose life hath been worn away by his unwearied zeal for the protestant cause; will ever confent, either to give to popery, in any one point, a fresh strength, by inculcating an implicite faith; or to recede one step from the spirit of that VOL. III. gospel,

122 The Pillars of PRIESTCRAFT gospel, by which they firmly expect to be judged.

No, my friend, I hope better things: I believe better things: I am confident of better things. My lords the bishops are as sensible, as any men living,

- "That the protestant cause must suffer ex"ceedingly in the world; when it is still ob"served that their main and boasted principle,
 "is maintained and celebrated by them, only
 "when they are writing against popery; but
 "upon any other occasion, is utterly forsaken
 "and forgot by themselves. They know per"fectly well,
 - "That if we be not infallible, we are fall ble;
- "That if we be fallible, we are fallible in
- "That if we be fallible in all points, we cannot possibly claim an indisputable authority in any;
- "That if the Scripture be the rule of faith; it must be so, in all points, at all times, to all persons, equally.

"That if it be so; it must lie open equally, at all times, to all persons, to be enquired into in all points.

"That, if debates be not allowed in any one, or more, particular points, about the right fense of it; it is in those points, shut up, as an inaccessible arcanum.

"That no answer can be given to the pa"pifts, by those, who, in any instances, or any
degree, deny that to others, which they
themselves claim from them, as the common
right of christians.

"That any fort of indisputable authority,
call it what you please, is the same, in effect,
with absolute infallibility; and every degree
of submission to it, as such, is the very same
with implicite faith and subjection.

"fense, can never come in competition with fense, can never come in competition with the common right of Cristians, or their liberty of debating points of religion: But, in a true sense, is then at its heighth, and in its glary, when mutual forbearance sourisheth; and not, when a prosound silence is established.

"That all parties, and all persons, see and on this to be the truth of God, when they themselves are undermost: And therefore, that they must acknowledge it to be so, when they are uppermost.

"That religion, and every thing relating to it, is a matter of choice; and not of force.

"That the reformation was wholly founded upon our common right to debate about the "fense of Scripture.

"That the christian religion can approve of of no method of propagating truth, contrary to this."

These things, I say, are perfectly well known to my lords the bishops. And that is enough to assure you, that your neighbours the papists have no reason to insult you, upon what you will, I trust, find to be a calumny raised, and propagated, by their own friends.

Believe me, their lordships have good sense, learning, integrity, zeal for the honour of christianity, as well as the protestant cause, in a most desirable degree. They are christians; they are protestants; they are Britons; they

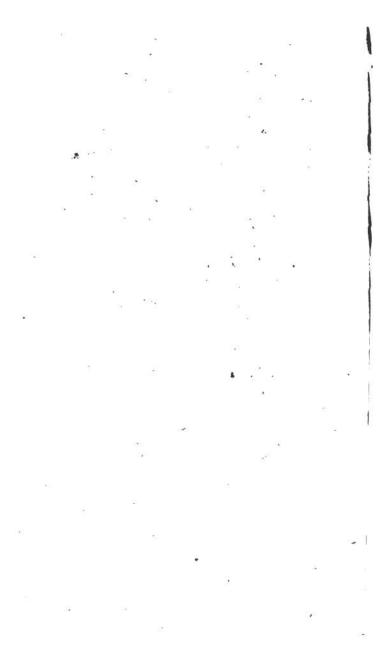
are the supporters of true liberty: Which is but a word in jest, if the chief and most desirable liberty of a reasonable creature, be either taken away, or broken in upon. And, therefore, I say, depend upon it, it is not conceivable that men of such characters, can espouse a design, of which I will say no more than I have already said.

I am,

Your most fincere friend,

and bumble servant.

London, Dec. 15, 1714.



TRUE CHURCHMAN's

REASONS

For Repealing the

Corporation and Test-Acts,

As they now stand a necessary Qualification for

Civil and Military OFFICE'S.

. With an humble

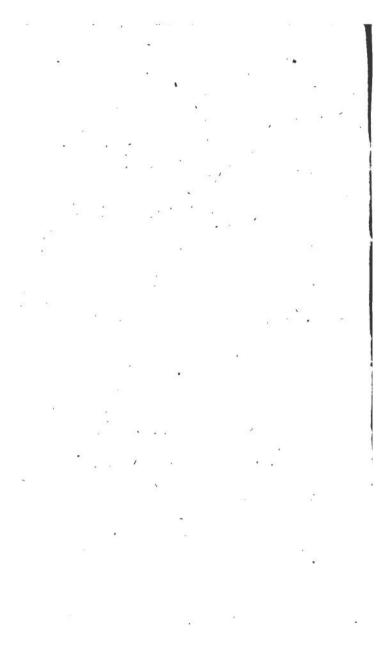
PROPOSAL

FOR MAKING

A proper Test in the room thereof.

In a LETTER to a Member of Parliament.

First printed in the Year 1732.



TRUE CHURCHMAN'S

REASONS

For Repealing the

Corporation and Test-Acts, &c.*

S F R,

N compliance with your request in yours of the 13th instant, I have underwritten given you my deliberate thoughts on our brethren the protestant dissenters, who, you tell me, are endeavouring now to obtain a repeal of the acts above-mentioned, which I shall give you with the utmost plainness, freedom, and sincerity, and as fully as my other affairs and this short letter will allow me to do it; and as one that considers, and

ought

^{*} Dr. Hoadly, when bishop of Salisbury, gave the manuscript of this tract to Dr. Avery, with his leave to publish or suppress it, as the doctor thought fit. The stile shews the bishop to be the author.

ought to remember, that my advanced age will foon bring me to give an account (among all my other actions) for what I now fay to you, and that before the most righteous judge of the world.

I need not spend a great deal of time to remind you of the narrow views of those who got those acts pass'd, nor of the dreadful confequences of the vile profanation of the highest and most facred institution of the only Son of God, and the only innocent Son of Man; who commanded, that till he comes to judge the world, it should be done (not as a qualification for a civil or military office) but in remembrance of him, and of what he did and fuffered for us: in which folemn remembrance is necessarily implied, and required of us, the strongest love, the greatest gratitude, and the most exact obedience to our glorious Redeemer, and to all his commands, that we are capable of. Now, my friend, can you Suppose that our great Lord and Saviour ever intended that this high and most solemn feast with himfelf, should be laid in common to his declared enemies, as well as to his professed friends.

You tell me Judas, that betrayed him, was one who received the facrament with the other

other eleven, which eleven were our Lord's profes'd and real friends: I answer, I grant you that, and more, even that Judas at the fame time was known by our Lord, (who, as he was God, knew all things) to be his enemy. But it is plain, by the folicitous examination that the disciples made of themfelves, upon our Lord's affuring them, that one of them would betray him; that Judas Iscariot was a professed lover of his Lord, whom he knew, by his aftonishing miracles. by his holy life, and heavenly doctrines, was God and Man, and, in that capacity, came to pay a most perfect obedience for us to the laws of heaven, which the first Adam, and all his race then in him, had rebelliously broken; and to lay down his life for all that ever had, did then, or should thereafter believe on, and accept of him, as their liege lord and fovereign. In all probability, if Judas's villainy and hypocrify had been known to the eleven. (as it certainly was to our Lord) Peter and the rest would have endeavoured to have defeated his intention of betraying him: but then how would that prophely of him be fulfilled, that his own professed and familiar friend should lift up his heel against him? And how could his being betrayed by a professed friend be such a part of his humili-

ation for us. as was before-hand told us was to be a mark of his being the true Messiah? Who, though his heel was to be bruifed by the old ferpent, yet was he to break the devil's head or power, and fo gloriously and triumphantly to deliver, by his life and death. all that believe on him, and accept of him as their king, out of Satan's kingdom, and to restore them to the favour of God, and put them into a much happier and fecurer state for ever, than they would have been, if their first father and common representative had never joined with the apostate angels in rebelling against heaven. Though I do not believe that infinite wildom, power, and goodness, could ever be at a loss to find out a way to fave a rebellious world, (with a falvo to his own justice, which had declared, that man should die if he rebelled) yet since the offended majesty of heaven thought fit to take this method, and to accept of an equivalent, that he might honourably fave us, I cannot help believing that it was the best way that even infinite and united wifdom, power, and goodness, could contrive, most expressive of his love to his enemies, who had once borne the image of their maker, and the most likely method to turn our fixed enmity of God into love, admiration, and gratitude. The Almighty

mighty himself seems to speak thus when he fays, What could I have done more than I have done? But did any of the apostles of our Lord ever encourage or force openly profance fwearers, drunkards, whoremongers, lyars, covetous persons, (or idolaters) and the like, to partake of the facrament of the lord's fupper. Are not all fuch declared to be children of the devil? Do not fuch as are thus openly wicked carry the mark of the devil in their foreheads? And did ever Christ. or his apostles, make the table of the Lord the table of devils? Did the greatest king that ever was on earth, the king of kings. ever make a law, that if Judas would not partake with him of that his supper, he should no longer hold his office of treasurer? No! far from it; even Judas's then eating and drinking with our Lord and his disciples. were (in him) voluntary actions, though foreseen by the God that made him, and whom he betrayed: and having no Test-act to extenuate his crime, his wickedness was the greater, in betraying his very best friend with a kiss; for he made the same profession of love, gratitude, and obedience, that the eleven did. If you will but feriously and impartially confider this thing, I am fure you will conclude (as I have done for many

years) that the profituting the most folemn and facred supper of our Lord to secure places of profit or honour, to those who, though ever fo notoriously wicked, will (by complying with the faid act) intitle themselves to be called church men, is a high affront to God, and a foul blot upon any christian church that encourages such a corruption, of which church I profess myself an unworthy member: but one that mourns for all our imperfections, and would rejoice to fee all christian churches firmly established and flourish, upon the doctrine and practices of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself (and no other) being the chief corner stone. I hope our stability will never depend on the proflitution of the most facred institution of our Lord, to serve secular and unjustifiable purpofes. But you fuggest, that you believe the protestant dissenters, in their present endeavours, (or at least many of them) are not fo much aiming at the honour of their and our great lord and master, and at removing this blemish from our church, as at being capable of having civil and military offices. And you feem to fear, that if the king's hands should be untied, and he should have liberty to employ as officers protestant dissenters, as well as churchmen, (as all our kings

kings ever, by the aforesaid acts, have had to employ a few of them in the navy' that, generally speaking, they being (in appearance at least) soberer men than the generality of our officers that pass for churchmen, by receiving the facrament as the faid Test-acts require, though they are feldom to be feen in a church at other times, it will put very great difficulties on many who are of our church: they must either make great friends, and grow fober and diligent, which is not very agreeable to many of them, or they cannot get into an employment fo eafily as they can, now there are fewer competitors; I have observed (you fay) by many of us, who have liberty to employ what fervants we please, that we choose to trust a protestant dissenter, that we are well affured is an honest, sober, diligent man, rather than one who cannot have such a recommendation, though he tells us he is a true churchman: and they are frequently chosen as constables, yea, as wardens of our churches, or any other troublesome office, provided it has no profit attending it.

To this I reply, that I will not answer for all the dissenters; that their chief views are at the honour of our Redeemer, and at the removing of a blemish in our church. It is probable 126 The Pillars of PRIESTCRAFT probable many of them aim chiefly at being upon a level with us in civil and military affairs; and, for my own part, I cannot feeany reason to depress them. They agree with us in all the substantials of our holy religion; and as to lesser and indifferent things, that we all agree are fo in themselves, I wish to God they were left so in their use. and that none would take on them to lord it over God's heritage. They are as good friends to king George, and his faithful ministers of state, as you or I, or the best churchmen can be; and they are the only friends that the true church of England have. and can depend on. We all profess we are journeying towards heaven; why then thould we fall out by the way? Is it any detriment to us to have our truest friends able to affift us with their persons and purses? Do they not readily join us in all elections, when our civil and religious rights depend on fuch elections? Did they not stand firmly by us in our greatest distresses, when popery, flavery, and all forts of debauchery, threaten'd to invade and destroy us, and our religion? Did we not then promife, in our danger, that we would come to a temper with them? And what have we ever done for them, except giving them leave to worthip God in

terms

the manner that they believe in their consciences is most pleasing to him; which is giving them nothing but what their Lord and ours had given them before: for, as they always preached Jefus Christ, and him crucified, though they did not follow us, our passionate predecessors erred as much in silencing and perfecuting them, as our Lord's disciples did, who were for filencing and ejecting all who cast out devils in his name, only because they did not follow them. If the diffenters, in their turns, have been guilty of the same fault towards us, their faults will not excuse us in continuing to do that which we own was a fault in them: for their Lord and ours has strictly commanded us to do by all men (not as we are done by) but as we would be done by: to love one another as we love ourselves, and as he loved us, and by his great apostle Paul, to give no occasion of offence; to lay no stumbling-blocks in the way of our brethren: if we are strong, not to offend our weak brethren, even by eating of meat: though that is a thing undoubtedly lawful in itself, much less have we any power to force our doubting weak brethren to eat meat, which they scruple, or cannot digest, or to abstain from it, when they think it lawful and expedient; or to make fuch things

terms of communion with us, which our Lord and Master has not made so, as the church of Rome take upon them to do by the laity. Woe be to any that shall add to his words; I mean, that shall lay any stress, or occasion any schism, by their own additions, or weak and doubtful inuftrations or explanations of God's laws. Our bleffed Lord, and his apostles, never refused to own any as members of the visible christian church, who repentedof their fins, and professed their belief on him, as the great Messiah; and such and their families were baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: and dare we east such out of our church whom God has received and owned? Let the enemies of christianity unchurch them if they please; for my part I never will, but will always endeavour to do by them as I would have them do to me. But you afk me how shall the state be secure? And shall we not endanger the protestant interest if we bay aside this sacramental test, and so put Papifts, Atheifts, Deifts, Muggletonians, Antinomians, Arians, Socinians, French (or false) prophets, and the like enemies to christianity, into places of power and profit. I answer, much better than the government or the church are now secured against them; by preferring

ferring none but fuch as produce a certificate, figned by one of the ministers and three or four principal and noted worthy members of the church or congregation of which he is a member, (without fee, gratuity, or reward) testifying that such person is a profess'd protestant, and attends the worship of God in fuch particular protestant congregation when in health, and his affairs do not call him abroad; that they believe him to be a good protestant, and a sober, diligent, religious, and honest man. A severe penalty may be laid on the counterfeiting and altering fuch certificates; and also on any that shall fabicribe any of them, whereby they give any person a character contrary to what they know such person deserves. Such a method as this would foon empty our taverns, alehouses, brandy-shops, and fields, and fill our churches and protestant congregations on Sundays, and other days, when our Maker is to be worshipped: and many a poor wretch, that now never goes into a church, but to get or keep his qualification, may, while he is feeking for loaves and fifnes, be caught in a net, which our Lord has commanded to be fpread for men. And, in a little time, our armies and navies would not be terrible to fober religious men, as they have been for

many years last past, by reason of the most horrible, execrable, and new-invented oathse curses, imprecations, and other abominations. that are now heard and feen in our armies. navies, citles, towns, countries, villages, rivers, &c. where wickedness is generally and very easily learnt, by the examples of mea in power and authority. This repeal (in all probability) will fooner reform the manners of fuch as have any hopes of ever being more than what they now are, or that would not be always fervants, than a thousand reformation-fermons, while there is nothing more required to qualify a man for an office, than his receiving the facrament of the Lond's Supper three or four times a year, whether he be fit for it or not. If he aeglede, he must lose his place, and be put under other very fevere penalties. If he cats and drinks unworthily, not discerning the Lord's body, he eats and drinks dampation to himself: and if a poor minister, that knows the officer that offers to receive it is a devil, or a child and flave of the devil's, and trembles at the thought of profaning the Lord's table by admitting him, should dare to refuse him, while in this deplorable condition; this poor minister (as the law stands at present) may be ruined by fuch refused officer: therefore whatever whatever views some may have in reforming what is amis, it can never be too soon to amend whatever dishonours God, and the holy religion he has instituted, and which we profess.

As to the last question you ask me, viz. Whether I think this is a proper time to address for an amendment of this law, which has kept so many out of our churches, and embittered their spirits against us for treating them, as we should not like to be treated by by them, if the tables were turned. I answer, That in my conscience I think it a proper, and the most proper time, for the following reasons.

- 1. That none but the prefent time can properly be called our own: the time past is not, nor will it ever be ours again; the future is not, and never may be ours: and we are commanded to work while it is day; and whatever our hands find us to do, to do it with all our might.
- 2. We have now a most excellent king on the throne, and, bleffed be God, he is happy in a faithful ministry: and it must certainly be a very pleasant thing to him to make all his dutiful and loving subjects easy, by bestowing

flowing favours with an impartial hand to those who equally, or most, deserve them. and are fitteft for them. And we have no reason to doubt that such a prince will, with pleasure, strengthen the hands of his truest friends of the established church, who have been found, ever fince the happy revolution, to be too powerful for all his majesty's enemies among us, (though very numerous and mighty too) when we are joined by the hearts, purses, counsels, and hands of our protestant dissenting friends. We are not so vain as to imagine that we, who are his majesty's best friends of the established church. are (by ourselves) numerous, rich, and strong enough to gain a majority of hearty friends to his majesty, in our approaching elections, if our enemies have art enough to breed a. misunderstanding between us, by making our only friends believe, that we of the established church, who are true friends to his majesty. would fain continue the greatest blemish in our church, on purpose to keep them out of their natural and civil rights, who chearfully and equally contribute, by their perfons, purfes, and labours with us, to support that. happy establishment in the state, that God has bleffed us with, and to render his facred majefly easy in the administration of justice.

And therefore, if we had no other motive, but our own true interest and preservation. we ought to do our utmost to enable and oblige our brethren, the protestant dissenters, to join us in our common defence against our common enemies, which I have before-named. I wish there were no other names or diflinctions among christians than that of Protestants and Papists; but then there would not be fo many exercises for charity or love, and mutual forbearance, as there are: and if we have not those graces, and shew (on all proper occasions) that we have them, whatever we call ourselves, and whatever other angelic qualifications we may be possessed of, we are nothing, but as founding brafs, or a tinkling cymbal.

I believe, there is not a true churchman in Great-Britain, either clergyman or layman, that foberly confiders the mischief and dishanour the misconstruction (or misapplication) of the said Test-act has done, and will do, to the church of England, but heartily wishes (as I do) that it were restrained to what was said to be the true intention of it, when first enacted; (or rather exchanged for a much better test; whereby no man will be allowed to witness for himself, as he does by the pre-

feat test) I mean, to keep out of places of trust and prosit, only those who are enemies to the protestant religion.

POSTSCRIPT.

BEFORE any of my brethren or adversaries undertake to reply to what I have said on this subject, I desire they will will duly consider and answer the following queries.

- 1. Is our Almighty Saviour (the Lord Jesus Christ) supreme head of his church, or not?
- 2. Will he at last most righteously judge the world in his united nature, as true God and true Man, and punish all the obstinate transgressors of his laws, or no?
- 3. Has he wisdom and authority sufficient to institute ordinances and sacraments in his church, and to declare the sacred ends for which he institutes them, or does he stand in need of the assistance of any mere creature, to add any thing to his appointments, or defigns, and to make those, their additions, effential thereto.

- 4. Will he not feverely reprove, and add all the plagues that are written in the Book of God, to them that shall add any thing of their own to his word?
- 5. Has not our Lord, in his last supper, told us the end of our sacramental eating and drinking his body and blood, viz. that we are to do it in remembrance of him?
- 6. If we receive that facrament once, twice. thrice, or oftner, in a year, to qualify us for any civil or military employment, or to fave 500 l. that may otherwise (if we have it) be torn from us, for any one omission, and to preserve our natural and civil rights, of being capable of fuing for our just dues, of receiving and enjoying a legacy, and the like. Are not these additional ends to the only end our Lord has told us we ought to regard, when we come to eat and drink with him at his table? Or can it be a sufficient excuse to tell the great judge of the world, in the last day, that notwithstanding we made bold to prostitute his institutions to serve our secular purposes, when men commanded us so to do, vet we did not wholly forget him at fuch times, though we cannot deny but that the chief design we then had was to serve our temporal interests?

- 7. Is it not perfecuting the ministers of our own established church, to compel them to administer that holy sacrament to such as they know are unsit or (if left to their liberty) unwilling to receive it, by such penalties as they are not able to bear; which penalties the person resused has always in his power, by the Test-acts, to bring them under, to the utter ruin of the conscientious ministers and their samilies?
- 8. Is it not too fevere upon our civil and military officers, to subject them to utter ruin, if they happen to forget receiving the facrament so often as the Test-acts require? Or if they, for want of their pay in due time, have not money to satisfy two witnesses, who must be able to testify their receiving it, as often as the said acts require?
- 9. Did the corporation and Test-acts ever preserve our established church from the dangers and invasions we were threatened with, by a popula king and a popula pretender?
- to. Can it be supposed that a papist, who knows the pope will sell him pardons for any fins, especially if they are committed to serve holy church, will make any scruple to receive the

the facrament in our established churches three or four times every year, if he can but thereby fecure to himself a profitable office, and be screened from outer ruin by informations and profecutions on the acts before-mentioned?

- II. If the corporation and test-acts are not grievances to those who have no more than the bare name of churchmen, and defire no more than the name; are they not very great grievances and perfecutions to every confcientious member of the church of England, that has always been a constant and worthy communicant at the table of our Lord, and is, in all respects, fiely qualified to serve his king and country in some civil or military employment or other, but dares not accept of any public office, because he thinks in his conscience (as I do) that he would fin against God if he fhould receive it for any other end than what our great Lord has appointed, viz. in remembrance of him; much more if his fecular end should eclipse or annihilate the facred and only end our Lord had in that folemn and facred institution?
 - 12. Whether those members of our own established church, who have (since the Corporation and Test acts were in being) accepted

G 2

of civil or military employments, and till fuch their acceptance, were conftant communicants in our church, and received the facrament of our Lord's supper, only in remembrance of him, but to keep fuch their offices. and to preferve themselves and families from utter ruin, have been overcome (contrary to their judgments) to receive the facrament three or four times a year, in obedience to the faid acts, as well as in remembrance of their Lord; and, while they have been fo receiving, have doubted that they offended God, by proflitning the most facred things to fecular and common uses: I say, would they not (if they had any fear of God before their eyes) have rejoiced, in being delivered from fuch temptations and fuares, as those acts were to them?

For my own part, I always thought, that in the worship of God, whatsoever I do, if I believe I ought not to do it, it is a sin in me; and that if I do that, which I do but doubt is a fin, I expose myself to damnation.

Read what bishop Hoadly has writ on this subject: read what the great apostle Paul has writ on this head: read the Corporation and Test-acts: and read some Considerations on repealing the Test act, printed in the year 1732.

LETTER

TOTHE

Right HONOURABLE

THE

Earl of Nottingham.

Occasioned by a late MOTION made by the Archdeacon of London, at his Visitation for the City Clergy to return their Thanks to his Lordship for his Answer to Mr. Whiston.

By a CURATE of London, Dr. SYKES.

First printed in the Year 1721.



LETTER

TO THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE

THE

Earl of Nottingham.

MY LORD,

S your lordship's great name commands a particular regard to be paid to whatever your lordship thinks fit to publish, no wonder that most men were pleased to see your lordship engaging yourself in a controverfy of fo much confequence to christianity. Persons of your lordship's station have this advantage above other writers, that they always speak with authority. I was not therefore much surprised to see our famous univerfity of Uxfrd returning to your lordship their public thanks for the fervice you have done in relation to the controverly concerning the trinity; because principles or doctrines G 4. recommended

recommended to the world by a person of your lordship's quality, and with that ferious-ness and gravity with which your lordship has wrote, are always embraced so readily, and are assented to with so little hesitation, that 'twill be deemed presumption by many to make doubt of any thing maintained in your lordship's book.

When the university of Oxford had set the example, it could not be thought absurd or unreasonable to attempt to bring the clergy into the same measures. How far 'tis usual for the London Clergy to address their thanks to any person who has vindicated any dostrine of christianity, I know not. But as I could not come into the motion made by the archdeacon of London on that occasion, I must beg leave to lay before your lordship and the world, the grounds upon which, I think, those are to be justified, who resused compliance with him.

'Tis not my design to enter into the merits of the controversy concerning the trinity with your lordship; but only to point out some natural consequences of several principles in your lordship's book, which they must avow and approve, who return your lordship their thanks for your answer to Mr. Whiston.

When

When such great bodies declare their sentiments of any book, the impression is stamped so deep, that sew can resist the weight of such authority. Yet who would imagine that in the very book so much recommended, the lawfulness of persecution should be afferted; and such notions maintained, as are inconsistent with the propagation of that christianity which your lordship has desended?

The first thing, in which I am forced to differ from your lordship is this, that you approve of the advice of Macenas to Augustus. and recommend it to the world as right and good. It was the advice of Macenas to ' Augustus,' says your lordship, 'never to ' fuffer any innovation in religion, because the peace of the flate depended upon it: that oprince had peace in all the world; but what disturbances, what miseries, innovations in f religion have caused in this nation, the history of the last age informs us sufficiently; and how fatal the feuds and animofities, occasioned by pretenders to religion, in this 'may be, no man can foretel, every good 4 man fears.' p. 157.

I readily acknowledge that this was the advice of a very great flatesman; and I cannot but observe, that flatesman and politicians of

all religions generally espouse these notions and regulate their practices accordingly. Mecenes (who was a heathen) gave the advice to Augustus, " That he should follow de constantly the established religion of his country, 66 hecanie all ignovations in that would foment " fedition in the state, and be a means to " fubvert his government:" and as if this were an axiom in politics, that flatefman is fcarce to be found in the world, who does not embrace this notion. Mr. Hobbes (who found mankind bad enough, but left them much worse) has worked up a system of flate-religion, whereof the main principles are, that ' the interpretation of all laws as well facred as fecular depends upon the ' authority of the supreme power.' That ' the 'civil powers have a right to command the " manner of honouring God.' That ' obedience is due to the fovereign in all things. 'as well spiritual as temporal.' And lastly. that ' whatever is commanded by the fovereign opower is commanded by God himself.' Now admitting these for principles, it plainly follows, as Mr. Hobbes has more than once deduced, that ' the fupreme power has a right to prohibit fuch doctrines to be taught as he judges improper:' that 'every one com-" mits a crime, and may be justly punished for the.

the same, who persuades men to receive as new religion: that dissentions in religion are the causes of war, and therefore the stablished religion, (or that which the surface power commands) ought to be solved.' Such are Mr. Hobbes's principles, and such the consequences drawn from them!

Statesmen and politicians seldom pay too great a regard to religion; and as feldom to the truth of things: 'tis usual therefore for them more particularly to condemn men as factious, and their writings as tending to diffurbances, if they recede a hair's breadth; from common opinions. Right or wrong, true or false, is frequently not so much the point, as how it fuits with a particular interest. Whether this conduct answers the end proposed, (tho' I cannot but think that the continuation of feels and factions in religion is entirely owing to these political artifices) whether this conduct, I fay, answers; the end proposed I shall not inquire; since 'tis not my delign to consider this advice in a political view, but whether it be right or. wrong, fit or unfit in itself to be given.

In this light I must observe, .

1. That if this advice be good and right; in itself, it plainly follows that all, who at any.

time by the reformation of any errors feem innovators in religion, ought to be punished, as disturbers of the peace of the public. Now this advice being given but a little before our Saviour came into the world, 'tis very unfortunate that it should be given at such a time, when it must have entirely prevented the fpreading of his doctrines, and the teaching mankind that the gods which the heathens worshipped were no gods. Our blessed Lord ought, in consequence of this advice, to have been punished as perverting the nation, as innovating in religion, and as fowing fedition and discord among the people, such as it feems on man could faretel, every good man " might fear.'

2. This advice must necessarily have prevented the refermation from popery had it been followed at that time, because that was a remarkable instance of innovation in religion. Suppose that any statesman had advised Henry VIII. or Edward VI. or queen Elizabeth in that manner, and they had admitted it, must not the superstition and idolatry of Rome have continued the established religion of this country? Must not we have been kept in the dregs of corruption still? And must not the light of the gospel have been shut from our eyes?

- 3. If this be right, then all those princes that have followed this advice, have acted a righteous part in persecuting to the utmost all that have attempted to innovate in religion. The late king of France did right to dragoon his protestant subjects; and the duke of Savey justly drove out the Piemontrise; and every prince that is most barbarous and cruel, acts an upright justifiable part, and what is most acceptable unto God, when he refuses to suffer any such under his government, whom he may charge with disturbing the peace of the state by not complying with the established religion of the country.
- 4. Every nation in the world thinks, or pretends to think, that the religion established amongst them is acceptable unto God; and that the way in which they pay their honour and worship is such as is fit and proper, and will draw down the blessings of heaven upon them. Every nation too has its peculiar orthodoxy, and a set of tenets, the truth of which it afferts as the words of God himself. 'Tis impossible that all these can be true, nay that every particular christian church can hold opinions contradictory, perhaps to their next neighbours, and yet be in the right. Or were this possible, sure we are that the beather and

the mahometan nations, are in the groffest If therefore it be a duty incumbent on every man to keep his mind open to truth. and to receive it when offered to him, the advice never to suffer innovations in religion must be abjurd in itself, because it would be to prohibit a great part of mankind the knowledge of truth; and it would be to prevent the reception of the gospel in all such places where the benefit of it is not at present known.

Your lordship, I am sure, would not on any account propose a scheme so destructive to. truth and to common christianity as this. But under a plenary conviction of mind that your lordship's notions are true, and that we of this nation are so happy as to have the truth effablifted here; and that in confequence of that every innovation here necessarily being for the worse, you think the advice to be lust and right.

But then your lordship knows, that hitherto. we have in vain been fearthing for a fure and : . infallible criterion of truth; that every nation. and every man, how erroneous foever, is orthodox to himself; and that those who are. under the misfortune of error, are as positive and confident, as those who have truth on 'Tis therefore of little confetheir fide.

quence in the present case, and in our prefent inquiry, whether one or another has the truth on his side; for whilst every body is fully assured of the truth of his notions, every body will plead the same right; and in the consequence, error will reap every privilege which truth itself can claim.

But your lordship not insisting on this, but on the evidence of fact for the reason why innovations of religion are not to be suffered; and Macconas (who was an beathen) pretending that an innovation of religion was the means to subvert the government, this will deserve our most serious consideration. And here,

It must be granted that usually innovations in religion have been attended with disturbances in the state. But then the reason why innovations in religion have been attended with seuds, and animosities, disturbances and miseries in the state, is, because the state intermeddles in that sort of property to which it has no right. The people always affert and vindicate this, as a first principle, that 'tis better to obey God than man; and whilst that is allowed to be true, (which no body I think will deny express, tho' they may explain it away) whatever the consequences of it are, they will affert and maintain it. A man can

no more refuse his affent to truth, when it appears clear to him, than he can refuse to fee the light at noon-day when his eyes areopen. If therefore any state refuses to suffermen to change their fentiments, or pretends to hinder them from obeying what they think to be the will of God, opposition must be expected; and if disturbances ensue, they are not to be imputed to change of religion, (which has nothing vicious or evil in it, nothing that . is disorderly and inconsistent with the public peace,) but to the ill conduct of fuch advifers as that heathen Macenas, who refuse to permit men to follow their own confciences in things pertaining to God and not hurtful to any man, and will have them obey men rather than God.

Innovations in religion have no natural ornecessary connexion with disturbances or disorders of the fla'e: and 'tis just the same abfurdity to impute the one to the other, as-'tis to pretend that to alter a man's notions of worshipping God must destroy his private property, or at least must cause confusion in it. 'Tis evident that the one has no relation to the other, but let what changes you please happen in property, religion is the same; or let the ways of honouring God be altered. property is the same, except in the case where

a man thinks to please God by parting with his property. But this does not affect the civil government, nor make the magistrate less able to do justice, or to secure his subjects the enjoyment of their civil interests, When indeed the magistrate refuses to tolerate any who diffents from the established religion. oppression that instant begins: but as the cause of all disturbance is removed when oppression is removed, innovations in religion, where there has been no perfecu ion, nor any attempts to enflave the fubjects minds, can never affect the flate, or cause any disturbances. When any state assumes a power over the consciences of its subjects, they are forced into a state of war with their civil government; and they continue fo long in that flate, as they are injured in a property over which the civil government never had any. power. In this case the peace of the society is broke: but then 'tis not broke by those who reform from any public error, but by the magistrate, who assumes a power which never was committed to him. Nor are thefe evils, these disturbances, feuds, or animolities, chargeable on innovations in religion, but on tyranny, and usurpation, on unjust pretensions to power, and arbitrary dominion over the minds of men.

At most therefore, innovations in religion, are but the occasions, not the causes, of diflurbances to the state: and a man can with no more justice impute to them, as to the cause, the breach of public peace, than he can impute to christianity all that hatred and variance that has abounded in the christian-Suppose a man should warn any one against the doctrines of the gospel, because they have unhappily occasioned much hatred, much dispute, and many abominable practic is, which otherwife would not perhaps have been heard of. Would fuch advice be good and fit? Or ought any man, notwithstanding these accidental inconveniencies, to refuse hisfub miffion to it purely on those accounts?

There is not a greater, nor a more common imposition on mankind, than to assign a wrong cause of any event, and to argue from thence as if it were the true one. Macenas, I beg your lordship to remember that Macenas was an heathen, imputed to innovations in religion the great disturbances of state; whereas the cause of disorders in the public was something very different; either the persecutions which men had undergone, which upon occasion given they resolved to retaliate; or else some selfish interest which the pretence of religion served to cover. Macenas consounded therefore.

therefore, either artfully, or ignorantly enough, the cause with the accidental occasion of disorder; which is, as if any one nowa days, should lay the hatred of nearest friends upon christianity itself; or charge enmity, malice and revenge upon that very gospel that designed to root those evils out. His advice therefore is wrong in every view; 'tis founded upon a very false principle; it naturally tends to prevent the propagation not only of truth in general, but of christianity in particular. It will justify all the persecutions for religion which have been in the world; and after all. it supposes innovations in religion to be the causes of evils, of which they are not the causes. Your lordship will judge if such advice is fit to be either given, or taken, or recommended.

A fecond point your lordship argues for is this, that because severe laws were made against idolatry and blasphemy, words which had then one clear and determinate signification in the fewish dispensation, therefore the laws of any particular country may punish as idolaters or blasphemers, men who according to the different notions that prevail in different countries, may on different and perhaps contrary accounts be called by these names.

For this your lordship thus argues 'If the: "Lord Jesus be a creature and you worship. 'him, 'tis idolatry: if he be God and you "deny him, 'tis blassphemy: and what punished ment Almighty God ordained for both these forts of offenders you know,' p. 159.

The punishment in the Mosaic law for idolatry was floring to death, and the same was inflicted for blasphemy, v. Lev. xxiv. 10—23, and Deut. xiii. 1—10.

Upon this your fordship proceeds, and asks this question; "What texts have you to quote for an exemption from those penalties, or at least such as the laws of the land inflict."

I answer, all the same texts which any religious and good man has to quote for an exemption from the penalties to be inflicted on the greatest of criminals. The blosphemy against which the penalty of death was denounced in the law of Moses, was a presumptuous, irreligious, contemptuous reproaching or reviling of God. The idolatry against which the like punishment was denounced in the same law, was, the departing from the worship of the known true God to the worship of the heathen idols or sicilitious deities. Does your lordship now think, that because under

under the Jewish theocracy, God Almighey thought fit, by an express and particular command, to punish in such a manner these crimes, about the nature of which there was no room for dispute, and into the commission of which no Iew could possibly fall by a mere error of the understanding, that therefore the eivil government in other nations, (affixing these names according to their own particular notions in disputable questions upon persons and things which have no fimilitude to those mentioned in the law of Mofes,) may juftly inflict by their own authority the like penalties with those commanded in the law of Moses? One man thinks Jesus Christ to be himself the One Supreme God; and worships him as fuch: another thinks Jesus Christ not to be himself the One Supreme God, but the One Mediator between God and man, and worthips him as fuch a Mediator to the glory of the One Supreme God and Father of all. your lordship now fincerely think, that by virtue of the law of Mofes against blasphemers and idelaters, one of these men has a right to put the other to death for worshipping Christ only as a mediator; and that the other has a right to put this first man to death for worshipping Christ as the One Supreme God? Each of them thinks he has an equal right

right to call the other an idelater and blafphemer. One for giving any worship at all to a person who is not the One Supreme God and Father of the universe; and the other for worshipping as the One Supreme God, Him who is only the Mediator between God and Man. Your lordship easily sees what room here is for uncharitableness and persecution. By what methods shall this evil be prevented? The only remedy I can see is, that men would be careful not to prastice themselves, much less to impose upon others, any thing in the worship of God, sounded upon any particular hypothesis of their own, beyond what is very clearly and expressly commanded.

By this method, and by this only, might be cut off the very root and foundation of all uncharitable censures and wicked persecutions upon this head.

The next thing your lordship proceeds to, is to shew that those whom you call Arians can have no pretence to toleration considering the conduct of some heretofore called by that name.

"With what face, says your lordship, can
"Arians ask such favour from any who have
"ever read the history of their barbarities.—

"They have taught us a lesson against them."
" folves." p. 159.

- r. Allowing it, my lord, to be never so true, that some in former ages called Arians, have been persecutors, and as barbarous as 'tis possible; yet the argument is no better, not other than this,—Some monarchs have been tyrants, therefore monarchy is not to be endured. Or,
- 2. If this inference be true, some of those whom your lordship will call orthodox, have been at least as barbarous; therefore they also have taught us a left n against themselves. And thus the circle may be run in accusing and condemning all sides, without any justice, or without any reason.

But this must not be passed over thus slightly. Not that it is of any consequence, who were the first persecutors, or who not, since the real debate is, whether any of either side have any right to persecute another: whether those that have the truth on their sides have more right to persecute those who are in error, than those who are in error have to persecute those that enjoy the benefit of truth. Yet because this evil is usually thrown upon those, who are for the time being called bereties.

beretics. I cannot but take notice, that if we confult the ecclefiaftical biftorians we shall find that those whom your lordship esteems very orthodox were the first that taught the world the method of perfecution; 'twas these that ' first brought in the secular power to drive those whom they called beretics out of the church. As foon as the Nicene council had condemned Arius and his opinions, the emperor banished him, and Eusebius, and Theognis, and others. He iffued out an edict, that " if " any book of Arius's could be found, it " should be burnt: that if any one concealed " any book, and did not produce it that it " might be burnt, he himself should be put " to death instantly." After this we find the emperor refolving to root out all forts of herefies; and accordingly he issued out an edict 'against the Novations, Valentinians, Marcionists, Paulians, and those called Cataphrygians, and in general all beretics, first, that they should not dare to have any public " meetings: and that all the boules where they were wont to affemble should be taken away; then, that they should not meet together privately; and lastly that their churches, if they might be called fuch, should be given to the catholics. Their books likewise were to be searched for and taken away.' Thus

Thus did the orthodox begin this detestable method against the beretics; which some of them perhaps when they grew in power, returned; and from that time to these last days has that impious course been prosecuted. But the first breach was made by the orthodox: *twas they began to employ the fecular arm: 'twas they began to banish; 'twas they began to hinder the public meetings of those whom they called beretics; and what wonder then when the tree of evil was planted, if it took root downwards, and fhot forth upwards, and brought forth its natural fruit. If therefore the lesson be to be learnt against men of . any denomination from this, that fome of them also have been barbarous when in power, 'tis a lesson that all parties have taught those that have been undermost, and if some of them who were called Arians, behaved themselves in a cruel manner under Constantius and Valens, and afterwards in Spain and Africa, let others look into the Theodofian Code; and upon the persecutions of all that have had any odious name affixed upon them for 1300 years together, and fee if they have any room to boast upon this head: Still this is certain, that perfecution was begun by the orthodox; and one very remarkable difference appears throughout all our VOL. III. Н church

church historians, that whereas the creeds, which those that were called orthodox, proposed and insisted on in all their corneils, were always made the test of parties; and in order to this they always contained some human doctrines, some particular inventions of designing men, some notion or other that was unscriptural; yet in the creeds proposed by those on the other side this temper was constantly observed, that nothing was ever put into them but what all might subscribe and assent to; the very terms were generally

fcriptural; nor did they attempt to put on a level the doctrines of men with the revelation

of God.

Give me leave to add one remark more here; and that is, that as Macenas was a heathen, and gave his advice to a heathen. it must have been to perfecute christians, so had Macenas lived in Conftantine's time, and been what was called orthodox, his advice had been to persecute Arius; had he lived in Conflancius or Valens' time, when the. power was entirely in hands called Ari.n, (tho' there never was any Arianism imposed in their creeds) his advice to fuffer no innovations in religion must have pushed on those princes to have destroyed the orth dox; and had he lived under Lewis XIV. not a proteffant

and ORTHODOXY Shaken. 17i testant must or could have been suffered in France.

The next thing in your lordship's postscript which I think myself obliged to consider is, the declaration which your lordship has, in effect, made against an open toleration.

Your lordship begins with an intimation that an "ill use has been made of the text for "fuffering the tares which were sown by the "enemy, to grow up with the wheat," and you add, "surely we are not to lay oursilves to "fleep on purpose to give the enemy an opportunity to sow them."

I will not prefume to guess at any particular exposition of this text which your lordship may perhaps have met with; but how far it relates to the present debate, I'll endeavour to shew. As in the exposition of the parable of the fwer, Matt xiii. 23. the feed is explained to mean the word preached; so here likewise, v. xxiv. good feed is that doctrine which really produces virtue and goodness. Tares, here opposed to good feed, and which were fown by an enemy, represent fa'se doctrines which are taught by an enemy, i. e. evil men. Good and virtuous persons, when they see such false doctrines and evil men such that a ceeding,

cooding, would rejoice to have their falfe opinions rooted up, and would rejoice that the field, i. e. the church, might confift of only good members; but our Saviour determines, that the recting out of the tares, i. e. she sident casting out of falle notions by exgremities, ought not to be practifed; but that good men should take heed, lest while they gather up the tares, they root not up also the wheat. Our Saviour has so explained this parable, that it cannot be much mistaken. when he tells us the time when the righteous fall fine, viz. not at prefent, but then, when the fon of man shall fend forth his angels, v. 42. plainly determining, that the tares should grow up with the wheat till the end of the world. Our Lord does not tell us that 'tie our duties to give opportunities to the enemy: he does not fay that we ought to lay our selves after, or that we should not guard against the enemy as much as possibly we can: but that we must use all such means, and only fuch, as are right and just, to prevent the growth of false doctrines; that we must not tread down the wheat in order, as we perhaps imagine, to root out the tares. A wife man will not take fuch measures to destroy a weed, as necessarily must destroy his corn; and this is what our Saviour only aims at.

Now perfecution for opinions is what must necessarily destroy the wheat as well as the tares, the truth as much as it can do fallehood. Where there is so much falsehood in the world, and that too in fo much power, by this way of proceeding the truth must necessarily be rooted up. The Mahometans imagine, no doubt, that they are in the truth, and that christianity is a tare in their field; therefore they upon this principle are obliged to root it out. Amongst christians, the papists ought to root out the pretestants, and the protestants to root out not only the common enemy, the papifts, but likewise to arm each particular fect against its neighbours. a scene of woe and desolation must this produce? Whilft fuch contradictory orthodoxy every where appears, every where must appear, store of tares to be gathered up and burnt, till at last orthodox, and the longest furvivors of cruelty, must fignify the fame thing. . But then upon the scheme of open toleration nothing is more natural and easy;

For here our business is not to lay ourselves. affeet, but to watch; 'tis to reprove, rebuke and exhort with all long-fuffering and patience. Every man has the right, which your lordship has used, to endeavour to convince gainfayers. Reason is the weapon of rational H 3

agents, and never fails to be revenged on those who are enemies to it, that is, who either maintain an error, or even hold the truth in unrighteousness. With this fence we are to guard ourselves. And if the enemy surmounts this, and cannot be convinced, or is obstinate and will not, 'tis out of our powers to hinder the growth of these tares: we must do all that is in our powers to convince him, we must pray for him, but not treat his person ill; nor must we, to ruin him, make use of fuch arts as in consequence must ruin our own felves.

Your lordship will call this, perhaps, giving an opportunity to the enemy to fow the tares. But is it giving an optortunity when you watch and oppose him? When you spread the truth as fast as the enemy does his errors? When you refute or endeavour to refute his principles? But if you will not admit this for fofficient watchfulness, but think it necessary to make use of force, and the secular arm, 'twill be giving an opportunity still, or may be called fo, till you come to the use of racks. and gibbets; nor can any stop be put, till that effectual one of death itself is applied.

One reason which your lords ip has made use of in your prefatory discourse for the printing this book is, 'because it is not enough to believe with the heart, but with the mouth confession is made unto salvation; and not confessing the Lord Jesus before men, is next to the denying him." p. 3.

Your lordship, I dare say, will conceive a man, however erroneous, to give the best marks possible of his integrity, who suffers great temporal inconveniencies, (fuch as imprisonment, or the loss of a very creditable and handsome support of a family) for thinking, that not to confess the Lord Fesus before men, fuch as he conceives him really to be in himself, and in office and relation to us, is next to denying him. But notwithstanding their integrity, and their fears lest they should be thought profelytes to what they think an error of the utmost consequence, yet your lordship conceives, that the want of inflicting punishments on those you call Arians, for their notions, is giving an opportunity to the enemy which we ought not.

Bu,t my lord, the opportunity which your lordship fears should be given to the enemy, has been carefully guarded against; and moderate penalties have been applied, tho' these wholesome severities, as they have been called, have proved inessectual. Mr. Em'yn was sentenced

to suffer imprisonment for a year and a day, and to pay a thousand pound fine; (that is, many hundred of pounds beyond the prisoner's utmost abilities) and to give security for his good behaviour during life. Mr. Whiston's case is more universally known, and especially to your lordship, who is acquainted 'with his expulsion from his profisforship, and from a lecture in Cambridge, and turned a starving with a wife and a numerous iffue. But still it may be faid that the opportunity is given to these enemies to sow the tares, notwithstanding these attempts: and accordingly both these gentlemen write; and write fo well, that they have great weight with many that read them. If fines, imprisonments, and deprivations are not sufficient to put a stop to them. I see not what can do it but greater extremities still, that is, death; which furely not any one principle of reason, or any one dectrine of Jesus Christ can justify.

Your lordship goes on thus: 'The Jews recken they are forbid even by the law of Moses to revile the gods of other nations which were no gods: but that the Son of God, whom we and all Christendem adore as the God of our Salvation, should be reviled, trampled on, and put to open shame by these of our own nation,

as well as of God, uncontrolled, without any animadversion—is unaccountable, both in prudence and religion." p. 158.

The reader is here told (with what justice your lordship will consider) that those whom your lordship is pleased to stile Arians, revile. trample on, and put to open shame the Son of God. Whence fuch a charge could arise I. cannot conceive. Do they revile, whom they edore? Do they trample on that person whom : they daily praise? Do they put to open shame, . him, whom they thank for his kindness, condescension, love and benefits towards them?' Surely this must appear very shocking, to say, that a man reviles the being whom he daily: praifes, and prays to; for whose fake he daily: fuffers, and is ready to undergo the severest: wish that can be inflicted: What are the marks of leve, of gratitude, and of the most: profound respect, if a readiness to submit to. any temporal inconveniencies for any one's. fake is deemed reviling and contempt? Should: Mr. W. retort this charge on his adversaries, . and openly affert that in confequence of their-Scheme, they revile and trample on the peerless : enajesty of the God and Father of all; fure It am, that every ferious christian would detelt the imputation, and think that religion fuffered ! H.5.

178 The Pillars of PRIEST CRAFT fered more from such uncharitable censures; than it could do from the denial of any point; in which the Scriptures have determined.

nothing clearly.

There is but one point more that I shall trouble your lordship with, and that is on account of the suggestion which your lordship has made, that those who are in authority have the real guilt of being partakers of other mens sins, if they do not provide a speedy remedy to the evils your lordship complains of; for, qui non prohibet, cum patest, jubet: p. 1586

That a just and proper remedy ought to beapplied to every real evil is readily acknowledged; and therefore I declared for the only remedy that appears to me to be confiftent with reason and with revelation; and I as heartily defire that every man may be brough to fee the errors of his ways, as your lord, thip does. But I hope I am not a partaker of enother's fins, if I cannot come into a scheme of persecution; or if I cannot but think that the only proper method of dealing with reas fonable men is conviction, and the preffing them with arguments from reason and revelation. This makes me admire at what your lordship alludes to, when you intimate that there.

there is not at present given to the proper champions of our faith an opportunity to refute and reclaim [men] from their errors, p. 158. the clergy, my lord, now restrained from fearching into Scripture, or from fearching : into antiquity, in order to find proper materials to refute any error? Are they restrained from writing or from putlishing their thoughts? Or what way of refuting and reclaiming men from error is prevented by his majefly? True it is, that Defender of the faith is not an empty title,' ibid. Yet permit me, my lord, . to express my wishes, that if the faith can no way be defended but by fines, imprisonments, . or deaths, that it may ever continue an emfty tite. 'Tis better that that should be the emp'y title, than that ever it frould be maintained by that which is antichriftian; and which if profecuted by every crowned head, must make the christian world a scene of blood and cruelty.

But by comparing what your fordship says here, with what you have said p. 156. 'tis easy to see that your lordship blames 'those who are in authority, that do not advise his 'majesty to give the sathers and pastors of our church leave to speak fir themselves, and indeed for the king.' i. e. that the convocation thould determine this controversy. That

"That should be permitted to fit and act in taking care of that flock of Christ, of which
the Holy Ghost has made them overseers,
and which the laws of the land have committed
to them," p. 156-7.

Before I consider the thing proposed by your lordship, I cannot but observe, that your lordship in the former passage wanted the convecation to REFUTE errors: here 'tis to sit and oil. I think the usual method in convocation is not to result errors; 'tis not to convince mens judgments, or to produce reasons for what they do, but to determine the truth or falshood of a notion authorizatively. Synodical affairs are always transacted in a judicial manner; whilst private persons, i e. men in their private capacities, usually attempt to result any error that happens to arise.

As to the method by your lordship proposed, that These who are in authority are partakers of other mens sins because they do not suffer the convocation to sit and ass, I will lay before your lordship the sentiments of two very great men, who have been reputed ornaments, the one of the antient church, the other of our sum church.

The first is, Gregory Nazianzen, that dear friend of Basil. Many bishops being met at Constantinople,

Conftantinople, and fummoning this great man. who for his exactness and skill in scripture was called the DIVINE, to that fyned, he refused to come; " Experience having taught " him how little good could be expected " from fynods; they usually widening more than curing differences. Nor will I (fave " he) be present at any synods, where they se cackle like geele or cranes : in those affem-" blies there is contention, and fquabble; es and fhameful actions, which were hid be-44 fore, are there made public, men of hostile s minds towards one another being affembled together ?" These reflections were occasioned by those meetings of the clergy at Conflantinople a first and second time; and at other places; from whence this great DIVINE found fo little comfort, that nothing could perfuade him to come near them at last. So little did he expect from fynods towards the curing of controversial evils.

The other, is our present primate*, whose judgment in fynodical affairs every man must value and pay a wonderful deference to. There is scarce any thing in antiquity, says he, that either more exposed our christian profession heretofore, or may more deserve our ferious consideration at this day, than

Dr. Wake, then archbishop of Canterbury.

the violence, the passion, the malice, the falses e nels, and the oppression which reigned in most of those fynods that were held by Constantine first, and after him by the following emperces, upon the occasion of the Arian controverly. Bitter are the complaints, which, we are told that great emperor made of them -And what little success other synods "have oftentimes had, might easily be made appear, were it needful to enlarge upon fo known and melancholy a subject. this, as it has obliged not only the best men, but the wifest emperors, to be very careful, how they either called, or encouraged fuch assemblies, unless they had some reason to hope for a good effect of them, so . may it suffice to convince us still, that neither are all times, nor all causes, either proper for, or worthy of, fuch meetings: and that the expediency of them ought to be very . clearly made out, before it can with any. reason be expected, that the prince should confent to their affembling.' Authority of ' Christian Princes, p. 307-8.

Your lordship most certainly will say, that the present time, and the present cause, are most tertainly proper for, and worthy of, such meetings. 'A time when the dostrines of our most holy faith, and the apostolical institution

of the government of our church are fo viruelently attacked, and in so open and insolent 6-a manner.' p. 157. .

Permit me, my lord, to reply to this in the words of that great man, our present metros 'There may be some times in which it would be altogether.unadviseable to assemble 'it [a convocation.] When mens passions are let loofe, and their minds disordered; when their interests and designs; their friends and their parties, nay their own judgments, and principles, lead them different ways; and they agree in nothing fo much, as in being very peevish and angry with one another: when their very reason is depraved; and they ' judge not according to truth or evidence, but with respect of persons, and every one opposes what another of a different persuasion either moves or opproves of: what good can the prince propose to himself, or any wife man hope for, from any affembly that can be brought together, under the unhappy in-· fluence of thefe, and the like prepossessions.

[.] It was the fense of this, made a wife man. in the daft age, tell Charles the Vth, That is appeared by experience, and might from reasen be demonstrated, that shofe affairs feldom fuctreeded well, which were to be-done by many. And:

And if such be the inconvenience to whickmumber alone, exposes such meetings, in the
best times; sure I am, both reason and experience will much more convince us, that intimes of doubt and discontent, this will be the
more likely to be the case; and that under
fach circumstances, there is little good to beexpected from them.' Authority of ChristianPrinces, p. 316—17.

As to the cause, upon which your lordships thinks it fit for the convocation to fit and act,. I must still reply in the words of our most reverend archbishop.

4-It would be not only needle s but ab furd. for a fynod to be called to debate over again. the fundamentals of piety.-All that they: would gain by doing it, would be only this. that they would fee their authority and definitions despised by them; and might probably give offence to good men, as if they ' had so much reason on their fide, or there were fo much difficulty in this case, as to e need the folemnity of a convocation to inter-" pose in it.' This his grace speaks concerning feeties, and libertines, who deny the truths . of christianity. But then his grace goes on to affirm, " that neither there is any aced of a. mew fyned to declare the doctrine of the church

church in such points, in which it has, by as great, or even greater authority, been before declared. A convocation may sit, fays he, and draw up what creeds and confessions it will; but if they expect that those who despise the authority of the antient general councils of the church should be concluded by their definitions, it will, I doubt, appear that they have but flattered themselves with vain hopes: and they will find too late, that those, who are not to be restrained by what has already been determined, will much less regard any new decisions that can be made against them.' ibid. p. 313.

'Tis not, my lord, a crime I hope in me, to defire that the royal supremacy may get the better of the spiritual jurisdiction. If the meeting and acting of the convocation does depend upon the grace and pleasure of the prince, so that they can neither assemble, nor consult, without his permission, nor is he any farther obliged to allow of either, than he is persuaded their meeting and acting will be for the public benefit of the church and kingdom'—perhaps his majesty may have as good or better reasons against their sitting under the present circumstances of affairs,' than can be offered for it. ibid. p. 3.

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The charge of partaking in other mens sins is certainly very severe: it deals about a heavy reflection upon all the ministry; and how far his majesty himself may be concerned, I know not. Every reader, I believe, will be apt to conceive that the charge is pointed there, as well as upon others, when your lordship says, That 'Defender of the faith is not an empty title: the defence of the church of England is '—the foundation of the revolution, and of his majesty's succession to the throne,' p. 158.

But what is all this grounded upon? Because a fined is not permitted to assemble, where 'tis 'very likely to fly into heats and 'parties, and after much contention, nothing to be done. And then the enemies without, 'will smile, and tell the world, that when it came to the trial, the convocation itself could not agree, about this matter; and from thence draw an untoward consequence against the very doctrine itself [of the trinity.'] Authority of Christian Princes, p. 330.

I would willingly, my lord, cast a veil over this unaccountable behaviour of councils, where pride and ill-nature commonly domineer; that I may still keep to that great man's words. Appeal. Pref. p. 24. When one sees the arts that have been used to con-

demn or to acquit a person, the intrigues, the corruption, the malice and oppression, which appears in the very first assemblies of the clergy under Constantine; and by what tricks their points were carried, then, and have been too often since, I am borne down by the weight of his grace's judgment, and cannot but acquit his majesty and all others of all imputation of sin, in not permitting, in our present circumstances, the convocation to sit and act.

Pardon me, my lord, for the trouble I have put your lordship to on this occasion. But when the humour of addressing, begun at Oxford, encouraged and promoted by the London clergy, and 'tis faid (I do not pretend to fay for what end) that 'tis to be carried on in many visitations over England this summer. -when this humour of addressing thanks for a book, which contains the very effence of persecution, is promoted, I cannot but openly protest against such proceedings. It feems to me an artful method of some to catch the unwary, that under pretence of declaring against herefy, they may declare for perfecution. Your lordship, no doubt, is not accountable for any actions of other men. therefore propose it to the consideration of all those who are so zealous for these thanks,

that if this public approbation of your lordship's book be thus testified, whether it be not in all those that are concerned, as that great prelate fo often quoted, expresses it, to arraign the government for not fuffering the CONVOCATION to meet, and to tell the world, that both the honour of religion, and the good of the church, are concerned in it, and cannot be preserved without it. Authority of Christian Princes, p. 5. Is not this to make as invidious a suggestion against our sovereign. lord king GEORGE, and against all in outherity under him, as 'tis possible to make ?' Is this suggestion fit and right at this time, when a foirit of faction is raifed and promoted over the nation on other accounts a and when discontents have clouded in agreat measure mens understandings !

But if thanks must be voted, as I perceive the university of Cambridge likewise hath just now done, yet let the doctrine of persecution be excepted; let the beather's advice, which must have prevented christianity's coming into the world, and must hinder the resonation of public errors in all countries, be excepted; let the charge upon the government be excepted; and let the errors of the book, whatever they be (for which I am sure your lordship would not accept any one's thanks) be excepted, that those

shole who vote their thanks may not be chargeable with them, and then I think the fincerest thanks are due to your lordship; nor would any man more readily concur in giving them, than,

My LORD,

April 28th,

Your Lordship's

Most obedient Servant.

POSTSCRIPT.

HO' in the preceding letter, a sufficient answer is given to what your lordship had said concerning punishment for blasphemy, yet I have judged it not improper to suggest a few things upon that topic more particularly.

Blafphemy is an irreligious, presumptuous, contemptuous reviling of God. When therefore your lordship says, p. 159. If he [Christ] he God, and you deny him, 'tis hlasphemy, your lordship consounds an irreligious, presumptuous, contemptuous reviling of God, with a missaken nation or conception of God which has no contempt, no reproach, no reviling of God designed or intended in it.

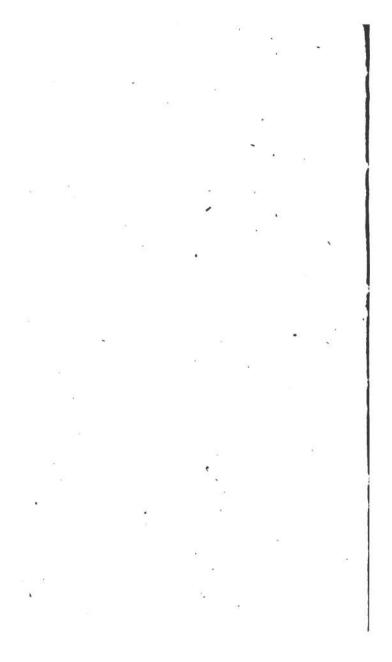
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There is not a more mischievous abuse of words, than to apply a term, which always in its proper sense stands for a designed presumptuous reviling, to cases where no designed reviling is intended. To execute therefore laws, made against real blasphemy; and under the cover of that word to draw in, as guilty, those who by consequences and construction only, can be deemed blasphemers, is to ensare and to entrap men; 'tis to punish persons for crimes which they never thought of, and from their hearts abhor; and therefore with equal justice, they might be treated as felons, or murderers, as they can be blasphemers.

Let blasshemy, my lord, that which is really such, be punished as severely as your lordship wishes; but let not men be deemed the phemers by consequences. I know not where this evil can stop, if once this practice should take place; every Calvinist is charged with blasshemy by his adversaries, for making God the auchir of sin; and he in his turn charges them with the same crime, for maintaining freedom of will. 'Tis just the same betwixt protessants and papists: each of them dealing about the word blasshemy, upon the other, by a horrible abuse of the word, for a consequence, which is utterly denied, and detested, by those that are charged with it.

When

When the word, blasphemy, is applied for, attributing to God what does not belong to him, or for, denying what does belong to him-In these cases, and such like, which are infinite, it does not fignify any vice, but a mistake; it does not relate to any thing firifly evil in a man, but to any error or inconsistency of notion about God: 'tis taken not in its proper and eminent fense, but in a large extent, for whatever, any way, by confequence remote or near, hurts the name and reputation of any one. To punish men for blasphemy, in this fense of the word, is to punish men, in effect, for being fallible, and because they are not able to see all the consequences, that those of the most exal'ed understandings really, or in imagination, do fee. A punishment which where 'twill fall " no man can foretell, every " good man fears."



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REVEREND PRELATE'S

REMARKS

UPON THE

BILL

Now depending in

PARLIAMENT:

ENTITLED

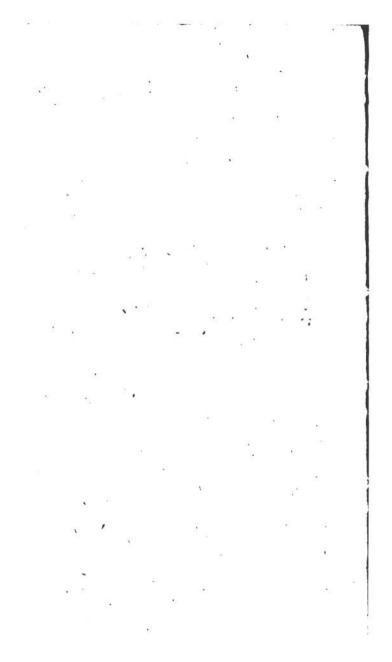
A bill to prevent suits for tythes, where none, nor any composition for the same, have been paid within a certain number of years.

By a member of the House of Commons.

To which are prefix'd the REVEREND PRE-LATE'S Remarks.

First printed in the year 1731.

VOL. III.



REMARKS upon a BILL now depending in Parliament, entitled, A'bill to prevent suits for tythes, where none, nor any composition for the same have been paid within a certain number of years,

By a Reverend PRELATE*.

HE law concerning exemption from tythes as it stands at present, is thus: If tythe be demanded by the incombent, and the proprietor of the lands pleads an exemption, the incumbent infifts upon common right as the general rule of law; and it rests upon the proprietor to prove the exemp-And there is great reason it should be fo; because in all cases, whoever pleads exemption from a general rule, is bound to assign the fpecial grounds and reasons, of such exemption: And because in this particular case, it is supposed that the proprietor of the lands has the evidences in his hands; and it cannot be supposed that he or his ancestors would pay for an estate as tythe free, without clear evidence

[•] Dr. Sherlock, then bishop of Salisbury.

I 2 that

that it was so; when they knew the law to be such, that an incumbent would have it in his power at any time to demand tythe of common right, and must prevail, if legal evidence of the exemption could not be produced.

But by this new bill, the proof shall not rest upon the proprietor of the lands, who is supposed to have the evidences of it in his hands, and he and his samily concerned in interest to preserve them; but the proof that payment has been made within the term of years to be fixt by this bill, if it pass into a law, is to rest upon the incumbent; who comes a stranger to the parish, unacquainted with what was done in the times of his predecessors, and not like to be assisted by the parishioners, considering the interest they have, and the insuences they are oft times under.

In this way, exemptions may easily be set up for all lands, the tythe whereof has not been taken in kind, but (which is the most usual method) paid in money, whether as a modus, or upon the foot of a private agreement between the incumbent and proprietor. For the receipts for the money are in the hands of the proprietor, and the succeeding incumbent may know nothing of any agreement made; or if he do, he cannot oblige him to produce the receipts

feccipts in proof of it. Whereas the law, as it stands at present, by which he is enabled to sue for tythe of common right, and prevails, if the proprietor do not prove the exemption, effectually secures the clergy against all such frauds and impositions, and nothing else can effectually secure them.

Many of the rectories impropriate belonging to bishops, deans, and chapters, and other ecclesiastical persons, and to the colleges in the two universities, are, and have long been, in the hands of lords of mannors, or other proprietors of lands within the same parishes; which leases descend from father to son, and enable them to let their own estates tythe-free. And all lands, which by reason of such unity of possession, shall have paid no tythe within the term to be limited by this act, are exempted by it from paying tythe for ever.

Some of the religious orders, particularly the Ciftercians, were privileged from paying tythe of lands while they continued in their occupation, and not otherwise. And though all the lands of the religious came into the hands of the crown, and from the crown to the grantees, in the same manner as the religious enjoyed them; yet by this bill, if the grantee of the

crown shall have kept such lands in his own occupation, during the term therein to be limited, all incumbents are deprived for ever of the right they had to tythe, when such lands should be occupied by a tenant.

Warrens, woodlands in particular countries, and lands that have lain waite, from all which tythe would be due, if converted into arable or pasture, will be entitled to a perpetual exemption by this act; and it may have the like effect in many other cases, not now foreseen.

If it be candidly confidered, by how many wadee ways exemptions may and do grow, we thall fee no reason to take from the clergy any advantages against them, which the law gives as it stands at present. Some difficulties have been mentioned already, which cannot be avoided by incumbents, though never fo careful. and wholly free from restraints and influences of all kinds, I mean their coming strangers totheir livings, and the difficulty of procuring evidence among the parishioners. But besides thefe, the clergy who come in unacustommed to fecular affairs, are more liable to be imposed upon than others; and fome of them are not fo. careful of the rights of their church, as might be wished, for want of reflecting that they arenot barely concerned in interest for their own time, but are moreover the guardians of those rights for the use of their successors. are unactive and fedentary, and care not to enter into enquiries, which may lead them into troublesome law-suits: Others are not in need, and foreseeing the uneasiness they shall raise to themselves by contesting exemptions, fit still and acquiesce: Others are poor, and have not money to support contests with rich men, and fo must acquiesce: Many are known to come in under the restraint of general bonds of refignation, with heavy penalties, and must either go on to indulge the estate of the patron, or be ruined: Many livings are given to the fons or near relations of parrons, who are naturally disposed to be respectful to the estate of the family; and if others also did not the same. they are sometimes thought very ungrateful for the favour of their presentation. Many of the poorer livings all over England are held by fequestration, without either institution or induction; and the clergy who officiate in them. not being properly incumbents, cannot bring fuits for the right to tythe; and if an incumbent come in, who is willing and able to do it, he will be wholly precluded by this act after a certain number of years.

It is easily seen, how discontinuances of payment may have grown by any one or more of these ways; and it would be very unreasonable, that fuch discontinuances, to which all the tythes in the kingdom are exposed, should be turned into perpetual exemptions. for no other reason, but because it may now and then be doubtful, and need the determination of the law, whether a particular parcel of land is really exempt or not. And it would be extremely hard, that the livings and the fuccessors in them, should be made to fuffer without any possibility of remedy, by the poverty, indolence, or unhappy compliances of their predecessors; who may have fatisfied their minds with this, that it would be in the power of their successors, at any time, to do right to themselves and their church against pretended exemptions, by exerting their claim to tythe of common right; little suspecting, that this ancient right would be extinguished by any future law, when the standing rule of all courts, civil and ecclesiastical, fince the reformation as well as before, had been, that no plea de non decimando ought to be admitted; and when it appeared not, that the justice and equity of that rule had at any time been called in question by the legi-Cature.

Tho' the present bill goes no further than to establish a perpetual exemption upon a past. discontinuance of payment of tythe; yet as the feveral causes and occasions of those discontinuances hitherto, will still remain and have the like effect, (particularly, the infifting upon general bonds of refignation, is well known to be far more common, and more openly and avowedly practifed, of late days, than ever;) fo will there be the same pretence hereafter for new acts to establish exemptions, under colour . of loss of evidence, and preventing law suits. and quieting possessions; and, in this way, there must be a gradual diminution of the maintenance of the clergy in every generation. if they be deprived of the benefit they now have, of claiming tythe by common right.

From these considerations, and from the manifest disadvantages the clergy lie under in being far less able to know, and prove, and. affert their rights, than those who enjoy estates by inheritance; no statutes for limitation of suits have ever been extended to the revenues of the church, but the successors have hitherto been left at full liberty to affert their rights. at any time. So that it is very groundlefly infinuated in the preamble to this bill, that the statute of Edw. 6th, on which it pretends to

found itself, had created a prescription of forty. years, fo as to debar the clergy of those days from claiming tythe in any other manner than they had been paid within that term, andfrom claiming any at all, if lands had not said any at all for fo long a time. For the wordsof that act are, that all prædial tythes shallbe paid, in such manner and form as bath been of right yielded and paid within forty years next before the making of this ast, OR OF RIGHT OR CUSTOM OUGHT TO HAVE BEEN PAID. The meaning of that retrospect of forty years was plainly this; that in the infancy of the reformation many of the people were unwilling to pay tythes to the protestant clergy, and did not believe they had any title to them; as is plainly intimated in the preambles to two former acts for the payment of tythes, 27 H. 8. c. 20. and 32 H. 8 c. 7. Against whom it is plainly the intention of this act, to provide that they shall be obliged to pay tythes to the protestant incumbents, as punctually, as they had paid them to the popish; and if they do not, that they shalk be liable to temporal coercion, as well as ecclesiastical censures. So that the act of Edw. 6. was made wholly in favour of the clergy, and to facilitate the recovery of their tythes : and then, as to the right, though no tythe at all had been actually paid within that termy.

the power of fuing for it is fully referved by the additional words, on or RIGHT OR CUS-TOM OUGHT to have been paid-And, in a fublequent clause (sect. 4.) all exemptions and discharges from tythe, are left to stand or fall according to the laws in being, before that act; provision being only made, that if they were really exempt before, they should not be made liable to pay tythe by any thing in the act. Whereas the present bill is wholly in favour of the parishioners against the clergy, and takes from incumbents the known and established privilege of claiming tythe of common right; and, after a discontinuance of payment for a certain time, utterly deprives them of their . right, even though they should be able toprove it by records and evidences of undoubted authority.

But if that retrospect to the forty years before the act of Edward the VIth, had been
made the only rule of the clergy's right; it had
been a much more favourable rule, than the
like, or even a larger term of years before the
making of this act, would be. Every one
knows in what view tythes were considered in
the times to which that retrospect reaches, and
how religious the people were in paying them
to the full. But it is to be feared, that in later days that antient principle has lost much of
its

its force. There is one whole sect among us, who plead conscience for refusing to pay any tythe at all. Another fort, however conscientious in not converting tythes to their own use, do certainly think them better employed towards the maintenance of popish priests than protestant incumbents. And the people, in general, are not easily brought to seel the force of that unanswerable argument for the clergy's right to tythe, that they or their ancestors purchased no more than nine parts.

One great pretence for this bill, is the loss of evidence; namely, original grants from the crown, and other evidences relating to them. Concerning which, it may well be supposed in general, that families are very careful in preferving the evidences of their estates; and what preserves the evidence of the estate exempted, preserves also the evidence of the exemption. These are, of course, transmitted from father to fon, and, being grants from the crown, were to be recorded and preferved in chancery, and may probably be found there; and in many cases, sufficient evidence, whether lands are exempt or not exempt, may be had from the office of augmentation, which is open to every subject, and contains the state of the lands and impropriate tythes of many religious houses (as they came to the crown, and by consequence to the grantees) under the names of the houses to which they belonged, and with accounts of their being in lease or manual occupation at the time of the dissolution; upon which circumstances, the point of exemption or no-exemption chiefly depends.

All such records, in what hands foever, if fairly produced, may be proofs against pretended exemptions, as well as proofs for real enes; and yet this bill not only puts the proprietors of the lands under no obligation to declare in a legal manner that the evidences are really loft, or to produce them, if not loft: but, after a term of years in which no tythe has been paid, the successor of one or more incumbents who were indolent, or ignorant of their rights, or under undue restraints from claiming them, is utterly debarred by it from c'aiming tythe, tho' he should be able to prove never fo clearly from records to which he can have access, that there could be no legal exemption.

As to the other pretence for this bill, viz. the preventing differences and law fuits, a freedom from them, and a quiet and peaceable enjoyment of our own, are certainly very great blessings; and the greater the blessings are, the greater is their guilt, who will not suffer their neighbours to enjoy them on any terms, but

the giving up their just rights, and the necess fary subsistence of themselves and their families. But on which fide the breach of peace and friendship, as occasioned by suits for tythes, does chiefly lie, appears from calculations that have been made by practitioners in the court of exchequer, which show that the instances wherein the profecutors for tythes have failed, bear no kind of proportion to the number of instances in which they have prevailed; and, as to the number of fuits, many of them have been the fuits of lay impropriators, and not parochial incumbents. So far are the clergy from being justly chargeable either with multitudes of profecutions, or with bringing fuchfuits as have been deemed vexations or frivolous: The truth lies on the other side, that thro' the unwillingness or inability of some toengage in troublesome and expensive lawfuits, and thro' the restraints and influences which others have been under, the rights of their churches have greatly fuffered, and by degrees been loft.

Animadversions on the preceding REMARKS.

LAW as, he fays, it stands at present; E wish that he would vouchfase to lay down REASON. When a bill depends in parliament, the legislature are to consider what ought to be law, and not what is law; for if they were bound by customs or statutes, they would be useless to the people, who often find themselves aggrieved by the usage and institutions of former times, against which they can have no relief, but from the legislative power.

The bishop observes, that as the law now stands, "If tythe be demanded by the incum"bent, and the proprietor of the lands pleads
"an exemption, the incumbent insists upon
common right, as the general rule of law, and
it rests upon the proprietor to prove the exemption." And he thinks, there is great
reason it should be so; "because in all cases,
whoever pleads an exemption from a general
rule, is bound to assign the special grounds
and reasons of such exemption." But he
ought to have told us, not that the incumbent
insists upon common right, which we all know;
but why he should insist upon common right,
which

which the wifest of us cannot account for. What is admitted in courts of judicature, ought not to determine us. The question now is, What should be allowed by a British legislature? And though it is certain that when a proprietor of lands pleads an exemption in Westminster-Hall, it rests upon him to prove it, yet it may well be considered in a house of commons, whether that proof ought to rest upon him.

If the case of tythes be fairly and justly confidered, many objections will arise against its being a case of common right; which must in parliament be tried, not by common law, but by common fense. There can be no right in the world but that which arises from nature, and the reason of things: Shew us from thence that the clergy have a right to maintenance from the laity, and we will then allow that the laity ought to maintain them. gation can be laid on any one, unless an equivalent really received creates it. We do not owe the king himself allegiance, but on the terms of equal protection; and we cannot owe the clergy tythes, but on the terms of an equivalent. Where then is this equivalent? Or, why should the clergy exact tythes, as arising to them of right?

No man by conscience, or for his own happinefs, or for the public good, is obliged to conform to any church, or advise with any prieft, but fuch as himself approves. On the contrary, to compel his conformity against his opinion, is against all conscience, against his own happiness, and the public good. If he does conform to that church of his own choice, it is for some advantage; and so far as he conforms and enjoys that advantage, fo far is he under an obligation, and owes a maintenance to that clergy, from whom he receives an equivalent. But if he cannot and does not conform, what advantage does he receive? What obligation is he under, or what maintenance does he owe to any one? It may be necessary that priests, as well physicians, should be provided, for the cure of fouls as well as of bodies. But would it not be very unreasonable that the law should oblige us to give physicians retaining fees, and compel us to maintain them, by paying them when we do not want them, as much as when we do want them? Is it not fufficient that they are paid when they are applied to? And is there any difference between physicians and priests, which creates a greater obligation to the latter than to the former?

Men having a natural right and a legal toleration to choose their own religion, do often affociate themselves in particular churches, and diffent from the national fect, or established Every member of a feparate church stands obliged to support his own pastor, whilst he reforts to him: and shall he also stand obliged to support a parochial pastor, whom he never reforts to? Shall he not only pay the priest whom he applies to, but likewise one whom he never applies to? By the fame rule, he might not only fland obliged to fee the physician who attends him, but also one whonever attends him. And might not the fame pretence be laid claim to by the physician as by the priest, that he whom the flate shall choose, is as ready to undertake the cure, as he whom the patient shall choose?

If this be the case, I do not see how the elergy can sue their parishes for sythe of common right, any more than that physicians can sue for parachial fees. And therefore why should this be suffered to continue common law?

If then the clergy have not from reason and nature a common right to tythe, the laity have a common right to exemption; and therefore when a priest shall sue for tythe, if the parish pleads

plead an exemption, the general rule of justice will be on their side, and the priest stand bound to assign the special grounds and reasons of his pretence to tythe.

The reverend prelate imagines, that " It canon not be supposed that the proprietor or his es ancestors would pay for an estate as tythe-" free, without clear evidence that it was fo; " and therefore he at all times ought to prove 44 that it is fo." But every man knows that in any other case, a long discontinuance of an incumbrance will legally be an avoidance of that incumbrance; and therefore it is, that quiet possession, enjoyed for a considerable time, is a good title in law, whatever ancient claim shall be renewed. This is well known, and is very reasonable; whereas the power of the clergy to demand and recover sythe of .common right, against a long enjoyment of discontinuance, is neither well known nor inany degree reasonable. So that men may very easily pay for estates as tythe-free, incase there hath been a long discontinuance: and such a purchase ought to be entitled toexemption, just as it is in the case of quit-rents; if they are long discontinued, they cannot be legally laid claim to; for the law supposesscasonably that they were discontinued, either because:

because they were not due, or else by agreement. And after a long course of time, evidence naturally grows dark or deficient, in which case the law will not disturb possession.

If the law in any case does allow exemptions from tythe, as it does in many, why not in all? Since if it is not an injury to one incumbent, that his parishioners are exempt, it cannot be to any. And if it is a common good done to one parish, it is of common right due to all in the kingdom; which may well be considered by the legislative power.

All this having its due weight, gave rife to the bill now depending in parliament, by which the proof of exemption shall not rest upon the proprietor of land, who in many cases hath no title to the land itself, much less to enjoy it tythe-free, other than that which arises from long and quiet possession: An evidence sufficient at all times; and indeed no better is demanded in any case, except where the clergy are concerned.

Instead of obliging the land-owners, as by the laws in being they are obliged to prove a special exemption, the bill now depending enacts, that the clergy shall prove a special right to tythe, it having been proved, beyond contradiction,

diction, that they have not a common right by reason or the nature of things.

The reverend prelate pretends that this proof ought not to lie upon them, "Because they "come strangers to their parishes, unacquainted "with what was done in the time of their predecessors, and not like to be affished by the parishioners, considering the interest they have, and the influences they are oft times under."

This will not by any means bear the test of examination; for a clergyman must come into a parish with a very odious character indeed. that no man will give him affistance. very easy to know by living witnesses, what hath been done within forty years past by his predecessors. And let the general interest or influence be ever fo much against him, fome persons will certainly adhere to him. a worthy man, he need not despair of sufficient friendship and assistance. If he be the worst man alive, he will find fome persons for their own profit, affiduous to give him informations, and to court his favour; nay, if deferted by all men, still he may file a bill of discovery in the court of exchequer, against whom he pleases; and can never want evidence, if he is not without right: An advantage which the prelate prudently

214 The Pillars of PRIESTCRAFT prudently concealed, when he set forth their pretended difficulties.

It is therefore paultry suff which hath dropt from this prelate's pen, to fay, that receipis which incumbents give the land-owners, where there is a modus or an agreement, remain in the hands of those land owners; and that succeeding incumbents cannot have recourfe to fuch receipts. He very untruly fays, that incumbents cannot compel fuch receipts to be produced: If they are minded to fue for tythe. they may at the fame time fue for evidence: and on the discovery of the latter, they effectually may recover the former. But where the tythes are paid in kind, the church-wardens or officers who collected them, may be fummoned on any trial, and give an account upon oath, viva vece, what bath been the usage: All which the reverend prelate conceals, nay denies : which in one fo well acquainted with these affairs is inexcusable, and in one of his holy character is much to be lamented.

As to rectaries impropriate, leased by colleges, bishops, deans and chapters, which may continue by such leases in particular families more than forty years, and by the lesses may be let to under tenants tythe-free, in which case there will arise a perpetual exemption: I dare under-

take

spection of those bodies or persons thus possessed of impropriations, that if this law shall pass, they will never grant any lease allowing the lesses to let them tythe free forty years together, or in any manner whatever which may create an exemption. Ecclesiasticks are not used to be either so negligent or so disinteressed, nor are they likely to be so, especially after this bishop hath favoured them with so timely a precaution.

Some of the religious orders, particularly the Ciftercians, were, it feems, privileged from paying tythes of lands, whilft those lands continued in their occupation. When the crown refumed those lands, they were granted to be held in such manner as those monks enjoyed them; and yet the bishop complains that if this bill take place the exemption will not cease, tho' the grantees do not occupy the lands themselves, but the lands are occupied by a tenant. Neither can I see why it should, it being much more due to industrious landed men, than ever it was to lazy, idle, superstitious monks, the vermin and locusts of mankind.

[&]quot;Warrens, woodlands, and LANDS THAT
"HAVE LAIN WASTE, Jays the bifbep, from

" all which tythe would be due, if converted in" to arable or passure, will be entitled to a
" perpetual exemption by this act.

Is this then an argument against the law proposed? In my humble apprehension there can be none stronger for any bill whatever. It is well known that the WASTE LANDS of this kingdom would be of infinite value, if converted into arable or pasture. They would be an addition to the wealth of the kingdom, of greater value than the present national debt. And can there be too great encouragement given to improve them? Or can a greater difcouragement be in the way, than that, after fo much labour and expence to improve them (wherein the clergy bear no share) they shall in a few years time, just when they become of any value, fall under the heavy incumbrance of tythe, and pay a tenth part of their neat produce to the clergy, which is a perpetual LAND TAX on the kingdom of Two shillings in the pound, and, without improving waste lands, amounts to above a million per annum? Who would improve waste lands on such conditions?

This charitable prelate, who thro' the whole argument is so kind to the laity, as every where to suppose them rogues and thieves, continually and unanimously cheating the poor clergy of their righteous

righteous dues; I say, this very charitable prelate, comes now to bespeak our candour for the clergy, and exhorts us to believe, " That they are unaccustomed to secular affairs, are es more liable to be imposed on than others, and es some of them not so careful of the rights of the church, as might be wished. Some, he fays, es are unactive and sedentary, and care not to " engage in troublesome law-suits: Others are not in need, and foreseeing the uneafiness " occasioned by contests, sit still and acquiesce : "Others are poor, and not able to carry on contests, and so must acquiesce: Many come in under the restraint of general bonds of ve refignation, with beavy penalties, and fo must " go on to indulge the effate of the patron, or " be ruined: Many livings are given to the " fons or near relations of patrons, which er creates a natural disposition to be respectful to the estate of the family; and if others also a do not the same, they are sometimes thought ongrateful for the favour of their presen-" tation." This is the general case of the clergy, in the candid bishop's account.

Those who have nothing to gain by flattering the clergy, may possibly give another account of them. Who, in the name of Modesty, would think them unacquainted with secular offers, VOL. III. K that

that fees them so busy in shoals at Westminster-Hall, so constant at leves, so assiduous in drawing rooms, and so ambitious for power? Is the presentation to a living to be considered as a spiritual or a temporal call? And when we see the whole body study the gospel for the sake of so much a year, who can say that the good men are wholly unacquainted with secular affairs?

Would any man imagine from the argument now under consideration, that the bishop who framed it is one of the heads of an order, unacquainted with fecular offairs? I cannot but do him the justice to say, that it is hard to decide, whether he shewed more acuteness in desence of the christian religion or the great case of tythes?

No man would think from the clamour and out-cry which all of them make against this bill, that they are more liable to be imposed on than others. No man would think it who runs over the lists hanging up in the exchequer-affice, of causes to be heard in that court. Nor did any man ever come among two or three priess at any time, but their tythes and their dues made a part of the conversation. Let any one go to Child's or the Chapter coffee-house, whenever he pleases, and he will sonstantly experience the

the truth of this observation. If gentlemen recollect the behaviour of the clergymen in their feveral countries, they will find that the necessities of some, the avarice of others, and the luxury of many, continually put them on racking and squeezing their parishioners: that those who feldom refide on their livings, are out of the reach of uneafiness occasioned by exactions and contests: That those who haunt levees. and follow great persons, and aim at preferment, cannot otherwise support the expence of coming to town, and living far distant from their cures, but by extortion and low-fuits: That young clergymen in small livings hope for great ones, and do not much regard the ill will of parishioners: That they have all the same appetites which other men have, and having more power, do more to gratify their lusts: That having been bred expensively in univerfities, they will frequently live above their incomes; and fpending all and more than allmake their parishioners eternally uneasy, and leave their families certain beggars. There is no man alive of any experience, but hath feen numberless instances of these practices. And how such men as these can be described as as wholly unacquainted with secular affairs, or more likely to be imposed on than others, cannot poffibly view Pillars of PRIESTCRAFT
peffibly be done, without the be'p of this bishop's
essentialing candour.

I will be so just to the reverend prelate as to admit, that seme among the clergy are sedentary and unactive men; nay, I will allow with pleasure, far from being unduly prejudiced against their order, that some among them are likewise disinterested and bumare. Such may sometimes wave their legal rights rather than engage in contests. No man of sense will mistrepresent any man, or body of men; but to say that this order hath a greater proportion of such persons than falls to their share, compar'd with the mass of mankind, is gross and sulfame stattery; I might say downright salshood, had I not some concern for the episcopal character.

We all know what buman nature is, and that the unactive or fedentary, the difinterested or bumans are very few in number, compared with the multitude of ambissous, mercenary, and appressive men: indeed most men are such, if favoured by power or opportunity; neither is there any way to make them otherwise, but by allowing them as little power and as few opportunities as possible. Wherein doth the popish and protestant clergy differ but in this, that the former, being allowed by law greater scope for knavery and thievery, do much more cheat

and plunder the people, while the latter, having less law on their sides, are bonest, at
least harmless, in proportion to the restraints
upon them; as indeed are the bulk of mankind, which all will allow who have much
conversed among them;

This being the nature of men, and confequently of priests, who are at no time better, but are very often worfe than other men, having greater latitude of doing wrong, having their boly orders to command respect, and their facred character to cover much reproach; having also the awful name and word of God Almighty to make use of for the advancement of worldly interests and felfish views; with what pretence of candour of of honesty can any one describe them to be men wholly unacquainted with fecular offairs, and more likely to be imposed on than other people? Or how can it be fuggested, that thro' this excess of grace and virtue. their legal rights are in greater danger of being loft, by the limitations of fuits at law defigned in the bill depending, than those rights belonging to the rest of mankind are, underthe same restrictions.

This reverend prelate imagines, that many incumbents of livings neglecting their own interests.

interests thought that they did no wrong as they furmised that their successors would have an easy method to recover their rights on the gen ral rule of common law, never suspecting that the legislative power would at any time question the equity and justice of that rule, which he says, was part of popery itself, and was never once struck at since the reformation.

Must then the folly and dotage of a few supine eccl fiasticks, who never imagined that we should question what was equal and just, debar us from the enquiry, and foreclose the question for ever? If a general rule is not built on equity and justice, it is against the general interest, and ought no longer to be a general rule, whoever have been mistaken in their simple conjectures, or whatever private men may be damaged in personal interests. Let it also be confidered, that custom and usage, the more ancient it is, the more liable it is to be cerrupt, and therefore more fit to be examined. reformation, however happily obtained, or beneficial to us, left many errors and enormities unreformed: Besides, new crimes and coruptions naturally arise in the course of time, which may make reformation as necessary now as it was two hundred years ago. And which corruptions, if they continue or spread, will

Those who restect on the rise and progressof the reformation, must know, that the passions of Harry the eighth had a much greater share in that work than the interests of the people; and however the latter demanded it, yet it was done to gratify the former. No wonder then that a prince, whose principal view was to establish himself in the place and power of the pope, should fuster so many grievous parts. of popery to continue. And tho' a due regard to the general interest would have induced our first reformers to abolish tythes, yet the political views of the prince prevented it. He meant to make the clergy as useful and subservient to himfelf as they had been to the Roman pontiffs. Besides, he had many voraclous favourites to gratify; and instead of remitting these sythes, or this decimation tax, to those on whoselands. it was raised, which indeed was the just and equal measure that ought to have been purfued, he still left the tythes subfissing; some whereof were given to laicks, others to prieffs, col'eges, chapters, deanaries, and bishopricks, whilst those which were given to laymen, have since been made liable, to become ecclesiastical sadowments, notwithstanding the statute of

K.A.

Mortmain : .

Mortmain; which is effectually taken away, as a corporation is established with perpetual succession and a revenue which will in time buy up all the impropriations in the kingdom, in which case we shall be very little the better for the reformation.

The reverend prelate hath, by the most laboured account he could possibly devise, endeavoured to shew how the right of tythe may be univerfally loft to the clergy by the operation of the law proposed. He imagines that fome are supine and indolent, others clogg'd and restrained, as also, that many are brassed by their family relationships, dependencies and friendships; which, if it were all true, would be far from proving the point he advances; for very few men enjoy a living forty years together, the indolent give place to the active, the difinterested to the avaritious, a whole generation is changed, and the face of the world altered in thirty years or less. So that things are likewife varied, and the right of tythe will often be afferted, very feldom negletted, and probably never lost through any operation of the bill depending.

But supposing what he surmises was really true; supposing that there would be in consequence

ouence of fuch a law, a gradual diminution of the maintenance of the clergy in every generation, if thus they be deprived of claiming tythe of common right, as in truth they cannot ground their claim upon common right, whatever they may do by fiction of law: Why, what then? How would this affect fociety, but by leffening the numbers and reducing the power of the clergy, very much to the advantage of a people who defire to improve their freedom and happiness? It would draw great numbers of lazy, idle, unprofitable men into the ways of industry, and make them useful to their native country. It would eafe the landed-interest of a grievous and oppressive burden. It would make those clergymen, who should administer the gospel, more faithful to the charge, and dependent on those from whom. they ought not to have feparate intereffse

Yet, if the clergy must be maintained in a state of independency and dom nation, if they are to have established revenues for their maintenance, why must these be exacted in tythe, the most grievous of all impositions? Why must they take from the poor industrious farmer, who hath but one hundred pounds per annum (the neat produce of his land) to live on; why must they annually take ten-

pounds of the money, which, in a few years, if the use of it was allowed him, would provide for a child, and thereby give a ufeful member to the commonwealth? This is the more intoterable grievance, confidering that fome bishops, who cant and whine for the maintenance of their clergy, do at the fame time poffess immenfe revenues, more than sufficient for the apofiks successors, and much more than dry apofile, or indeed all of them put together, would ever have pretended to: Let them frew examples of care for the clergy, not in words, but in real alls of charity. Let them propose the augmentation of por livings, by the division of exorbitant church endowments. Let them quit their anti-chiffian cures in commendam, and live with but half the humility and modesty of the bely apostles, they need not tax the industrious landed men, on account of clergy maintenance.

Suppose a bishoprick of 5000l. per annum (and such there are in this kingdom) should be reduced to 500, how many parishes would the residue, duly distributed, honourably endow? Throw also into Hotchfotch, deanaries, chapter lands, prebends, and sine cures; what a fund would this raise for the cure of, souls, without one farthing raised in 19the, only some thousand, per annum abated in spiritual luxury?

It may be faid, how could bishaps in this case support the expence of following courts, and coming up once a year to London? But may knot be asked, What they have to do there? Does the Hely Ghost call them thither? Besides, if exiscopal effices were not worth more than 500 l. per annum, we should seldom see bishops slaves and tools, the drudges of government, or attendants on great men.

Some prelates may think it very hard, that they should contribute to the maintenance of their inferior clergy, who, perhaps, are not below them in any kind of merit; yet this will : be much more reasonable than some thingswhich have been talked of as practifed, even :: fince the reformation. Particularly, Suppose it ever happened that a governing prelate was . quartered upon bishopricks which he had recommended to, and received simeniacal pensions from those whom he had raised to the mitre, by way of acknowledgment for their promo-motion; I believe that fuch ungodly stipends would better have been employed to support she cure of fouls than to gratify fuch prelatical" avarice.

the clergy for their maintenance, I am fure-

that it ought to be considered, whether we and our posterity are to be always at strife with these messengers of peace, and, whether it is not worthy the care of a British parliament to lay some restraint on suits for tythe, as well as on actions arising from civil contracts, whether they respect lands or money, real or personal estates, all which are already under the strictest limitations.

It hath not been from any visible disadvantage which the clergy lay under to know and prove and affert their rights, that the laws of England have left their suits without limitation or restraint. No men more diligently study, or more vigorously affert their pretended rights than the clergy have always done. But it hath been owing to the interests which they cultivated in the courts of princes, the vile drudgery formerly done for men in power, and the influence which they thereby gained upon them, that the clergy have been favoured in a manner which ought not to be approved, and that they have not hitherto been placed an the same foot with the laity.

The reverend prelate's objection to the preamble of the bill, for that the statute of Edw. the fixth, on which it is in part founded, doth not really create a prescription of forty years as a limited time to sue for tythe in: I say, this objection amounts to nothing at all; for it is eternal truth and good sense on which we would found this bill, as indeed all laws can have no other good foundation. And in case that the ancient statute created no prescription, yet the reasonableness of such a prescription will be the same as if it had been created a thou-sand years ago.

And allowing the meaning of the retrospect in that statute of forty years past, allowing it to be as he would have it understood, That in the infancy of the reformation many of the people were unwilling to pay tythe to the protestant clergy, and did not believe they had any title to it, on which account this and other ass were made to exast tythe.

Let us confider this matter freely: Does it not shew the good fense of our ancestors; and that as they were promised a reformation of religion, they justly looked for it in a deliverance from religious burdens? Else, in what were we the better for any reformation at all? The clergy might have still gone on with thousands of Pater-nosters, and with ten thousands of Ave-Marys: They might have burnt wax candles,

and have worshipped confecrated wasers. These did no body any great harm; but it was the exaction of money from the people, with spiritual conferes, and temporal ecercion, which this bishop is so fond of, that were the very effence of prish twanny; and if these were still to be continued, the reformation was all nockery, and the protestant religion very little wor b. So that the bishop hath done no great honour to the church of England by explaining the meaning of those laws.

He then tells us how religious the people were in paying tythe to the full before the reformation. This was owing to their ignorance and fuperstition; but he himself allows a very different turn when their eyes were opened, which is the misfortune he complains of; and thus the point he drives at is, that amidst the bleffings of light and knowledge, we should be the fame religious dupes and bigots as we were in our state of darknoss, and under spiritual is boundage.

One grievance to this prelate is, that the makers plead conficence for not paying tythes, which, I think, they have much better ground to do than the clergy have to plead divine right for exacting them: Again, it feems that Rec.

man catholicks think them better apply'd topopish passars than to tretestant incumbents;
which surely is but reasonable, since the sirst are
their spiritual guides, and the last are men, whome
they have nothing to do with, as also men who
do nothing for them. Now, if this bishop will
show, why pop she laymen ought to pay tythe to
protestant priests, I will show him by the same
demonstration, that the protestant laity ought
to pay tythe to the popish elergy, and that the
high priest of the Jews may as well claim tythe
from all the people of the gentiles.

But the bishop's master-stroke is still to come. He fays, " That the people are not eafily brought : to feel the force of that unanswerable argu-" ment for the clergy's right to tythe, that they : (the people) or their ancestors, purchased no. " more than nine parts." In which the reverend prelate is most amazingly acute; though he ought to have confidered, that with the nine parts, which were the original purchase, the care of a tenth came to our hands to till and. manure, to few and to reap, for the fele ufe and . benefit of the clergy, without any adequate confideration received; and thus the clergy have not only the neat produce, but the fweat of our brows gratis; not only the erop, but also the soil and expence of producing the crop. So.

that here is an article which runs away with fome of the parts which we really purchased, making our share less than nine, and the clergy's pretended tenth about a FIFTH part of the estate; for the expence of cultivation is always, at least, equal to the value of the land, and very often more in value.

The bishop therefore might indeed observe, with much propriety, that the people cannot easily feel the force of his unanswerable argument, whilst the culture of the clergy's tenth is such a dead weight on their own nine parts, which the bishop himself allows that they or their ancestors purchased. I mightily love this bishop for his unanswerable arguments.

Besides, if this is considered as an incumbrance, taken along with the bargain; if it is looked on as a customary service attending the tenure of lands, and that they who take the one, do also consent to the other: Yet if this be the case, what a blessed condition are the people of England ia, that the clergy who bear no proportion in number to the poor industrious laity, that these worthy disciples of the meek, the humble, and the suffering Messiah, that they have no less than a FIFTH PART of all the lands of England, which they modestly

reverend:

call by the name of tythe; and expect should be allowed them to hold and possess, even without the just limitations and restrictions, which all other lands whatever are subject to by law; thereby making their fifth part devour the fruit and produce of our four parts, through the plague and expence of everlassing law-suits, which are, for want of limitation, entailed upon us and our innocent children?

If the reverend prelate's argument be allowed, that the clergy's right of tythe is no grievance to the people, because that they or their ancestors, as he says, paid for no more than nine parts: Why then the land-tax is no burthen on the people, for fince that tax hath been an annual rent-charge, there have been no purchases made wherein it hath not been allowed. for. And thus those persons who bought their lands under this consideration, have no right or pretence ever to be discharged from-Infomuch that if it should continue till all. our lands have changed their owners, in the way of bargain and fale, why then the LAND-TAX must become, by this bishop's RULE OF RIGHT, an everlafting incumbrance on ALL the lands of England, and never ought to be taken off er released by the legislative power; which however it be a doctrine of equal weight with the

neverend prelate's unanswerable argumen', yet notwithstanding this, should any man advance it among us, I leave it to the people to consider how such a man ought to be treated.

In popish countries where the rights of the clergy, as they are called, are a still greater rentcharge on the people, there is still the same unanswerable argument for their allowance. And thus whatever incumbrance or burthen, however grievous, unjust, or oppressive, obtains upon the lands of the people, whether by usurpation or by consent, induced either through the necessities of times, or the fraudulent arts of deceivers, fuch impositions, by this rule, are never to be removed; because, in a course of time it will be objected to the people, that they or their ancestors paid for no more than the unincumbred parts of their lands. Hence in all the parts of Europe where Super-Aition prevails, property is become wholly engraffed by a few contemptible miscreants, and the greatest part of the people eaten out of their effates, nay excluded from ever retrieving them, by a fuccession of ecclesiastical caterpillars, who impiously call themselves, successors to the apostles. This too will one day be our own case, if we allow of such spiritual usurpations,. and of such unanswerable arguments for their perpetual establishment.

One great pretence of this bill is, he observes, less of evidence to prove exemptions. Now, he fays, that families are generally supposed to be very careful to preferve fuch evidences; which is not true, neither is it possible that they should be preserved, considering the infinite accidents which have happened fince the the reformation. How much evidence did the devastations of the civil war, the fire of London, and other public calamities deprive us of? How deficient are the records in the public offices? Even corporations, where the care of estates is carried on in perpetual succession, have lost many of their grants; and what can private families be supposed to save, with all their care and good management? Look into the two universities themselves. In Oxford, the lady Margaret's professor of divinity is paid his stipend out of the king's civil lift, though it be no reval institution. Grants of lands, and even lands themselves, are lost in the course of time: And thus the foundations of private persons, lectures, professorsbips, &c. which had no relation to the crown, throw themselves at last on the royal bounty for their support, when their evidences are loft, and time hath destroyed their best titles.

How.

How many estates of mighty value have no other title in the world to produce, than ancient and quiet possession? How many churchlands are at this day in wealthy families, who have held them ever fince the time of Harry the eighth, yet cannot find an inch of parchment. in the world to prove a grant from the crown. notwithstanding that the candid bifbes will allow the laity no confideration for their lofs. of evidence?

The bilbop allows, a freedom from law fuite, and the enjoyment of peace, to be very great bleffings; but it feems that the laity are fuch guilty wretches, that they will not fuffer the poor clergy to enjoy them, without giving up the subsistence of themselves and their families. This he proves by fuch worthy witneffes as the practitioners in the court of exchequer; who it feems, on a nice calculation, have found that the fuits where profecutors for tythe have failed, bear no kind of proportion to those instances where they have prevailed. Now if this was ever afferted by those practioners, which I very much doubt, it is manifestly calculated only for private ends; and is in truth an artful fnare, to draw the clergy into that court, and make them run mad with the thoughts of increasing their tythe. Nor is it to be wondered

at, that these ingenious practitioners can sometimes make use of their invention for the good of their calling, when their spiritual clients so frequently give them such laudable and right reverend examples.

Thus it seems that all the broils, and breaches of parechial peace, are the fruits of lay-perversenes; so far are the tlergy, in the bishop's account, from being justly chargeable with multitudes of prosecutions, or with those which have been deemed either frivolous or vexatious; I suppose that he means that bis oracles, these bonest practitioners, never deemed that to be frivolous or vexatious, which they found very prositable to themselves: And I dare answer for their candour in every case of this nature.

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However that be, I must still take leave to make use of my own observation, and I appeal to the experience of all who are hes interested in ecclesiastical suits than the bishop, or the able practitioners of the court of exchequer, whether every gentleman of the long robe hath not seen numberless prosecutions brought by the clergy, where they shamefully miscarried: And I myself have made one remark on many of their orphans whom I have known, that they often became belpless through the luxury, but much more often thro' the law-suits of their fathers; which

which gives the church of England no great credit from ber off-fpring, as the wisdom of modern zealots hath mightily offested to call them.

Doth not every one remember Doctor BEN-NET, late of Cripplegate, London? In how great esteem was this crthodox divine among his reverend brethren? And what was he ever remarkable for but fuits for tythes and endless Arife, with a parish where his yearly income was many bundred pounds, which he wanted to augment only to two or three thousands? If he had succeeded, what would have been the consequence? Why, the living would have afterwards been tacked to some lean bishoprick, and held in commendam by fome lazy, luxurious prelate, to the equal benefit of the part/b, the reputation of the church of England, and the glory of the abriffian religion . As he did not fucceed, he became a beggar in the midd of plenty; and his poor wid w, like too many other fairitual downgers, lives on the alms and hespitality of her friends and relations.

This practice of holding livings in commendam, which those who hold can never take care of, and sometimes never set their eyes on, hath given so much just offence, and been so highly resented, that the House of Commons have provided special clauses in all the acts to endow the new churches. expresly enacting, that none of those churches hall ever be held in commendam.

I have thus examined the whole argument against the bill; an argument greatly laboured, not a little artful, very fallacious in its most plausible appearances, and grounded on notorious falshoods, where its foundations are boasted to be impregnable.

The elergy have so long sculked behind the law, that it is time they should now come to the fair test of reason: They have often told us, that they claim their right from law, and that the law gives it to them; let them now show with what equity and justice the law should give it so them, or else the legislature that gave may pessibly take it away:

I am not so fanguine as to think that the fueeefs of this bill will be equal to the justice of it;
especially at this juncture, when, to use the
bishop's words, the interest of some, and the influence of others, are so well understood: But
there may be a season, when those persons shall
be laid low who are now most concerned in
this affair; a season, perhaps, better suited to
such a design; nor shall it be said, that the
spirit of those gentlemen who brought in this
bill died with them, if I am alive at that time,
and any ways able to revive or to promote it.

What I now have offered is very little meant to determine the fate of the bill; we know, I fear, where that hath been fixed already; but what I have here undertaken, was for the glory of truth, and for the detection of fraud. And fo long as the one is understood, or the other feen through, these gentlemen who formed this bill, will share those benours, which neither the power of courts, nor the devices of prelatical iniquity, can ever take from their characters in life, or from their memories in the minds of posterity. This bill, whatever its fate shall be, will ever be looked on as their illustrious legacy, not to those bireling flaves, who prefamely call themselves the church, but to that which is much more worthy of tender regard, even our dearest country.

LETTER

TO THE

REV. SAMUEL CHANDLER, D.D.

CONCERNING THE

CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE

FUTURE PUNISHMENT.

BY SAMUEL BOURN, diffenting Minifter at NORWICH.

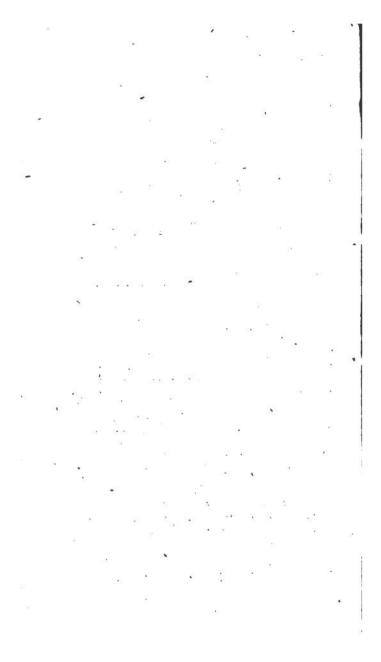
Shall not the judge of the who'e earth do right?
GENESIS EVILLE.

"Ella Justicio intolerabili dolore cruciat, si opinamur 'wo:, quibus orbasi sumus, sse cum aliquo sensu iis in malis, quibus vulgo opinantur. Hanc excutere opinionem mibimet volui radicitus.

Cic. Tufc. Qu. Libri.

M. Hæc fortasse metuis, & ideireo mortem censes esse sempiternum malum. A. Aleone me delirare censes, ut ita esse credam? M. An tu bæc non credis? A. Minime werd. M. Malè bercule narras. A. Cur, quæso? M. Quia disertus esse possem, si contra ista dicerem. A. Quis enim non in ejusmodi causa?—aut quid negotii est, bæc poetarum & pictorum portenta convincere? M. Atqui pleni sunt libri Philosophorum contra ista issa disserentium. A. Ineptè sanè: quis est enim tame excors, quem ista moveant?

Ibid.



LETTER

TO THE

Rev. SAMUEL CHANDLER, D. D.

REVEREND SIR,

AVING heard you publicly affers fome time ago, "That the doctrine of annibilation, or, that the fouls of wicked men shall be totally destroyed in the future state," is utterly inconsistent with the christian scheme; and as you did not at that time produce any argument of reason, or authority of Scripture, to prove what you had afferted; it raised in me a curiosity to know by what proof you are able to support your affertion; in hope of receiving such satisfaction, as may be expected from a gentleman of your known abilities, and study of the christian revelation.

I am

I am more ready to gratify my own curiofity in making you this public request, as I am persuaded, that there is nothing more conducive to the discovery of troth, than if those who studied the same subject, yet are of contrary opinions, enter into a mutual disquisition of each others arguments, and, with an amicable spirit of free inquiry, examine the strength of what may be alledged on both sides.

That I am of an opinion directly opposite to yours, you need not to be informed: Nor do I see the least reason to avoid either a public declaration, or defence, of my opinion. For, as long as I remain fully convinced, as I am at present, that that doctrine which you afferted, more than once, to be absolutely inconsistent with the christian scheme, is the very declarine of christianity; it will not affect me in the least, whether the opinion which I maintain, be thought old, or new, common, or singular, popular, or unpopular.

That men who apply their minds to the fludy of religion and the Holy Scriptures, should be of different and even contrary opinions, is certainly no new thing in the christian world. But that such should conspire, by a

joint examination and friendly controversy, to investigate truth for themselves and others, in a subject concerning which they totally differ; is (I am forry to say) something new and uncommon. But as the author of the epistle to the Hebrews exhorts them To provoke one another (as our translators have rendered it) to love and good works; so I do not doubt, but you, as well as every other reader of this pamphlet, will approve my conduct, in inviting and urging you in this public manner, to a friendly discussion of so important a subject as this before us.

The importance of it will, I apprehend, be readily allowed; especially, by those who have a real concern for the credit of the christian religion: At least, it appears of so much consequence to me, that if it should be proved, that the final punishment threatened to wicked men in the new testament, is not a total destruction, but an endless preservation in a state of misery and torment; this would, in my opinion, six a greater odium upon christianity, and raise a stronger objection to it, than all its adversaries have yet been able to produce: And, I will venture to affert, that there are many persons in this nation, of no inconsiderable understanding, who would be strong-

ly disposed to reject the new testament as a divine revelation, if they were convinced that it contains such a decivine.

For, that any doctrine should be true, and have the real stamp of divine authority, which ascribes to the supreme governor of the universe, a conduct unworthy of any prince, or governor on earth, and repugnant to one best conceptions of the measures and ends of good government; cannot easily be admitted by perfons of a thoughtful and ingenuous mind. To overcome the antipathy of a good heart, and the remonstrance of a reasoning mind against it, will require an immeass weight of external evidence.

A limitation of punishments is essential to all good government: To extend them beyond the limits of reason, or of law, which is the public reason, is one characteristic of tyranny. Where punishments are extended, or increased so far as the public safety and welfare require, and no further; i. e. where they are always limited and directed by a view to the happiness of the whole; there is good government: But where they are increased, either in degree, or duration, beyond what is requisite to that end; there is tyranny: Where they are unlimited, or infinite; there is the greatest

greatest tyranny: For to punish a criminal in an excessive degree, and beyond what the ends of good government require, is as real injustice and cruelty, as to inflict a selfer degree of punishment upon an innocent person. For in both cases, it is equally inslicting misery, not to answer any necessary, or useful end, but for the mere sake of increasing misery; which is the worst end that can be conceived.

There neither is, nor can be, any other difference, between the best and the worst government possible; than that the former is administred with a view to produce and maintain the greatest virtue and happiness, and to prevent, or extinguish, as much as possible, wickedness and misery; and the latter with a view to prolong and encrease wickedness and misery. Now, whether the endless preservation of wicked spirits, in order to instict upon them infinite mileries, be more confishent with the former, or the latter kind of government; is not difficult to be determined. Their wickedness, or their mifery, may be a reason in the mind of a good governor, for destroying them: But the contrary, viz. preferving them for ever in a state of wickedness and milery, appears more conducive to the ends of the werft government, than of the ball.

To alledge that human ignorance is for great, and our ideas of what is fittest and best so imperfect, that we can form no judgment of what the ends of divine government may require; and that therefore, for ought we know, infinite punishment, and the endless existence of some beings in the greatest misery, may be made subservient, by the incomprehensible wisdom of providence, to the greatest virtue and happiness of the universe;—is only arguing from a supposed possibility against the greatest probability; and endeavouring, under color of human ignorance, to screen a doctrine apparently most injurious to the character of the Supreme Being.

In human governments, extreme and lingering punishments are a certain mark of barbatity, and a criterion by which to diffinguish a tyrant from a just and good prince. In the best constituted governments, punishments are the mildest, in the worst, the severest. For a perfect tyranny, is supported solely by fear; but a just and legal government, by better principles and affections. And whether, the best, or the tors governments on earth, are most like the divine; whether the greatest tyrants, or the most beneficent and merciful trinces, most resemble

refemble the perfect governor of the universe; no one will hesitate in deciding.

But indeed, in all human governments, even the worst, death (which is annihilation in respect to human society) is the ultimate punishment: And all that is added, by those judges who proceed to the extremest rigor is an augmentation for a short space of time, of the horrors and agonies preceding, or attending the execution. And it is hardly to be conceived, that any prince, though absolute in power, tyrannical in disposition, and both injured and incenfed to the highest degree, would not. in length of time, think justice satisfied; If riot feel his own resentment fatlated, by the extreme and lasting miseries of the criminal: And the idea of making these miseries everlasting, was ithis in his power, would be found too abhorent to reason and humanity, to be long entertained in a human breaft.

reliew when can we think of imputing a procedure exceeding the leverity of the greatest tymat, and of the work of governments on earth, to that Being, whom we file the best a whose sender meroies are over all his works, whom we ought to love with all our hearts, and to contemplate with the greatest delight;

and in whose designs and measures we ought to place an entire confidence? Why do we file him most merciful? Why address him as THE FATHER OF MANKIND ?- A father, indeed, may punish a wicked and disobedient fon : i. a/May withdraw his favour from him. may diffinherit him, may inflict ficipes, or other sensifies upon him; nay, acting as magiffrate. and judge, may put him to death. But what should we think of that father, who acting in the capacity of a judge over his offending offspring, would not be fatisfied (be their crimes ever fo great) either with their total destruction, or their suffering for any limited duration, or the addition of the former to the latter; but who would rather judge them to live for ever, than to periff for ever in fire unquenchable? How could fuch a judgment confift either with the equity of government, or the clemency of a judge? How much lefs with the disposition of a parent?-How vain is it to compliment the Almighty with the titles of mest just and most merciful; if at the same time we ascribe to him a conduct, not only inconfiftent with the paternal elemacher, but irreconcileable to our clearest motions of justice as well as mercy?

Nothing is of greater importance to rellgion, than to preferve the character of the Supreme Being inviolate: For without this foundation it cannot be supported; but will be apt to degenerate into flaviffa fuperfittion. or a blind and favage enthuliafin. Yet, perhass, no character in the world has been more miftaken, or traduced, and, confequently, fuffered more reproach and injury from the tongues and pens of men: While not underflanding the nature and end of government in general; nor having formed any clear and confistent notions of justice and mercy, or of that public utility, which ought always to be intended and answered, by punishing as well as by rewarding; they have erected, in their own imagination, a scheme of government, according to their own parrow, partial, arbitrary, or enthuliastic conceits; and have fondly imputed this scheme, to the most sublime Being, whose wisdom and goodness are infinite, whose thoughts and designs excel those of the wisest and best of men, as the beavens are above the earth.

Nothing then can be more becoming those, who are appointed to be ministers of religion, and guardians of its truth and purity, than to vindicate God's government of the L 6 world.

world, and to rescue that most sublime and facred character, which we should always contemplate with the highest veneration and affection, from those unworthy notions, which men are apt to intermix with their belief of a deity; and especially, from those black calumnies, by which he is represented as no better, in effect, than the greatest tyrant, instead of being the most just, beneficent and merciful governor. For the influence which religion has upon the dispositions and morals of mankind, will be useful, or hurtful, in proportion as their fentiments of the Divine Nature and government are good, or evil. The worst evils of superstition and enthusiasm have their fource in an unjust, or partial opinion of the deity. Nor can the belief of his existence, or almighty power, produce many good effects, separate from a belief of his perfect justice and goodness. A just esteem of the deity, therefore, is that foring of true religion and virtue, which ought to be preserved, as much as posfible, pure and untainted in the minds of men.

It is more curious and difficult than necesfary, to account for the propensity of mankind, to receive and retain such ill impressions of the deity, and his government of the world. Whether they may be ascribed to those fears and

and horrors, which are apt fometimes, especially in some persons, to seize and wholly possess the imagination, and thereby diffurb and over-power their reason :- Or, to their · violent refentments against those who offend and injure them, which tempt them to avenge themselves in proportion to their own power, rather than to do justice in proportion to the offence; and hence lead them to imagine, that the greater power the person offended is posfessed of, the greater punishment he will confequently inflict :- Or, whether they may be owing in some instances to the strength of any other passions :- so much is certain, that human passions and affections, either separate or united, have a great influence upon their understandings, and contribute both to form and confirm their particular fentiments of the character and disposition of the Supreme Being.

It may be equally difficult to trace out with any precision, how such opinions have actually arisen and spread in the world; particularly this barbarous notion of a state of never-ending misery and torment. The heathen poets adopted the vulgar sables, in regard to the different species of the infernal torments. And Virgil assigns a perpetual duration of misery to some

fome criminals; — "Sad t externumque fedebis infelix Thefeus:"—though to others he is so favourable as to allow, in process of time, a release: So that this doftrine has a remarkable conformity to the popish held and purgatory.

—But it was the business of the poets to assect the imagination: And to this end, they made the like use of the fabulous traditions of their times, as Shakespear does of his witches and apparitions.—These were the poetarum is pictorum portenta, which Cicare, as a philosopher, speaks of with so much contempt, as to say "Who can be so senseless as to give any usedit to them?"

Mahimet seems to adopt the doctrine of eternal torments in good earnest; and thunders it out, not only against triminals, but against all who do not receive his Koran. His language is, "They shall undergo the rigours "of an infinite pain.—They shall never be eased in their torments.—They shall be eternally confined in the fire of hell.—They shall dwell there eternally.—God will change their burned skin into a new skin, that they may suffer the more.—He hath prepared hell for them, where they shall seemala eternally.—The insides shall be encompassed with slames of hell.—They shall "have

" have thirts of fire .- Boiling water shall flow " in upon their heads :- The fire shall burn es what is in their bellies, and shall roast their et fkin. - They shall be beaten with clubs of iron.-When they think to go out of this if fire, they shall enter further into it .- They thall not die in those torments, and their torture hall never be allwaged. - They shall " in vain implore fuccout of God .- They that demand of the keeper of the fire, 46 Will thy lord never deliver us from these " nains?-He shall answer them, Ye shall. " abide there eternally .- They shall never get " out of this fire, meither be able to repent .--"Their pains, that be sugmented, and pains " upon paina."

It appears then, that this doctrine of eternal torments, is certainly a Mahametan, if not a Heathen doctrine. But whether it be a Jewish, or a Christian doctrine remains a subject of inquiry.

I have not yet been able to discover any thing like it, in the writings of the Old testament: And am fully convinced that thate passes in the New, which have been shought to imply it most strongly, do directly, and in the strongest manner imply the contrary.—And

. .: .

256 The Pillars of PRIESTCRAFT for proof of this, I beg leave to refer you to a discourse, now going to be published ‡.

If the expressions of being thrown into a funnace of fire—cast into a lake of fire—into everlasting fire—into bell, where the worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched;—do not import a total destruction, or annihilation; I must confess myself to be utterly at a loss; and must beg your kind assistance, in order to find out the meaning of them.

. If I tell a men whose house is on fire; that that fite is unquenchable; the meaning is the fame, as if I told him, that his house would be entirely destroyed. If I tell a gardener, whose plants, or the bloffoms, are infected by the worm, That he cannot kill that worm, or, that h willmer dhis he is the lame fling as if it told. him; that his fruit will come to nothing, or his plants die? Or, If a patient is afflicted with a different, which is supposed to proceed from. worms, and he is told that the sworm will not die; the meaning of the phrase must be, that the difease will end in the death of the patient. And if fuch phrases be considered as proverbial among the Jews, and that when any person fell into any distempery or calamity, that would certainly end in destruction, it was usual for

^{\$} See the Author. Sermons, vol. 2.

them to fay, "That is a worm that will not die;" or, "That is a fire that will not be quenched;" the fense is perfectly intelligible: They meant that it was a lost case; that there was no possibility of preventing the destruction of the person, or thing, to which they applied the proverb.

Besides, there is something absurd and contradictory in the image made use of, if we suppose chaff, wood, or other useless materials, thrown into an unquenchable fire, and vet not to be confumed and destroyed in that' fire; or, a living creature cast into it, and yet preserved alive for ever in it: For, throwing into the fire is always understood, to be the most effectual way to destroy a thing: And the less extinguishable the fire is, the more certainly will the subject thrown in be consumed. And the original term, xalaxaisiv, properly tranflated, is, to burn up, or utterly consume by fire: which is directly contrary to a being preferved Who fhull burn up the chaff with. in the fire. unquenchable fire. John iil. 12. The exprefsion here is probably borrowed from Masachi iv. 1. For behold the day cometh that stall burn as an oven; and all the proud, year, and all that do wickedly hall be flubble; and the day that cometh Shall burn them up, faith the lord of hofts, that

it fall leave them neither root nor branch .-Similar to this is the expression in the episte to the Hebrews: Our God is a CONSUMING fire, xalavalionov: Which fignifies, utterly destroying; the very reverse of preserving .-There is, indeed, so direct a contradiction between the idea of preserving any creature alive, and that of throwing it into a fire, a fire that cannot be extinguished; that if duly considered, it is amazing how men came to join fo pposite ideas together, or imagine them to be This inconfistency Mabomet ridiconfistent. culoufly attempts to reconcile by faving. " That God will change their burned skin into a new ikin, that they may fuffer the more."

Fire is, indeed, an infirement of inture, as well as of defiraction. But why men should think it more becoming the most just and merciful governor of the world, to make it an infirement of everlasting terment to his offending creatures, rather than of their everlasting defiraction; or why, they should be disposed to take the words of Scripture in a sense contradictory to reason, justice and humanity, when they will not only admit of, but are mest maturally understood in a different sense, agreeable so justice and elemency; is to me inconceivable.

The subject is reducible, as for as the chriftian revelation is concerned, to this fingle question: Whether the afore-mentioned exprefions are intended to convey to us the idea of everlasting tortute, or of everlasting deflauction, i. e. annihilation ?- Perhaps some may be inclined to think, that they ferve to convey ideas, both of torment, and of total destruction. With fuch persons (if there are any) I desire to have no controversy. Because on this supposition, the torment or misery cannot be infinite. And it is only that Mahometan, Pagan, and (as I must confess it appears to me at present) most absurd, cruel anti-christian, and diabolical doctrine of infinite, or never-enving mifery and torment, which I am opposing, and endeavouring to eradicate: " Quam excuters opinionem (to use the words of Cicero) mihimet volui radicitus."

That there are passages in the New Testament which imply, that the sentence of eternal death shall be executed upon criminals with sircumstances of ignominy, horror and pain, proportionate to their guilt, I readily allow and assism: Yet am not of opinion, that the sigures of being soft into unquenchable fire, and the like, are intended to convey to us any idea of torment, but folely that of total destruction, or annihilation, or ceasing to exist. And the passage in the book of Revelations, where it is said, that death and bell (i.e. Hades) shall be cast into the lake of sire, seems to me decisive in this point. For certainly the meaning there is, not that death and Hades shall be termented (which is ridiculous) but that they shall be abelished.

But it is not my design, either to trouble you with a superfluous repetition of what hath been suggested in the discourse referred to, or to exhaust the subject: But only to represent to you in few words, the view which I have of it at present; and to intreat your friendly assistance, in further explaining the subject, and either rectifying, or confirming my sentiments.

And give me leave to fay, Sir, that it is a fubject worthy of your pen: That according as the doctrine of future punishment is differently explained and believed, it will very differently affect mens opinion of the Supreme Being: And that in a cause, in which the honour of God, and the credit of the christian revelation, are so immediately concerned, you cannot find yourself unconcerned.

For my own part, I am persuaded, that the vulgar notion of eternal torments has been productive, not of virtue and happiness, but of wickedness and misery in the world, where it has been most seriously and steddily believed. However, consequences are not the subject of our enquiry, but the truth of the doctrine. The proper question is, what is the doctrine of our Saviour?—When that is determined; if any man, after allowing the doctrine to be his, yet shall impute ill effects to it, or affert that it ought not to be preached, or published; he pretends to be wifer than our Saviour, and is guilty of an arrogance inconsistent with his christian profession.

That you bear a more free and noble mind than to be influenced by vulgar prejudices, or infected with an itch of popularity, or biassed by any mean considerations; I am most willing to believe. And therefore hope, that you will favour myself and others, with a public explanation of your sentiments; and, if you think proper to take pen in hand, cannot easily doubt of your doing ample justice to so important and interesting a subject.

I am, with fincere efteem,

Your's, &c.

SAMUEL BOURN.



Merciful Judgments

OF

High-Church Triumphant

On offending

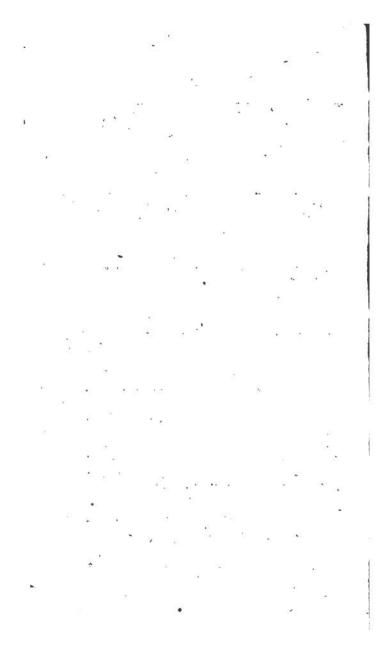
CLERGYMEN,

And others

In the REIGN of CHARLES I.

Better it were there were no reveal d religion, and that human nature were left to the conduct of its own principles and inclinations, which are much more mild and merciful, much more for the peace and happiness of human society; than to be acted by a religion that inspires men with so vile a fury, and prompts them to commit such outrages. Tillotson's Serm. Vol. 3. p. 19.

First printed in the Year 1710.



The Merciful Judgments of High-Church
Triumphant, &c.

HE High-church clergy, ever fince one of their brethren * has been under a parliamentary profecution for his feditious fermons, talk in a very unufual strain for liberty of speech, and of the injustice of punishing men for their opinions; and cry, if they are not permitted to discharge their consciences in the pulpit, and to tell the people without any restraint their duty, especially in matters of the highest consequence, the great use of preaching will be lost: for who will regard what they fay, when they dare not speak their thoughts, but must be forced to suit their doctrine to the humours, passions, prejudices, or designs of great men? Nay, the boldest among 'em don't scruple to surmise, that if the power of preaching what they judge to be the truth, be derived to 'em from a divine commission, they can't see how they are

Dr. Sacheverel.

act in execution of such a commission: and that if they are subject in this respect to powers infinitely inferior to God, from whom alone they receive their commission, they can have no pretence of being independent in any other point, by virtue of a divine commission.

After they have urged this, and all they can think on for an uncontrouted liberty of venting what they please in the pulpit, then they cry, if they must be punished for discharging their consciences there, it ought to be with all due reverence, regard and tenderness to their facred character, as they were treated in the reign of that pious martyr Charles I. who at his coronation, to shew what a regard he was . resolved to have for their holy function, and how he would, exalt them above the nobility and gentry, caused this exhortation to be read . to him by the archbishop, in the presence of the peers and all the other great persons who attended the folemnity * : As you fee the CLERGY come nearer to the altar (which was afterwards rail'd in, to exclude the laity from approaching it too near) than others, fo remember that in all places convenient you give them greater benour; that the mediator of God and man may establish

[·] Hift. of Engl. in fol, vol. 3. p. 13.

you in the kingly throne, to be a mediator between the clergy and the laity. Such a bleffed reign, fay they, when the reformed religon did so much flourish, and the church was maintained in its genuine purity, free from all popish and fanatical superstition, ought to be a precedent to all future ages.

The talking after this rate ill becomes those, who are for manaching and shackling the clergy with early subscription to certain creeds, articles, and canons; and are not only for deptiving them of all their preferments, but otherwise punishing them, if they presume to preach contrary to such creeds, &c. tho' in the most speculative points.

The utmost for which men of the greatest freedom contend, and which makes them to be called atheists by these highsiers, is, that in such things wherein neither the public nor private is injured, but which relate only to God and a man's own self, liberty of conscience ought to be preserved inviolate to all persons, and the pulpit as well as the press left intirely free.

But 'tis the papifts, and fuch other rigid fanatics, who maintain that preachers are not at all accountable to the lay-powers for whatever they

fay in the pulpit : But certainly fedition is as much fedition in the pulpit as out of it: nay, 'tis more criminal for being spoke so publicly, and from a place where 'tis like to have a greater effect; and from one whose business it is to preach all that tends to the peace and welfare of human fociety. Whoever therefore is guilty of this crime, most grossy abuses that liberty the government allows him, of talking without interruption for an hour together: and the proper punishment for men who have fo publicly vented feditious doctrines, is for them to be as publicly exposed, that the pillory may expiate the crime of the pulpit; and the nearer that is placed to this, the same persons who heard him aloft in one, have the better opportunity of viewing him on the other: by which means, their being blindly led into a belief of his doctrine by too great a reverence for his person, may be happily prevented.

I don't fee how that profound reverence, which the priests pretend is due to them, can serve to any other end, than to impose on the people, and make them swallow the most absurd docurines which they dogmatically dictate from the pulpit. The preachers indeed can't well treat the people with too much reverence, since the word of God not only makes them

the judges of their doctrines, but obliges them, if they judge them to be false teachers, seducers, deceivers (and certainly common beauteseus and incendiaries are the greatest) to fly and some them, as they would the most poisonous and insectious animals, or as even the devil himself, the great seducer and deceiver of mankind. And he who is to be treated thus by every body, can pretend to no character, which may exempt him from the most insamous punishment, if it be otherwise proper.

The chief business of a clergyman is to set a good example to his congregation; and if he discharges his duty in that matter, he acts honestly in his profession: but if he takes a contrary method, he acts like a witness who perjures himself, or a retailer who uses false weights or measures; because they are alike guilty of a breach of trust in their own proper callings, and therefore ought to be alike subject to the same punishment.

But fince high-church refers us to the reign of a prince, who was ambitious of the honour of being thought the mediator between the clergy and laity (tho' in truth he acted more like a party-man) we will fee whether the treatment which clergymen as well as others

met with in his reign, when they were so manhappy as to fall under the displeasure of highchurch, which then rid triumphant, are fix precedents for this reign of gentleness and moderation. And in doing this, I can't but let the reader see, whether those who then governed the church, were for preserving it free from superstition, and maintaining the reformation in its native purity.

And the first instance I shall give of the tender regard which was had to clergymen, shall be the treatment of Alexander Leighion, D. D*. who for restecting on the prelacy, and charging the bishops with persecution, and calling the queen a daughter of Heth, with such-like expressions, in a book intitled, An appeal to to parliament; was sentenced to a perpetual imprisonment, to a fine of 10000 l. to be degraded, to be pillory'd and whipt, to have his ears cut off, his nose sit, and his sace branded: all which sentence was most severely executed upon him.

The next instance I shall give of high-church moderation, is the pillorying of the three professions of divinity, law and physick, all at once †: For in the 13 Cer. 1. there was an

[#] Hift. of Engl. vol. 3. p. 60.

^{*} Rufbw. collect. abridg'd, vol. 2. p. 273, &c.

information in the star-chamber against the reverend Mr. Burton, a divine of the church of England, and a London minister : Mr. Prvnn. a barrifter of Lincolns inn : and Dr. Baffwick. a phylician : for writing feditious schismatical books against the hierarchy of the church, to the scandal of the government. The defendants tendered their answers themselves to the court; but because all their council had not figned them (which none but very bold men would then venture to do, and Mr. Holt was threatened to have his gown pulled over his tears for drawing Burton's answer) the court sook the advantage of this, and without more ado ordered each of them to be taken pro confeffs; and the piltory, loss of their ears, their * faces and foreheads branded with hot irons. perpetual imprisonment, and a fine of 5000 %. each, was their fentence: nay, Mr. Prynn was not only to lose the remainder of his ears, but to be fligmatized on both cheeks with the · letter L. S. fignifying a feditions libeller; and the reverend Mr. Burton was deprived of his benefice in London, degraded from his function, and degrees in the university, where he had proceeded batchelor of divinity. barbarous fentence was most barbarously executed : for Burton's and Baffwich's ears were

Clarendon, vol. 1. fol. p. 73. Rufbrw. ibid.

pared to close by the high-church executioner, that he cut their arteries, and thereby caused a great effusion of blood; and he not only feared Prinn's cheeks with an exceeding hot iron, but in taking away what was left of one of his ears, pared off a piece of his cheek, and lest a piece of his other ear hanging on for fome time, after he had barbaroully hacked it. But this inhuman usage of Mr. Prynn did not fatisfy father Laud, but he moved the court then fitting to have him gagg'd, and fome farther punishment inflicted on him, for faying, "If all the martyrs that suffered in queen " Mary's days, are called schismatical heretics. factious fellows, traitors, and rebels, condemned by holy church, what can we look for? Yet fo they are stiled by Dr. Pocklings ton in his Altare Christianum, licenced by the archbishop's own chaplain; for which Dr. ·Pocklington and the archbishop's chaplain were both afterwards cenfured by the lords. But tho' the merciful archbishop could not prevail on the rest of the judges to instift greater cruelties on Mr. Prynn, yet to gratify his revenge, he caused several who at Chester * and other places had shew'd civilities to Mr. Prynn, as he was carrying prisoner to Carnarvan castle, tho' his keepers were not forbid to let

^{*} Rufbw. abr. vol. 2. p. 295, &c.

and ORTHODOXY Baken. - 272 any visit him, to be fined some 500 l. some 200 l. others 250 l. But Mr. Prvnn was not long at Carnarvan castle (which, tho' a nasty hole, was thought too good for him) ere he was removed to Mount Orguile in the island of Ferley: where by an extraordinary order under Laud's hand, none but his keepers were permitted to speak with him, and all his letters were intercepted, and he not allowed pen, ink and paper to write for necessaries, or to petition for relief. And in his petition to the house of commons, when released, he says 'he fent to the archbishop, to desire him to ree leafe or bail his fervant, that he might attend him during his fores *; which out of his grace and charity he utterly refused, saying, He would proceed against him in the high commission, where he has ever fince been vexed, and fent from prison to prison, only for refusing to accuse him the petitioner.' Nor was Dr. Baffwick, or Mr. Burton notwithstanding his indelible character, used after a more humane manner; both their wives being forbid to fet their feet on the islands where

.Having mentioned Mr. Prynn's former sufferings, 'twill not be improper to let the reader

they were prisoners.

^{*} Rufben. vol. 3. p. 300. M 5

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know, that this poor gentleman, only for writeing against stage-plays* (tho' his book is in amanner transcribed out of the fathers, beingfull of quotations from them, and was licencedby archbishop Abbot's chaplain) was not only
committed to the Tower, without bail or
mainprize, for a whole year, and denied access
to his council, or convenient time to examinewitnesses; but also fined 5000 s. expelled the
university of Oxford and Lincoln's-inn, degraded, put from his profession of the law, fee
twice in the pillory, where he lost both hisears, and had his said licenced book busnt before his face by the hangman; and after all her
was condemned to perpetual imprisonment.

Prynn's book against plays was the more provoking, because the court was extremely addicted to these ludicrous entertainments, and the queen so fond of them, that she did not scruple to act a part in her own royal person † 2 and therefore this treatise against stage-playswas suspected to be levelled at the practices of the court, and the example of the queen. And there being in the table of the book this reference, Women actors, notorious whores; this was construed by an innuendo to restect on.

^{*} Rustw. vol. 2..p. 179, &c... + Hist. Engl. vol. 3. p. 62.

the queen's facred person. Bishop Laud, as he was the inftrument and abettor of most other vile things, fo he was of this profecution: by thewing Prom's book, to the king, and pointing at the offentive part of it, and then by employing his chaplain Dr. Heylin (a fie bufimels for fuch a worthy divine) to pick out all those passages to which he could give the fevereft turns; and luftly, by carrying those notes to the attorney-general for matter of information, and urging him earneftly to proceed! against the author. This, the reverend deanof Patrberough fays; " was looked on by fome ferious men as giving countenance to the licentiousness and profameness of the stage ":" But who could, whether ferious or not ferious, expect any other from an archbishop that appeared fo zealous for profaning the Sabbath, and tuined a great many godly ministers and their families, because they would not read the proclamation for sports on the Lord's day?

But as Loud had no regard to conscience himself, so he took special care that others should have as little; witness the canons framed by him and his instruments for the clergy of Scotland, which obliged the whole clergy of that nation to swear to submit to, and pay all

[•] Hist. of England, by Dr. Kennet, vo'-3. p. 62.

M. 6. obedience:

obedience to what was enjoined by the liturgy, tho' they knew not what it contained, it not being ready till a year after or thereabouts +. This no doubt was politicly done by him, fince he could not but fee, that if heonce made the whole body of that clergy blindly fwear to they knew not what, they could with a very ill grace pretend conscience for refufing to comply with any of his impositions. And much of a piece with this was the obliging the English clergy to fwear, as they were bound by the canons of 40, to a government. of, &c. Now were there no &c. in the case, yet an oath that obliges men, especially those who are concerned in the legislature, not to endeavour to alter the government of the church, must be, to say no worse, a very rash oath, because it is designed to hinder men from doing their duty, if ever they come to think this government inconvenient or unlawful.

But to return, during Prynn's imprisonment, Dr. Bastwick was brought into the high-commission court, for a book entitled Elenchus Papisni, writ in answer to a book of one Shart a profess'd papist; for which he was condemned to a fine of a thousand pounds, to be excomunicated, debarred his practice of physic,

⁺ Clarend. hist. fol. book z. p. 82.

his book to be burnt, and he to be imprisoned till he made a recantation*; or, in other words, disowned the king's prerogative, the defending of that being the great fault of his book.

And what made those gentlemen, Prynn, Burton, and Bastwick so very criminal, was their complaining of feveral innovations in the church (in defence of which, at their censure, Laud made a very large speech, which is printed in the history of his troubles) and for not allowing bishops to be Jure Divine +, and for .. maintaining that they incroached on the king's . prerogative, particularly in keeping courts, . and issuing out processes in their own names, For this they exhibit a cross bill against the bishops; upon which the archbishop demanded the opinion of the judges, whether they could not be punished as libellers, who all but one answered negatively, for that it was tendered in a legal way. Upon this the flarchamber prevailed on eleven of the twelve judges, who had declared for the legality of : shipmony, to declare likewise for the legality. of bishops issuing out processes, and keeping . courts in their own names.

^{*} Whitlick's Memoirs, p. 21, 22.

⁺ R fbw. abridg. vol. 2. p. 275.

High-church have in particular great reafon to thank God for the freedom men enjoy under the present administration; for had they lived in those days, and took the same liberty to rail at the bishops then as they do now, in representing them as enemies of their order, betrayers of the rights of the christian church, &c. they would have undergone as severe punishment as those three confessors, who bore all their sufferings, tho' they had no prospects of seeing an end of them, with incredible cousage and resolution.

The next I shall mention is the reverend Mr. Smart, a prebendary of Durbam, who was kept prisoner at York four months before any articles were exhibited against him, and five before a proctor was allowed him?: Thence he was removed to the high-commission at Lambeth, and after long trouble remanded to York, fined 500 l. committed to prison, ordered to recant, and for refusing fined again, excommunicated, degraded, and deprived; his damage amounting in the whole to thousands of pounds: and yet all the crime this poor man was guilty of, was his presuming to preach against some innovations that

Fuller's Church History, p. 173.

Dr. Cofins, a creature of Laud's had introduced into the church of Durbam, where he had fet up a marble altar, with all the appurtenances, namely, a cope with the Trinity, and God the Father in the figure of an old man; another with a crucifix, and the image of Christ with a red beard and blue cap : which was every whit as fcandalous as Laud's caufing the popilh picture of the Trinity. where God the Father was drawn like a little eld man, to be painted afresh at Lambeth ": or his fpeaking in favour of that painter, who to express God the Father, had painted on the glass-divers little old men barefooted, and in long blue coats, because God is called in: Scripture the Antient of Days. But I refer the reader to Rushworth +, where he will see that the recorder of Sarum for pursuing an order of westry for breaking down this most fcandalous picture, deprived of his recordership, fined: 500 l. and obliged to acknowledge his offence to the bishop of the diocese; tho' the church. in which this picture was, was a lay-fee, and exempt from all episcopal jurisdiction.

I shall now give some account of Dr. Cosin's innovations, which were so very scandalous,

^{*} See Laud's def. in Prynn, p. 463.

^{*} Rufew. abridg. vol. 2. p. 124.

that he was impeached in parliament for them. and the commons prefered twenty one articles against him *; some of which were, that he not only used many extraordinary bowings to the altar, but violently compelled others to do the fame, and called fome gentlewomen whores, jades and pagans, and tore their clothes for omitting it: That at the first Candlemas after his coming to that church, he caused three hundred wax-candles to be lighted in honour of our Lady, and placed fixty of them upon or about the altar (Fuller adds, that he forbad any pfalms to be fung before or after fermon, but substituted in their place an anthem in praise of the three kings of Colen) That he framed a superstitious ceremony at lighting the tapers on the altar, in causing a company of boys to enter the church with burning torches, and to bow thrice towards the altar, and then to retreat with their face towards it : That he beat in the church, to the great disturbance of the congregation, the dean's man, for offering to put out, at his master's command, some of the many unnecessary lights he had fet up in the church: That in a fermon he faid, that our reformers, when they abolished the mass, took away all good order; and instead of reformation, made a deformation: That he faid, that

Rushw. abridg. vol. 3. p. 383.

the king had no more power over the church than the boy that rubbed his horse's heels; and not only called one of the canons rogue, rascal, & c but laid violent hands on him in his own house, for complaining of these words; and afterward he endeavoured by many unjust stratagems to have him turned out of his place. What happy days and glorious times were these, when high-church could ruin a man for but preaching against such innovations, for the sake of which Dr. Cosins was preferred to a good deanery by Laud! And what are we now to expect, if the Laudean saction sides triumphant!

Nay, high church priests were then grown so insolent, that the reverend Mr. Harrisan came to the common-pleas bar, all the courts then sitting, and cried aloud, I accuse Mr. Justice Hutton of high treason*: and said that he made choice of this public way, because the other had as publickly delivered his opinion against shipmony. And being asked what point of high treason he accused him of; he answered, "That he denied the king's supremacy, in affirming the king had no lawful power to levy shipmony; contrary to the opinion of. all the orthodox divines in the kingdom."

^{*} Ibid. vol. 2. p. 474.

Indeed if the opinions of all the orthodox divines that preached up the lawfulness of the king's levying taxes without confeat of parliament had been printed, it would have made as large a book as the history of Passive Obedience; where the opinions of as orthodox divines are mentioned, to prove that our all, our very lives depend on the will and pleasure of one who is intrusted with power by the legislature, for no other reason than the defence of our lives and liberties.

But to show there was no character or post in church or flate that could exempt one from being treated after the most barbarous manner. who would not come in to the arbitrary measures of those times, I shall instance in Dr. Williams billion of Lincoln, who with fo much honour supported the dignity of lord keeper under king James, and toft the feals with as great honour under king Charles, for having joined with other patriots in opposing the duke of Buckingham in 'patliament ": nay; he had not only the feals' taken from him. but was not allowed to do his homage to the king with the rest of the spiritual lords at the coronation, and to execute his office as dean of Westminster in assisting at it; and after that

[.] Hift. of England; vol. 3. p. 14.

was denied a parliamentary fammons: which tho' at last, upon a motion in parliament, it was obtained, yet he had a particular charge from the lord keeper not to appear in perfen, and it was with fome difficulty that he got leave to make a proxy . But what provoked the court most, was, that he had the honesty and courage, while the court-bishops and clergy were justifying the king's levying money without parliament, to declare against the loan (which obliged people to pay after the rate of four subsidies and three fifteenths) This accasioned an information of other matters to be prefered against him in the star-chamber, and other hardships to be put on him by the But that which effectually did his bufiness was, that he acted like a christian and protestant, and a true promoter of the king's as well as the kingdom's real interest, in preventing the subjects from being ruined by the ecclesiastical courts for matters of opinion, and their affections alienated from the prince : and pherefore he advised Dr. Lamb dean of the arches, Dr. Sibthorp, and some proctors, who were at dinner with him at Bugden, ' to take off their heavy hands from the puritans; informing-them that his majesty intended here-

[•] Hift of Engl. p. 28, 37.

after to use them with more mildness, as a

' confiderable party that had influence on the

parliament, without whose affiftance the king

could not comfortably supply his necessities :

adding, that the king had communicated to

him, by his own mouth, his resolution of

dealing more gently with men of that opi-

4 pion*.

Some years after this advice, an information was given in the star-chamber, by Lamb and Sibthorp, that the bishop did give great discouragement to their proceedings against the puritans, and that he asked Lamb whether the puritans did not pay loan-money +; to which he answered, they did conform in that part, but that nevertheless they were puritans, not conformable to the church. To which the bishop replied, If they pay their money fo readily to the king, the puritans are the king's best subjects, and I am fure they will carry all at last. But as to this information, either the matter was thought too frivolous, or even fuch a poor story wanted sufficient evidence to support it; and therefore the attorney general let fall this bill, and preferred another against the bishop for tam-

Fuller's Church History, p. 155. † History of England, vol. 3. p. 84.

pering with the king's witnesses in this very cause, which himself had dropt.

All the vilest methods were used to frighten the bishop's witnesses, and some of them notpermitted, after a long and close imprisonment. to have their liberty, till they owned, under ther hands, crimes both against themselves and the bishop *; which afterwards they denied on their oaths; while no exceptions were allowed against the king's witnesses, but their credit was to be esteemed facred in all they avered or deposed for the king. But I refer the reader to Hacket's life of Williams, to fee what villainous instruments, perjuries, subornations, expunging and rafing of records were made use of by his grand adversary Laud to. ruin his benefactor, whose greatest crime was. that he had been fo instrumental in preferring fo vile and ungrateful a man.

Indeed the whole management did appear fo very gross to the parliament, that they not only ordered all the records relating to that suit to be obliterated, but it did hasten, as the historian + observes, if not chiefly cause the suppression of the court of star-chamber. The judgment was suitable to all the rest of

^{*} Fuller, p. 158.

the proceedings; for the bishop was fined tenthousand pounds, suspended a bourstion is officio, and to be imprisoned during the king's pleafure. Besides this, he was condemned to pay to Sir John Mounson a thousand marks, for saying that the order, he and some other justices made against Prizeon, a witness of the bishop's, was a pocket-order, and made in an inn.

This Princen was accused, in order to invalidate his testimony, of having a bastard, which was banded at Lincoln affizes between him and another : one fessions fathering it on him. the next clearing him from it, the third returning it upon him again; which order was again dissolved by the king's bench, and Prigon cleared from the child. And because the bishop's fervants concerned themselves in behalf of Prigeon, therefore their master was not only condemned, as above-mentioned, for tampering with witnesses, but three of themwere likewise fined, and one in no less than a thousand marks; and Laud made a speech of. almost an hour long in the star-chamber, to aggravate the crime, and yet at the same time pretended he had been five times on his knees to the king in the bishop's behalf.

^{*} Rubw. abridg. vol. 2. p. 317, &c.

The bishop during his close imprisonment in the Tower, which was about four years, was examined upon a book of articles of 24 sheets, written on both sides, in order to deprive him of his bishoprick. One article was, Ehat all books licensed by his Grace's chaplains, as Chune and Sala, popish books, with Manwaring's fermons, are presumed by all true subjects to be orthodox, and agreeable to found religion. This the bishop utterly denied, and wondered at their impudence to propound such an article to him.

Another article related to the licensing of books, which he said, "belonged only to hi"shops, and to all bishops alike, and not to their.
"see fervants: however, his Grace had shuffled
"In his chaplains in the last printed star"chamber decree!" But more frivolous were
the ensuing articles:

That he had called a book intitled, A Coal from the Altar, a pamphlet.

That he faid, that all flesh in England had corrupted their ways.

[·] Fu'hr, p. 157.

That he faid feoffingly, he had heard of a mother church, but not of a mother-chapel, meaning the king's, to which all churches in ceremony were to conform.

That he had wickedly jested on St. Martin's hood.

That he faid, the people are not to be lashed by every man's whip.

That he faid, citing a national council for it, that the people are God's and the king's, and not the priest's people.

That he does not allow priests to jeer, and make invectives against the people.

It shews what a temper his adversaries were of, when they thought these articles of such a criminal nature, as that a bishop might be deprived for them: and it likewise shows what a regard they had to the character of a bishop, when of sive persons who were to sit judges of his doctrine, with a power to deprive him of his bishoprick, three of them were lay doctors: And tho' the bishop objected against his lay-judges, yet this was over-ruled, and he as one of the king's subjects required to make his answer.

All that had been hitherto done against the bishop of Lincoln did not fatisfy the malice of his enemies, but they caused him to be fined again five thousand pound to the king, and three thousand pound to archbishop Laud: because forsooth one Osbaldiston, a schoolmaster at Westminster, writ letters to him, wherein were these words: The little vermin, the urehin, and hocus pocus, is this stormy Christmas at variance with the leviathan *. And the witnesses against the bishop were his two servants. who were before confined in the court of flarchamber for tampering with witnesses; whereof one was his fecretary +, " who the bishop . 66 faid had a commission to open his letters in " his absence; and if any such letters were " found in his house, they were laid up and " concealed by his fecretary; and tho' he had " received fuch letters, no law directed the " fubject to bring to a justice of the peace se enigmas or riddles, but plain, literal and es grammatical libels against a known and " clearly decyphered person; and that Of-" baldiston denied that he defigned archbishop " Laud and the treasurer Weston by those words, but deposed on oath he meant other

Fuller's Church History, p. 165.

⁺ Rufbaw. abridg. vol. 3, p. 12, &c.

" by those names." But this did no more excuse the bishop than the schoolmaster, who was fined \$600 l. to the king, and to pay 5000 l. to the archbishop, deprived of all spiritual dignities and promotions, and his ears nailed to the pillory in the presence of his scholars. If men should be served so now for railing, not only in enigmas and riddles, but openly and plainly, at an archbishop, there would scarce be a high-church priest in the kingdom with any ears on.

But all this did not put an end to the bishop of Lincoln's troubles; for there was a new information of ten articles drawn up against him, tho' for the main they were but the confequence and deductions of the supposed former fault, in tampering with witnesses, for which he had been so severely censured before. But the broils with Scotland, and other things intervening, put a stop to this prosecution; and not long after this tamperer with witnesses was made archbishop of York.

But the highest post in the church, the metropolitical see of all England, in a reign supposed so tender of the rights of the clergy,

^{*} Faller's Church History, p. 165.

could not fecure the good and wife archbifhop Abbet from being treated very inhumanly, only for refusing to license a fermon of Dr. Sibtherp's, which directly subverted the whole constitution, and destroyed all property, in maintaining that the king had a divine right to impose taxes without consent of parliament. and that the subject, on pain of damnation. was obliged to pay them; and this he termed apostolical obedience. Nothing could satisfy good king Charles, but that the archbishon must license this sermon; which when he refused to do, the king sent him menace on menace, in order to fright him to a compliance; and Laud, then bishop of St. Davids. was ordered by the king to answer the reasons. which the archbishop, who was then sick at Lambeth, fent to the king to excuse himself for not licenfing Sibtherp's fermon: and for this fervice he was made a privy councellor. But the king being fensible how little his champion was able to cope with the archbishop, would not fuffer him to have a copy of Laud's answer. or even to read it himself; and when he found the archbishop was immovable, he not only forbad him meddling with the high commiffion, but banished and confined him to an old house of his near Canterbury. But seeing this difgrace and confinement did not break the

heart of the good old man, miserably afflicted with gout and stone, nor make him act against his conscience, there was a commission granted to Laud and some other bishops to try him for an irregularity, for which he had been acquitted seven years before by bishop Andrews, Sir Edward Coke and others *, whom king James had impowered to try him for this very thing. But 'tis not strange he should be now sound guilty and suspended, when his judges were to be intrusted with his archiepiscopal power.

The good archbishop had the satisfaction to see these doctrines he refused to liceuse disapproved by the king himself, in the proclamation he set forth for calling in Manwaring's sermons: But the world, which saw how soon after he had preferments heaped on him, could no more believe the king was in earnest, than Manwaring himself was when he made his recantation, especially when they saw this practised with relation to others, and that Montague †, soon after a proclamation to censure him for his book, had letters patents for a bishoprick.

[·] Fuller's Church History.

[†] Hift. of England, vol. 3. p. 52, 53.

Tho' these were the deep policies of the court at that time, yet the archbishop had the satisfaction to see the parliament very much in earnest in approving what he did, by censuring both Sibtherp's and Manwaring's sermons: And the articles on which the latter was impeached by the commons and condemned by the lords, were *,

- 1. That he laboured to infuse into the conficience of the king, that his power was not limited by law; which king James in his speech to the parliament called tyranny, yea tyranny accompanied with perjury.
- 2. That he endeavoured to persuade the consciences of the subjects, that they are bound to obey illegal commands; yea he dawns them for not obeying them.
- 3. He robs the subjects of the propriety of their goods.
- 4. He endeavours to fet a division between the head and members, and between the members themselves.
 - · Hift. of Engl. p. 51.

 That like Faux and his followers he feeks to blow up parliaments and parliamentary powers.

Are not all the preachers of absolute power in the prince, and unlimited obedience in the subjects, guilty of these damnable crimes? What can more effectually blow up parliaments, and all parliamentary powers, than making the lives and fortunes of all the good people of England depend on the will and pleasure of a single person? Such a precarious tenure makes us all Turkeyslaves, and not free-born Englishmen: and consequently the preaching up that doctrine is the greatest treason that can be against the constitution.

If the clergy themselves, even the greatest of them, bishops and archbishops, were so barbarously dealt with, that would not come in to the arbitrary measures of high church, we can't think the laity had better usage, and therefore I shall only give an instance or two of their treatment. Lilbeurn and Wharton were put into the star-chamber court, for printing seditious books contrary to the decree of that court *: but refusing to take the oath

[•] Rafow. abridg. vol. 2. p. 345.

ex officio, and infilting that no man was obliged to accuse himself, and that imposing this oath was contrary to the rights of freeborn Englishmen, were for their refusal fet, in the pillory, and fined 500 l. each, and Lilbourn whipped from the Fleet to the pillory; where for the liberty of speech that he took, and for dispersing of some pamphlets said, tho' never proved, to be feditious, he was by order of the court of star-chamber gag'd during the residue of the time he was to ftand in the pillory, and afterward ordered to be laid alone in the wards of the prison, where none but the meanest fort are put, with double irons on his hands and legs, and none permitted to refort to him, and all letters, writings and books brought to him to be feized and delivered to the court.

When his judges were impeached in parliament for this sentence, the cruelty of his being whipt from the Fiest to Westminster, where he had at least 1500 stripes, was much insisted on. 'Twas urged, 'That even in France the judges would allow no more than 13 blows to a priest, who had persuaded a poor maid that St. Francis had a mind such a night to lie with her, and so feigning of himself St. Francis, was taken in bed with her: and that for the pillory, it was not designed for gentlemen as Mr. Lilbourn was, but was first N 4 'invent-

invented for mountebanks and cheats, to exalt them in the same kind as they had exalted themselves upon benches and forms to abuse the people.' And whether this reason does not extend to mountebanks in divinity, when being exalted in their wooden boxes, they abuse the people with seditious discourses, I leave the reader to judge.

The next instance I shall produce, to shew that no station could exempt a man, in those bleffed times, from being profecuted contrary to all law and justice, shall be of Sir John Ellist, Mr. Denzil Hollis, and feveral other. members of the house of commons, who were proceeded against in the star-chamber for liberty of speech, so essential to all parliamentary debates: but after they had Jain in prison about half a year, the process against them in that court was let fall, and they were profecuted in the king's bench, where the defendants put in a plea to the jurisdiction of the court *; which being over-ruled, judgment past against each of them on a nihil dicit; and Sir John Ellist was fined 2000 l. Hollis 1000 marks, &c. and every one of them to be imprisoned during the king's pleasure, and not to be delivered

[·] History of England, vol. 3. F. 49.

out of prison without giving security for their good behaviour, and owning their offence: which rather than do, like good patriots, they were content to suffer a long imprisonment (where several of them died) before they would betray the rights of parliament.

This liberty of speech was looked on as a greater crime in Elliot than others, because he had before been enjoined silence in the house, by a command of the king, delivered him by the speaker; and had been before imprisoned for presuming to concern himself, tho by order of the house, in the impeachment of the duke of Buckingham; and for which he obtained a vote of the house that he had not exceeded his commission: and he was after that committed prisoner to the Gatebouse; for not complying with the demand of the loan, and his petition for his discharge was rejected,

What provoked high-church chiefly against Elliet, was reflecting on that part of the king's declaration prefixed to the 31st article, where 'tis affirmed, If there be any difference in opinion concerning the interpretation of the articles, the convocation has power to settle those disputes in

History of England, p. 42. † Ibid. p. 23, 24. ‡ Ibid. p. 37.
‡ Ibid. p. 47, & 54.

This he faid was giving them a power by which popery might be introduced: and the commons were so sensible of the fatal consequences that might attend religion if the convocation was trusted with such a power, that they entered a protestation against it.

Thus it was that all forts of people were oppressed and ruined, without any more regard to their flation or characters, than to law or justice; and the judges were fo miserably overawed, that if a man did not stand right in the opinion of Laud and his minions, he was to expect no right in Westminster-hall: and it was rarely, very rarely, that they durst fend any prohibitions to the ecclefiaffical courts, how much foever they exceeded their bounds, even tho' the ecclefiaftical high-commission court took to themselves a power of fining and imprisoning. And the court of common pleas fending a rule, in Sir Giles Allington's case, to the high commission, to shew cause why a prohibition should not be granted, was, fays my author *, ' fo bold a stroke in those days, when the clergy had got the whole power of the kingdom in their hands, that the king himself interposed, and by the lord keeper

^{*} Rubav. abridg. vol. 2. p. 87.

* reprimanded the judges; and Laud, then bishop of London, threatened to excommunicate them in his own diocese, and to declare it at Paul's cross, in case the archbishop of Contenbury did not do it in his province. Which so overawed the judges, that they left Sir Giles to the mercy of the high commission court, where eight bishops and sour civilians fined him 12000 l. to the king.

My lord Clarenden fays , & It can't be deonied, that by the great power of fome bishops at court, the high commission court had much overflowed its banks, not only by meddling with things not within their cognis zance, but extending their judgments in matters triable before them beyond that degree that was justifiable; and grew to have for great a contempt of the common law, and the professors of it, that prohibitions from the supreme courts of law, which have and must have the superintendency over all infes rior courts, were not only neglected, but the indges reprehended for granting them, which without perjury they could not deny; and the lawyers discountenanced for shem, which they were obliged in duty to do; 6 fo that thereby the clergy made almost the

Vol. 1, p. 221, 222.

whole profession, if not their enemies, yet very undevoted to them. Then it grew from an ecclesiastical court to a court of revenue. and imposed great fines; which course of fining was much more frequent, and the fines heavior after the king had granted all that revenue, whatfoever it should prove, to be simployed for the reparation of Paul's:church.' And in another place he fays *, 'That the speevish spirits of some elergymen, had taken serent pains to alienate the profession of the common law from them; and that others believed the straitning the profession of that haw must necessarily inlarge the jurisdiction of the charch. Hence, fays he, arose their bold and unwarrantable oppofing prohibitions, and other proceedings of law in behalf of the ecclesiastical courts.' And then adds, I never yet spoke with one clergyman, who hath had the experience of both litigations, that hath not ingenuously confessed, he had ' rather, in refpect of his trouble, charge, and fatisfaction to his understanding, have three · fuits depending in Westminster-ball, than one in the arches, or any other ecclesiastical court." 'Tis visible from this great man's opinion, how natural a tendency the principles of high-church

[·] Vol. 1. B. 4. p. 241, 242.

have to lead the elergy into a contempt of the common law, and the professors of it; and in confequence to trample upon all the rights of the people, which are only secured by a just administration of that law.

Had not high church been continually preaching up, that kings are superior to all human laws, as having by divine right an abfolute power over the properties of their fubjects, I am verily perfueded king Charles's reign had not been stained with so many acts of oppression, which were more and greater than the people felt in any, I might almost venture to fay in all the reigns frace the conquest till that time. In one year the king demands 100000 l of the city of Landon by way of loan; and not, only forces them to pay it. but to fit out twenty men of war at their own. expence t. Besides other taxes imposed by his own authority, my lond Churendon fays * . 'Sup-' e plemental acts of flate were made to fupply defect of laws; fo tunnage and poundage. and other duties upon merchandizes, were e collected by order of the board, which had been positively, refused to be settled by act of e parliament, and now greates imposition laid

^{*} Rushw. Hist. Coll. abridg. vol. 1. p. 2(7, 268.

on trade. Obsolete laws were revived and rigorously executed, viz. Forest laws and knighthood [which last obliged all persons that had for the three last three years 40 l. per annum in their hands, or for their use, to receive the order of knighthood] And he adds. That no lefs unjust projects of all kinds. many ridiculous, many scandalous, and all very grievous, were fet on foot; and that the council-chamber and star-chamber held for honourable that which pleafed, and for inst that which profited; and, being the same e persons in several rooms, grew both courts of law to determine right, and courts of sevenue to bring money into the treasury: the council-table by proclamation enjoining to the people what was not enjoined by the haw, and prohibiting what was not prohibited; and the star chamber censuring the breach of those proc'amations by very large · fines and imprisonment +: And that there were very few persons of quality who had onot fuffered or been perplexed by the weight and fear of those judgments and censures; and that no man could hope to be longer free from the inquisition of that court, than he refolved to submit to extraordinary courfes.'

[†] Clarendon's Hift. p. 223.

A tyranny made familiar by long use, is much easier to be borne than a new one : a nd therefore the English, the freest people in the world, must be in a terrible consternation and confusion, when they found themselves all of a fudden overwhelmed with a vast inundation of oppression of all kinds; and that the law, instead of redressing these grievances, was perverted by mercenary judges, to entail flavery on themselves and their posterity: And that the parliament, which was their last refuge, when it met, which was very feldom, was conffantly infulted, and the members upon its unfeafonable disolution were fined and imprisonedduring the king's pleasure: And that martial law was practifed in time of peace, and projects on foot for bringing in foreign force, and the church in a worse condition than the state, by the clergy's carrying their ecclesiastical tyranny higher than ever it was in these kingdoms in the times of popery (to which they were daily making advances) by these two courts of inquisition, the high-commission, and the starchamber, which indicted fuch terrible punishments, as that death itself, compared with them, ought to be esteemed a favour. man must be strangely in love with life, who would not prefer dying before the fufferings which high-church inflicted on the reverend

Dr. Oates, or even Mr. Johnson, tho' they escaped several of the cruelties that the starchamber used to inflict on clergymen; such as nailing of ears to the pillory, cutting them off, flitting of nofes, branding them in the face with hot irons. And I can't but think Mr. Tutchin was very much in the right, who rather than endure the whippings, to which Jefferies, in the bloody affizes of the Weft, condemned him, upon no other pretence than not owning his right name, petitioned king 'James in the following manner: 'That he humbly conceives that the sentence past on him by Jefferies is worse than death, and therefore humbly prays your majesty will be mercifully pleased to grant him the favour of being hanged with those of his fellow prisoners that are condemned to die; and till then your petitioner. &c *.

But it not being the business of this paper to consider the cruelties of those reigns, where the king's beach supplied the want of the starchamber, by imposing immoderate fines, and insticting excessive corporal punishments; I shall resume the thread of my discourse, relating to the cruelties of the high commission and the star-chamber, where if there happened

^{*} Western Martyrology, p. 226.

to be any difference as to the degree of punishment, the ecclefiasticks usually voted with those who were for the severest. Nay, I shall give an instance where Laud had not authority enough to get one man to join with him in the punishing of a man, and that was in the case of Gillibrand an almanack-maker, who was by his order put into the high commission court, for leaving out of his calendar the names of the popish saints, and putting in those of the protestant martyrs *. And tho' at the hearing of the cause it appeared it was the same with Fox's authorised calendar, and that almanacks of that kind had been formerly printed; for which reason Gil'ibrand was acquitted by archbishop Abbit, and all the rest of the court; yet Laud would by no means confent, and cried, The queen berfelf had complained to bim of this almanack, which gave great offence to those of her religion, and therefore he hoped it should not pass unpunished in that court. And when he saw he could not prevail, he told the almanack-maker with a great deal of fury, You have made a faction in this court, for which you ought to be punifbed; and then threatened him with a fecond profecution, which put the poor man into a fever, of which he died. This was more

Laux's trial by Prynn, p. 183, 184, 503, 506.

fcandalous than preferring Dr. Pocklington, who had so scandalously libelled the protestant martyrs; for which, as has been already observed, he was consured in parliament.

Laud, whether it was to promote his interest at court, or for any other motive, appeared so great a savourer of popery and popish books, that even while he was bishop of London howas petitioned against by the printers and booksellers, for restraining books written against popery; and they complained that divers of them were in the hands of pursivants for printing against popery; and that the books against it were not allowed by him or his chaplains, who had then the sole licensing of books *

In a word, Laud's chief design was to advance the ecclesiastical power above the law of the land (one of the articles on which he was impeached) And therefore while he was aiming at a papal power himself, affecting to be called His Holiness, and Most Holy Father, and Summus Pontifex +, titles which custom has appropriated to the pope; and several as stattering titles, as Archangelus, & ne quid nimis

Rushw. in fol. vol. 1. p. 655.

Heylin's Life of Laud, p. 297.

Spiritu Sancto effusifime plenus t : 'tis no wonder he were no friend to the pope's supremacy or infallibility. But for the other popish doctrines which ferved to fet up an English popery, we need go no farther than his life written by his own chaplain Heylin, to fee how ready he was to favour all who promoted them, and how feverely he treated all who opposed them; the books of the rankest papists being either licenfed by his chaplains, or approved by himself; and not only new books against popery were hindered from being published, or called in, and passages against popery deleted in others (of, which you have a large account in Prynn's history of his trial) but the best protestant ones, as were formerly licenfed by authority, were not permitted to be reprinted: fuch as Fox's Acts and Monuments (of which every church is obliged to have one) Dr. Willet, and the famous bishop Jewel's works; nay even the Practice of Piety, which had been printed fix and thirty times, could not now obtain a new licence. And had not his creature bishop Wren, the same design, when he put this into the articles of his visitation. That the churchwardens in every parish of his discese should inquire whether any persons presumed to talk of

[‡] History of his troubles, p. 284, 325.

religion at their tables, and in their families? Since such a gross ignorance as this must cause, would as much help to bring in popery, as the restraint of protestant books.

The best argument Heylin has to prove Laud was no papist, was his marrying the earl of Devorshire to my lord Rich's wife, while he was alive, and not divorced a vinculo matrimonii*; which he says may serve for a sufficient argument that he was no papist, nor cordially affected to that religion. But whether he was so or no, I refer the reader to what this chaplain of his says concerning the project of the union with the papists; which he does not deny his Grace was concerned in +.

But because he is magnified by high church for his great service to king and church, I shall shew from my lord Clarendon, that he was the chief cause of the ruin of both. For he owns, 'That when he was made archbishop "(which was in 1633.) it was a time of great ease and tranquillity: The king had made himself superior to all those difficulties he had to contend with, and was now reverenced by all his neighbours; the general temper and humour of the kingdom little

[#] Heylin's life of Land, p. 53: † Ibid. p. 238.

inclined

"inclined to the papift, and less to the puritan -The churchwas not repined at, nor the least inclination shewn to alter the government or discipline thereof, or to change the doctrine : onor was there at that time any confiderable number of persons of any valuable condition throughout the kingdom who did wish either: and the cause of so prodigious a change in fo few years after, was too visible from the effects; the archbishop's heart was fet upon the advancement of the church. ' &ct.' Then he goes on to declare what methods he took to bring about fo prodigious a change, and fays, 'He provoked men of all qualities and conditions, who agreed in nothing else but their aversion to him *.' And how could it be otherwise, since he concerned himself in every thing; and, as Clarendin obferves, ' never abated in any thing of his feverity and rigour towards men of all conditions, or in the sharpness of his language and expressions: which was so natural to him. that he could not debate any thing without · fome commotion, nor bear contradiction. even in the council, where all men are equal-Iy free, with that patience and temper that was necessary, of which they who wished him

¹ Clarendon's Hift, vol. 1. p. 61, 71. # Ibid. p. 79.

onot well took many advantages : particularly. my lord Cottington, who knew too well how to lead him into a mistake, and then drive him sinto choler, and then expose him upon the matter and the manner, to the judgment of the company . He entertained, favs this onoble lord, too much prejudice to some perfons, as if they were enemies to the discipline of the church, because they concurred with " Calvin in fomeldoctrinal points (as the body of the clergy then did) when they abhorred his discipline, and reverenced the government of the church, and prayed for its peace with as 'much zeal and fervency as any in the kingdom; as they made manifest in their lives. 4 and in their fufferings with it and for it +. And another historian, who is not backward on all occasions to commend Laud, owns, . 'That the proceedings in the spiritual courts, ont only against open separatists and profes'd puritans, but even against many true members of the church, that did not come up to e new measures; were so strict and severe, that it gave occasion to strike at the jurisdiction of those courts t.' And when so many of the true members of the church were used so feverely, the diffenters could not expect better

Clarendon's Hift. vol. 1. p. 77. † Ibid. p. 70.
 † Hift. of England, vol. 3. p. 85.

treatment: who were not permitted to feek their repose abroad, nor suffered to enjoy any quiet at home; but were treated with the utmost rigour that malice armed with arbitrary power could contrive.

As no expressions could more fully shew the imperious insolent temper of this proud prelate, than not to be able to bear a jest from the king's fool, whose business it was to make jests on his master, as well as the rest of the court; and therefore Land obtained an order from the council, the king being present, to get the fool's coat pulled over his ears, to be discharged the king's fervice, and to be banished the court (and 'tis well he escaped being fined in the star-chamber) for asking him upon the news of the diffurbance in Scotland about the liturgy, Whe'as the fewl new? So nothing could shew more the weakness of his mind. than that dreams, as 'tis plain from his diary, were capable of making fuch an impression on him *.

Had not that house of commons which sat three years before his trial, plainly seen that nothing could prevent the utmost consussion, while Laud was at the head of affairs; they

^{*} Weliwood's Memoirs, p. 58.

would not the very first month of their sating, when there was not the least misunderstanding between the king and them, have declared him numine contractionte a traitor +.

And none who is the least acquainted with the history of those times, but must be convinced that if Land had not prevailed on the king to impose on the Scott, by his own dutherity, canons and liturgies of his framing; the king would never, by reason of the circumstances of the times, have thought himself obliged to pass an act for the abolishing of episcopacy in Scotland : In which act 'tis declared. That the government of the church by bishops was against the word of God, and the propagation of religion *. Nor would he, in pursuance of that act, have given away the bishops lands to those who were the greatest enemies to episcopacy.; por in all likelihood, afterward have confensed to, and figned a contract with the Scots T, in which he obliged himself to confirm by act of parliament in both kingdoms the follown League and Covenant, and by act of parliament in England presbyterian government, the directory for worship, and assembly of divines at

⁺ Well-wood's Memoirs, p. 58.

Clarendon, v. 1. p. 214, 245. 1 lbid. vol. 3. p. 78, 79.

Westminster for three years: And that upon a confultation with the affembly of divines, to which twenty should be added by the king, with some from the church of Scotland, it should be determined by the king and parliament what form of church-government thould be established after the expiration of those years. Which was in effect as compleat an establishment of prefbytery as could be; because no legal establishment can be conceived in such absolute and unalterable terms, but must be subject to be changed after the same manner as this establishment was: to which no ead could be put, but by the confent of every part of the legislature to an alteration. And yet the clergy have the affurance to maintain, that this gracious king died a martyr to epifcopacy: though in truth he granted these terms to the Scots, to encourage them to invade England, and to create a new civil war, while he refused them to the English; when by concessions far less dishonourable than he granted to the Scots. he might have secured himself, and the peace of the kingdom.

I thought myfelf obliged to mention these few, among the many instances that might be produced of the insupportable insolence and cruelties of a prelate, who scarce appears to have one good quality to attone for all the ill ones he

was in fo high a degree possessed of; who took all the methods imaginable to alienate the most preorquerable affections of the people from the king and church; and acted after fuch a manner, as if he despaired of bringing about his wicked defigns, till he had put all things in confusion. This must appear evident to any one, who takes mens characters from their actions, and not from the panegyrics flattering historians give of them. which These things, I say, I thought myself bound to observe concerning him, not on his own account, fince he has long ago fuffered what he deserved; but for the fake of high church, who esteem him the very pattern in the mount, and condemn the best churchmen as perfidious Grindals, loading them with all manner of obloguy, that will not tread in his fleps: which plainly shews what they would be at, if ever the nation be so insatuated as to trust them with power.

My lord Clarendon, in exposing the weakness of the Scots, says, * The infectious breath of their senseless and wretched clergy corrupted and governed the people. And will it not be as great a reflection on the English, to be corrupted by as senseless and wretched a clergy

Vol. 3. p. 83.

as ever those of Scot'and can be supposed to be? Those I mean, who propose Laud and his party as the standard and model by which they would govern themselves; and would have all that won't come into their measures be treated as enemies to the church. which reason, it will not be improper to repeat the character my lord Falkland gives of these standards and patterns of high-church; and I chuse him, because his zeal for the church is as well known as his ability to defend it; and because he died a martyr in fighting for the royal cause, when his post of fecretary of state to Charles I. exempted him from any military engagement; and because my lord Clarendon, who fpends above three pages in one place in his commendation, gives him the highest character that can be beflowed on a mortal: among other things he fays, . He was fo fevere an adorer of truth. that he could as eafily give himfelf leave to · steal as to dissemble: that he was a person of fuch prodigious parts, learning and know-· ledge, of that inimitable fweetness and debight in conversation, and of so flowing, and obliging humanity and goodness, and of that primitive simplicity and integrity of

[♥] Vol. 1. p. 268.

that odious and accurled civil war than that fingle loss, it must be most infamous and execrable to all posterity *.' And therefore what so impartial, so candid, and so able a judge says of things, which happened within his own knowledge, cannot fail of gaining credit even with the most prejudiced. Vid. Rushw. fol. vol. 4. p. 184.

The Lord Falkland's speech concerning Episcopacy.

4 Mr. SPEAKER,

- E is a great stranger in Israel who knows not that this kingdom hath long laboured under many and great oppressions,
- both in religion and liberty; and his ac-
- quaintance here is not great, or his inge-
- 'nuity less, who doth not both know and
- acknowledge that a great, if not a principal
- cause of both these have been some bishops
- and their adherents.
- 'Mr. Speaker, A little fearch will ferve to find them to have been the destruction of unity, under pretence of uniformity; to

[.] Vol. 2. F. 76.

have brought in superstition and scandal, under the titles of reverence and decency; to have desided our church, by adorning our churches; to have slackened the strict-ness of that union which was sormerly between us and those of our religion beyond the sea; an action as unpolitic as ungodly.

Mr. Speaker, We shall find them to have tithed mint and anife, and have left undone the weightier works of the law; to have been less eager upon those who damn our 6 church, than upon those who, upon weak conscience, and perhaps as weak reasons • (the diflike of fome commanded garment, or fome uncommanded posture) only abflained from it. Nay, it hath been more dangerous for men to go to fome neighbour's garish, when they had no fermon in their own, than to be obstinate and perpetual recufants; while maffes have been faid in fecurity, a conventicle hath been a crime, and which is yet more, the conforming to ceremonies hath been more exacted than the conforming to christianity; and whilst men for fcruples have been undone, for attempts upon fodomy they have only been ad-" monished.

We shall find them to have been like the.
hen in Ejop, which laying every day an egg
O 3 upon

upon such a proportion of barley, her mifires increasing her proportion in hope she
would increase her eggs, she grew so fat upon
that addition, that she never laid more: so
though at first their preaching were the occasion of their preferment, they after made
their preferment the occasion of their not
preaching.

We shall find them to have resembled another sable, the dog in the manger; to have neither preached themselves, nor employed those that should, nor suffered those that would: to have brought in catechising, only to thrust out preaching, cried down lectures by the name of sactions, either because their industry in that duty appeared a reproof to their neglect of it, or with intention to have brought in darkness, that they might the easier sow their tares, while it was night; and by that introduction of ignorance, introduce the better that religion which accounts it the mother of devotion.

* Mr. Spraker, In this they have abused his mujesty, as well as his people: for when they had with great wisdom (fines usually the children of darkness are wifer in their generation than the children of light) silenced on both parts those opinions which have often

eften tormented the church, and have, and will always trouble the schools, they made use of this declaration to the up one side, and let this other loose, whereas they ought either in discretion to be equally restained, or in justice to have been equally tolerated. And it is observable, that that party to which they gave this licence, was that whose doctrine, though they were not contrary to law, was contrary to custom, and for a long while in this kingdom was no oftener preached than recanted.

· The truth is, Mr. Speaker, that as some " ill ministers in our state first took away our menty from us, and after endeavoured to " make our money not worth the taking, by turning it into brais by a kind of antiphilo-" Ripher's frone; fo these men used us in the one of preaching, first depressing it to their power, and next labouring to make it fuch, as the harm had not been much if it had been depressed: the most frequent sube jects, even in the most facted auditories, being the jus divinum of bishops and tithes, the facredness of the clergy, the facrilege of · impropriations, the demolithing of purita-' nifm and propriety, the building of the prerogative at Pant's, the introduction of fuch. 0.4

fuch doctrines, as, admitting them true,
the truth would not recompence the scandal; or of such that were so far false, that,
as Sir Thomas Moore says of the casuists,
their business was not to keep men from
finning, but to inform them, Quam prope
ad peccatum fine peccato liceat accedere: so it
seemed their work was to try how much of
a papist might be brought in without popery, and to destroy as much as they could
of the gospel, without bringing themselves
into danger of being destroyed by the law.

'To go yet further, some of them have for industriously laboured to deduce themselves from Rome, that they have given great · fuspicion that in gratitude they desire to . e return thither, or at least to meet it half Some have evidently laboured to bring in an English, though not a Roman. popery: I mean not only the outlide and. dress of it, but equally absolute, a blind. dependance of the people upon the clergy, and of the clergy upon themselves; and have opposed the papacy beyond the seathat they might fettle one beyond the water. Nay, common fame is more than ordinarily false, if none of them have found a way to reconcile the opinions of Rome to the o preferments

preferments of England; and be so absolutely, directly and cordially papists, that
it is all that fifteen hundred pounds a year
can do to keep them from confessing it.

Mr. Speaker, I come now to speak of our · liberties; and confidering the great interest these men have had in our common master. s and how great a good to us they might have made that interest in him, if they would have used it to have informed him of our e general sufferings; and considering how little of their freedom of speech at Whitehall might have faved us a great deal of the use we have now of it in the parliament house, their not doing this alone were occasion emough for us to accole them as the betrayers, though not as the destroyers of our rights and liberties: though, I confess. if they had been only filent in this particular, I had been silent too. But, alas, they whose ancestors in the darkest times excommunicated the breakers of Magna " Charta, did now by themselves, and their adherents, both write, preach, plot, and act against it, by encouraging Dr. Beal, by preferring Dr. Manwaring, appearing forward for monopolies and thip-money; and "if any were flow and backward to comply, 0 5 blafting

blasting both them and their preferment with the utmost expression of their hatred,

the title of Puritans.

Mr. Speaker, We shall find some of them to have laboured to exclude both all perfons, and all causes of the clergy, from the ordinary jurisdiction of the temporal magifrate, and by hindering prohibitions (first by apparent power against the judges, and after by fecret agreements with them) to have taken away the only legal bound to their arbitrary power, and made as it were a conquest upon the common law of the 'land, which is our common inheritance: and after made use of that power to turb their brethren out of their freeholds, for onot doing that which no law of man required them to do; and which (in their opinions) the law of God required them not to do. We shall find them in general to have encouraged all the clergy to fuits, and to have brought all fuits to the council-table; that having all power in ecclefialtical matters." they laboured for equal power in temporal, and to dispose as well of every office, as every benefice: which loft the clergy much revenue, and much reverence, by encouraging them indifcreetly to exact more of both than was due; fo that indeed the gain'

of their greatness extended but to a few of that order, though the envy extended upon all.

We shall find them to have both kindled

and blown the common fire of both nations, to have both fent and maintained that book. of which the author no doubt hath long fince wished with Nero, Utinam nescissemi 6 literas! and of which more than one kingdom hath cause to wish, that when he writ that, he had rather burned a library, tho? of the value of Ptelomy's. We shall find them to have been the first and principal cause of the breach, I will not say of, but fince the pacification at Berwick. We shall find them to have been the almost for abettors of my lord Strafford, whilst- he was practifing upon another kingdom that manner of government which he intended to fettle in this; where he committed fo many, fo mighty, and fo manifest enormities and oppressions, as the like have not been com-" mitted by any governor in any government, fince Verres left Sicily: and after they had called him over from being deputy of Irea land, to be in a manner deputy of England . 4 (all things here being governed by a juntille, and that juntilly governed by him) to have affifted him in the giving of fuch counfels, 06

and the pursuing of such courses, as it is:

hard and measuring cast, whether they were

s more unwife, more unjust, or more unfor-

tunate, and which had infallibly been our

destruction, if by the grace of God, their

fhare had not been as small in the sub-

tilty of ferpents, as in the innocency of

6 doves.'

As every one that is conversant in story must allow this to be a favourable description of the then high church clergy; so he must own, that the high-church laity were then for the most part not only grossy ignorant in religious matters, but withal very much addicted to drunkenness, and all manner of debauchery, and remarkable for their great contempt of all that's facred or serious, and abominably guilty of all manner of lewd bussionery, and of swearing, profaning and blaspheming the holy name of God; and in a word, were a very fit people for such priests.

'Tis no wonder this description the abovemention'd lord gives of high-church in Charles the First's reign, is so lively a picture of them at present, seeing they have ever since made it their business to copy after that original;

and therefore in the following reigns, when the court formed to have no other aim but popery and flavery, they came plumb into all its meafares, and went hand in hand with the court till an indulgence was allowed to the diffenters. And they have sufficiently hewn the world, that no government, tho' it parts with the first-fruits and tenths, or any other branch of its revenue to the church, is to expect them to be in its interest, if they are not allowed the power of perfecuting prosestant dissenters. Persecution with them, is like charity with true christians; without which do what elfe you will for them, you are but as founding brafs and tinkling symbals.

But the high church proposes the reign of Charles I. when Laud and his faction governed every thing, as a precedent for all future reigns, I suppose it is with this tacit exception to the treatment of clergymen of their side, if they chance to be tried for any misdemeanour; except we can suppose they are willing to have Dr. Sacheverell's ears cropt, his nose slit, his face stigmatized, to have an excessive sine put on him, and to be condemned to perpetual imprisonment, as clergymen and others then were, who were not guilty of the thousandth part of the crimes

226 The Pillars of PRIESTCRAFT crimes this reverend divine stands accused of. And fo far I agree with them, that I would not have any of their proceedings. which at all times favoured of violence and injuffice, proposed as a pattern in a reign fofamons for its gentleness and moderation: nor would I have the whigs prevailed on by any practice of the tories, or by any thoughts of retaliation or provocation, or any pretence whatever, to exceed the due bounds of impartial judice; but only to take fuch care as may prevent both church and flate from falling under fuch deplorable eirenmstances. as they were in when high-church rid triumphass.

DISCOURSE

ON

GOVERNMENT

AND

RELIGION,

Calculated for the MERIDIAN of the THIRTIETH OF JANUARY.

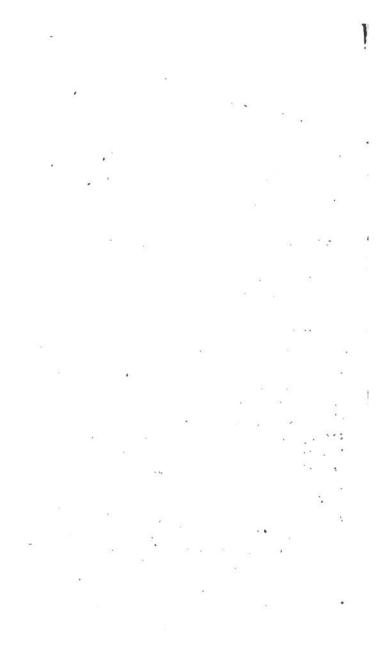
By an INDEPENDENT.

Ye know nothing at all, neither consider that it is expedient for us, that one man should die for the people, and that the whole nation perish not.

CAIAPHAS.

SALUS POPULI SUPREMA LEX ESTO.

The Author unknown.



THE

PREFACE.

THO' this is the place of a preface, what I have to fay, more than the contents that follow, being not the subject of the day in the title-page, but of the present times, I think it may not improperly be called, a Possicipt by way of Preface.

There is now much talk about altering the Common Prayer; no one doubts of the need of doing it, but pur-blind bigots; but how to alter it to please every one, is an unsurmountable difficulty. I own I have read none of the arguments published on this subject; however I will give my opinion, that if it be at all altered, it ought to be in such a manuer, as will best please all conscientions and reasonable men, and that in my judgment will be, not to alter the book, but the use of it; not to abolish a syllable or ceremony of it, but let it remain just as it is. Let every parish priest either use the whole, or leave out what para-

he pleases, or let it all alone, not allowing him to introduce any new ceremonies, for that " would be a leading towards popery; but leave out as many of the old ones as he thinks proper; that he who is to pray for others, may pray in what mander he judges belt, either by that form, or by any other of his own composing, or by none. So the pricft enjoying liberty of conscience himself, willfeel the fweetness of it, and be willing that others should enjoy the same felicity. How can any one pray, or teach, according to the best of his judgment, in the sincerity of his conscience, that is denied the liberty of doing it? Upon the rock of private judgment and liberty of confeience; Rands the reformation. That no teremonies frough be imposed on men in religious matters, non doctrines, but fuch as agree with their reason and the Bible. is the foundation of processancy; and if this. was freely permissed, all bestry in religion, which is the fearedal of it, would be done away. Men will: noo: shen perfecuse one another in words, or deeds, about things indifferent, nor offenn them pfentiels. All good and wife men both clergy and lairy will be pleased, and none displeased but superfitious, arbitrary and unremonable tempers. And fach good, confequence, is as much as

can be expected or defired, when any alteration is made, on any account, in any time. or place in the world. An unalterable conformity to any one fustem, is presumption to expect, and tyranny to impose, unless the men appointing it were infallible. But infallibility is God's peculiar property, according to protestant doctrine; and is doubtless an infallible truth: therefore to leave men free in religion, is true protestant practice. To give this liberty in public devotion, is to make but one alteration; but to alter the book, will be to make an alteration, which, however made, will want altering again and again without end. But by this method, all the people as well as all their guides will please themselves, for then if too many or too few, too much or too little ceremonies, be used at one church to please any person, those that diflike may go to another, where the worship is more agreeable to them. All the conformity that God requires, is to the dictates of a pure conscience; and all the religious conformity necessary for focial life and happiness, is, that supplications, prayers, and giving of thanks be made for all men, fir kings, and all that are in authority; the manner how should be left to the difcretion of him that does it, so that we may lead quiet and peaceable lives, in all 332 The Pillars of PRIESTERAFT all godliness and benefly; and that men should be advised and counselled how to act as the reason and nature of their circumstances require, with all moral and commendable conducts.

A

DISCOURSE

ON

GOVERNMENT, &c.

FTER a hundred years contention and animofity about the good or evil of one action, it is time that mens paffions (hould fubfide, and that they growing calm and fedate, without enthusiasm and bigotry, should reflect and reason on the subject; and 'tis fit that those who have the favour of good fense should exercise it .- Those who are not able to form a rational judgment of things, are liable to every deception; they cannot possibly tell when they are deceived, and for want of judgment can never be convinced: therefore fuch must go their own way, till fuffering opens their understandings; then they wish, too late, they had reflected in time. As when men feel the effects of flavery.

flavery, they wish for freedom, who never valued it, when they enjoyed it; nor endeavoured to preferve it, when they were in imminent danger of losing it. But were it not for the careless and the coward, mankind could never be enflaved .---- As for my own part. I am determined to write for liberty. while I have liberty to write, feeing in these happy days of freedom, we now enjoy that natural and reasonable liberty, which is the natural and reasonable right of mankind, and reason therefore may speak without fear: but when tyrants reign, reason for liberty is suppressed, because it is feared .- I am of no levelling fpirit: I think fovereigns are made to rule, and subjects to obey, the laws governing both; the laws I mean made by the governing powers, that are according to equity, and moral justice. -- Such a government ought not to be abused, nor to suffer abufe from malecontents, that enjoy equal liberties with their fellow subjects: whose murmuring is only to make men despise the heavenly manna they at prefent relish, to bring them back to the antient flavery of Egypt, to lordly and prieftly tyranny, which free-born fouls abhor; or to the flinking garlick of popery, which is loathed by men of tafte .-Some men are of fuch fervile and stupid difpositions,

and ORTHODOXY Shaken. 335

positions, that they think whatever is the will of the lovereign, is law. If he was God himfelf, a Being not capricious, but necessarily fo perfect, that it is absolutely impossible for him to be the author of an evil law, it would be for and right in being for If his laws like God's were perfectly just, because his will is absolutely good, not because he is absolutely . powerful; for power and goodness are di-· flinet and different things; therefore the one may be where the other is not; and very feldom meet together in man. They can only be cemented by wifdom and justice. This cannot be where weak-headed men are poffelled of power; for where ambitious and felf-conceited men bear rule (which is the natural confequence of firong passions and weak intellects) the event naturally is, that destruction attends not only all those their arm of vengeance is capable of reaching; but alfo, that they over reach themselves to their own fatal downfal and justly merited ruin .-If to enflave a nation is an inglerious and difbenourable thing to the doer; to redeem a nation from flavery is a ghrious and an honouralle action. If men have a natural right to the enjoyment of civil and religious liberties, they have a natural right to affert and maintain these liberties, and to defend them by what

what means they can. When necessity calls for it, it is not any unnatural rebellion, but a natural and noble stand for liberty: but to rebel without this cause, as has been lately done, is to attempt the destruction of our most waluable liberties, and to fet up tyranny and flavery in its room; which if attempted by a king, renders him the most detestable of all kings; and if by a people, proves them the most base and ungrateful of all people. A king is then a tyrant, when he will not be governed by the laws of the country he ought to be governed by: but as long as he governs himself by them, those laws are his protection. On the contrary, he that makes his arbitrary and despotic will, the law of the nation, is a tyrant; and as he does and would reign without the law of reason and justice, he is, or ought, in reason and justice to be outlawed. And every priest that preaches up the doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance to fuch a prince, is a traitor to the liberties of the people. When the people's liberties , are intended to be taken away, then, and only then, such doctrine is necessary to be preached to the stupid and unthinking herd; that while they are lulled asteep in spiritual stupefaction, their properties may be invaded without obstruction; and their natural rights stolen from them

them without impediment. The king and the priest, so joining to play their part, are like two robbers, that, at their attacking a man upon the highway, one of them throws dust in his eyes, while the other robs him of what he has. What's the reason that priests don't preach this high-flown doctrine now? It is, first, because the prince intends no invasion on the liberties of his subjects, and secondly, because they have got a king they can't make an ecclesiastical noodle of. When fools reign, they have always knaves at their elbow. When a king is desirous to enslave the people, there are always some black counsellors are hand, that feek their own advancement in If he take it into his head the common ruin. to fide with the church and clergy in doing it, they will fanclify all his actions, affert his birthright from above, cast a ray of glory around him, and make him appear a faint, or one of the minor fons of God.

Notwithstanding the wicked, slopid, and damning doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance, men have a right to stand up in their own desence, when their lives and liberties are invaded; for self-desence is the greatest law in nature, it is interwoven in the constitution of every creature, and such unnatural doctrines cannot extirpate it.

VOL. III.

Let not kings be deceived by falle notions: when by wicked actions, they have loft the love of the people in general, they can have no fafety from the people; but are in the cafe. of poor debtors, that dare not trust themselves abroad for fear of a bailiff. But a few malecontents, and a faction against the court, will always be, 1/t. By some, because they are out of place. 12dly., By others, because they suffer themselves: easily to be deceived, and are generally diffatisfied. And adly, Those that are jealous of their liberties will always fear the worst, and therefore grumble at whatever does not feem to them to have a favourable aspect, or appears to have an ill tendency: thefe I may call court spies; but it is a fign of . liberty in the state, when the people are permitted to be watchful of it, and even allowed a jealous murmur or complaint.

The action of this day, being done contrary to the interest, and therefore contrary to the dispositions of the priests, it was policy in them to blacken it, and make it a sin, which now they have prayed above these hundred years to be forgiven. And if it is not forgiven by this time, they either pray to a strange God, or they are a strange fort of prayers, that work no manner of effect upon him:

Kim :- He either hears them not; or don't think them worthy his regard, and fo they may pray on till doomsday .- When God, the king, and the people are to be mocked, there is no better way of doing it, than by practifing it with the face of religion. The cavaliers pray for the forgiveness of a sin they never committed; and fo they have mocked God; ever fince they have begun to practife repentance on this fcore-Those that are most guilty of hypocrify, cry out most against others for being hypocrites. What is it but hypocrify, for men to pretend to repent of what no man in the age they live in is guilty of; or to attempt by four penitence to atone for an action of the generation now dead, and which those that committed, were not conscious of its being a crime in the nature and reason of the thing?-But however it be, if they have committed a crying fin before God, and have not answered for it by this time before God, there is no truth in our religion -Why then should we, a degenerate race, condemn; and whining, pretend to repent of the action they did, and thought themselves right in doing? If we are to answer for it, where is the justice of God? If we believe we shall be answerable for their faults. where's the rationality of our belief? But I

expect to be told that the Lord wifits the iniquities of the fathers upon their children to the third and fourth generation. What upon those children who had no hand in the action of their fathers, and who cannot be guilty of it! To affert this is as ridiculous, as impious. This is just as right, as it would be to lash a boy at school, that never played truant in his life, because his father or grandfather played the truant, and was not whipt for it. Ezekiel (chap xviii) tells us, that God faid then, and I suppose he has not changed his mind fince; the foul that finnith shall die, the fon Shall not bear the iniquity of the father, &c. This chapter is a good explanation of the threatening annexed to the fecond commandment .- The truth is, there are families, as well as nations, that tread in their predecessors steps, and the fon goes on in the same wicked path the futher did (as James II. followed Charles I.) till their iniquities are full; that is, till they can be borne with no longer; and then justice fully incensed, whets her vengeful fword, and cuts them off. Seldom does it happen, that tyrannical kings treading in the steps of their wicked ancestors, prosper to the fourth generation; but according as their iniquity is, as to time and measure. they are cut down in the second or third succeffion.

fon Charles walked in, helped forward his fall.—It is the mercy of God to mankind, that tyranny and oppression shall naturally stie up the vengeance of an incensed people, to bind the heathen kings with chains, and their nobles with fetters of iron. Such honour have all his saints, praise ye the Lord, says the * psalmist. This is an honour due to none but saints, that is, to a people worthy of redemption. And kings that persecute christians are heathens to them.

It is the duty of subjects to defend and obey a good prince, and oppose a bad one; for all opposition to evil is good. The people, that obey a wicked prince, will be wicked; for a tame submission to his vices, will corrupt their morals. And his religious vices, most of all; because they are not seen as vices, being gilded over with religion. By this means slavery and iniquity may be planted, and take deep root in a nation.

Right government is, when the governor and governed mutually agree, and are mutually benefited: when they harmonize, they make each other happy. The chief end of govern-

Pſalm cxlix. 8.

ment is the fafety and tranquillity of the people, in which the prince finds his account: their duty is to ferve and protect each other. -Subjects disobeying a lawful prince, are justly punished; and he is a lawful prince, whom the power and will of the people appoint, and who rules according to law.-He that redeems a people from flavery, or from those arbitrary measures that present them with an approaching prospect of it, has a light to rule over them; and as he is their rightful, fo he is their lawful prince if he don's anslave them .- Kings are the fervants of the public, and if they deserve well of the public. they ought to be well rewarded by the public. But fervants that do not their duty, ought to be discarded their service. He that destroys the public reace, whose duty it is to preserve it, deserves public punishment, whatever his office or station be in the public service. it is hard to punish governors, without injury to the governed, if they can get rid of them at any rate, they must be contented; for formal justice cannot, be executed on those that are above the reach of justice. Justice cannot always be executed where it ought, but ought always where it can, without regard to perfons .- He that reigns according to the laws of the country, is not to be efteemed a bad

Bad prince; but if bad laws are complained of, and he can rectify them, but does not, he is not a good prince; for every one that is made fensible of his duty, ought to do it, if it be in his power. A prince may be fo far misled, as to agree to the making laws that may be productive of grievances to a nation; because he may not apprehend they will turn out fuch; but when he finds they do, by the complaints of the people, if he don't endeayour to redress them, he is a bad governor .-Necessary taxes must be raised to support governments, and when it is done in a legal way, according to the laws of the country, and applied to the necessary emergencies of flate, it is a proof of disaffection, in persons that can afford to pay their taxes, to grumble at paying them. And if people at this time pay more taxes than formerly, they are much more able to do it, because of the great increase of trade; though the poor have always enough to do to live, and live honestly; therefore those only that are able to pay taxes, should be taxed; for to demand of any manwhat is not in his power to do, cannot be the demands of that law which is boly, just and good .- But kings that impose taxes on their subjects without law, and take away their rights and properties because they have a PA power

power to do it; and do it, because it is to their advantage, are but more powerful robbers. And those that distress and destroy their subjects, that they may the better subdue and unslave them, to enhance their own arbitrary power, are tyrants and wicked rulers. As a raring lion and a raging bear, so are these over the par people.—Is it not just to remove the causes of common calamity by the death of the principal person, which nothing but his death could remove, or the death of the people from their oppressions? Is it better, in such case, that one man die, or the nation persist?

The promoters and abetters of slavery endeavour to enforce and sanctify tyranny by one text of St. Paul, Rom. xiii. 1, 2. Let every seul be subject to the higher powers; for there is no power but of God; and the powers that be, are ardained of God. Whosever therefore resistent the power, resistent the ordinance of God; and they that resist, shall receive to themselves damnation.—These words have been made a shameful handle of by shameless priests, for shameful ends and purposes.—According to the seeming sense of these words, if by higher powers, be meant persons in power, every one that is invested with power, has his power

power from God; and every foul must submit. to it on the peril of damnation. As there is. nothing of hereditary right in the text, it does not patronize the flavish principles of passive. obedience and non-resistance to one family. or fet of men, more than to another. But if every one in power must be passively obeyed, on the peril of damnation, a worfe doctrine cannot be taught to enflave the world than this; and favours more of a revelation from. the infernal tyrant, than the revelation of theglorious liberty of the fons of God. This thenis the doctrine not of Paul, but of priests: 'tis not gofpel, but priesteraft; for the devil then in power must not be resisted, but obeyed .- I apprehend this doctrine is against levellers; against those that would be subject. to, or governed by no power; who are for no king in this world, but king, Tefus; no governor to exercise the authority of rule over: them: whereas God has ordained, that thereshall be some men having higher power than the rest, to govern the rest; and he that resists this ordinance of God, and order of nature, is a rebel to God and man; and will meet with his justly merited condemnation: for this is to overturn all order and government among men; without which, all manner of evit may be committed with impunity .-

The apostle don't say, all persons in power are to be obeyed; but the power, that is, every order, and office, appointed by the public, for the public good. Every one in a superior office ought to be obeyed in fuch a manner as is necessary. 'Tis the office, the subjection is due to, for 'tis this that gives the power to the persons possessing it, whoever the person be, not for the fake of his person, but of his office and authority: fo far as his office. place, authority, or power requires he should be obeyed, in fuch manner and degree he ought to be obeyed; and he that does fo, submits himself to the power rather than to the person, or only to the person for the office, power, and authority fake; not because so it must be, but because so it should be, or it is right fo to do; for governing powers are the ordinance of God .- But if he in office does not use the power right which he is possessed of, he has no right to possess it; he forfeits his right by the ill use he makes of it: obeying him in fuch case, is not obeying the ordinance of God, as his minister for good; 'tis obeying man rather than God; what the man in office, not what the office of the man requires. Thus we should distinguish between the person and the power. -Every man in life has a power given him to fome

forme ord, and if he wies his power to a differ sent end then what he queht to do, he abuses it; and not using it right, it is right to take it from him,-If kings can do no wrong, it is because as soon as they do wrong, they cease of right to be kings. A good office must be executed by a good man. The man should be fitted for the office he is to execute, of he is disqualified for the office, and so cannot: ferve it; cappot be what he is appointed. because he is not qualified for it. So that a king raling wickedly, is not a king; therefore the people that kill, or cast off fuch a man, don't kill, or cast off their king, only one that would have been their king if he had been properly qualified for that high office and facred dignity; and one that has unkinged i himself by discovering his inability to reign. He is not a hufband, that takes he care of his wife and family, and the that is a whore, is not a wife.

It is cause of wonder, how it should ever come into the head of any man to imagine, he aught to be obeyed as a God. It is an evident sign of the devil in man, that sets himself up in the place of God. It is making an idol of a prince, to bring the judgments of God upon him. It is a dostrine that nothing.

but a priest could invent, or one that intended to raise his king the bigber, that he might fall the lower. A spiritual trap to catch an unwary prince in, to setter him to his everlasting and irretrievable ruin.

If Charles had not been a great enthusiast, it could never have come into his head, that any king on earth could possibly be so much a favourite of God, as that he indulged him to do what he pleased, without being accountable as men ought to be that break the laws of fociety.-Are not kings men? and no body but priests, madmen, or fools ever supposed or faid they were more than men; and if fo, then they are under the same laws of God in this world that all mankind are. Their office and power indeed makes it reasonable, that if they reign well, they should be more valued and respected than other men; because they are the authors of more good and benefit to men; but if they reign ill, they are less valued than other men; because they are the cause of much more evil and injury to men than others are .- Or rather why should God hate kings more than other men, that he should indulge them in the practice of more wickedness than others, to enslave the world with impunity. The rod of correction is used

afed for the good of children, which a loving father will exercise when necessity calls for it, to reclaim them by reasonable punishment. To suffer a king to be a criminal without fear, is to debauch the office of a king, and debase royal dignity. To suppose God does it, is supposing partiality in God; thus to do, is to debase God, to exalt the king.

Men are made kings by the grace of God, —but not tyrants, because they have not the grace of God in them. And that grace of God which makes kings, comes by means of the good-will of the people. Those that hold their power by this right, as the present royal family do, have the best, the justest, and the most natural right in the world. Properly speaking, men are made kings by the grace of the people, and they behave as worthy of such office, by the grace of God. Let those that deny this, shew their commission to be from God, and not from the people; let them plainly prove it so, without the sophistry of priestcraft, that the world may believe it.

What king did ever come from heaven! that any of them should presume to claim a divine right to any kingdom on earth? Or what commission was ever given from heaven

to any man, to possess a kingdom on earth? The divine right of kings to rule over people. without, and against their consent, is a profane. jest; though 'tis like many other things that are called divine, which of all things have the least relation to divinity. And yet nations have been so far deladed, and imposed on by their teachers, by the governors and guardians of their liberties, that they have suffered their natural rights, liberties and properties to be given away, by will, at the pleasure of a. departing king, like a paternal estate. - If a king has a right to dispose of the people at his . death, without their confent; why not to fell the kingdom in his life-time without their confent, as a man to fell his estate? or to fell: his subjects, as cattle are fold in the market? but if he cannot justly give away the kingdom . at his death, nor fell it in his life-time, without confent of the people, then 'tis evident that the power of governing them lies . in themselves, and no man has a right to a kingdom, as a man hath to an estate; but that, the right and power of governing a nation, is in the power of the nation, till tyranny and oppressions rob them of it, and render them for ever incapable of recovering their native right: then farewel all that is dear and valuable to a free people.-When a whole nation

nation become the property of a king of prieft, or of both united to make the chain that binds them the ftronger, who dare fav his foul or body is his own? And as kingly majesty, so the priesthood is constituted by the people. "Whoever is declared to be a es priest by any fociety, is a priest to them: and ceafes to be one, the moment they " declare him none." - But all pretended right that is maintained by power, force and violence, is no longer right than the foundation can support it. He possesses my property, as a robber does that is stronger than I. and can hold it no longer than he holds his frength: for when I can, it is my right to disposses him of his unjust gains .- He that would enslave a nation, is himself a slave to fome other person, or to his passions, and to restless ambition. He has a weak head, and a wicked heart; and if superstition and bigotry may pass for religion, he may be a very religious man.

The Scotch prince assumed a tyrannical power over the constitution of this realm, and the consciences of men, throughout his whole reign. He endeavoured to encroach on the privileges of parliament, and to set himself above the laws. In these principles and practices, he was flattered and encouraged by his sycophant

sycophant ministers, bishops and clergy. With these false notions of power, the son's heart was corrupted, his head was turned and overturned. Ambitious men told them, their persons and authority were divine, to exalt themselves thereby; they swallowed the profane bait, and were intoxicated with it; they recled and staggered with licentious power like drunken men.

Whatever is divine, must be so in the nature of the thing; and if fo, then such as are by nature kings, are kings by divine right: and fuch his successor seems to have been, who kept by his wildom what he got by his valour. Nature herself could not forbear discovering her disorder, groaning for the nation, at the loss of so great a man.—But nature seemed pever to design the man; whom this day has almost deified, a higher step than that of a bishop; nor his father, than that of a schoolmast r. Both father and fon mistook their abilities, in conceiving themselves kings by any natural qualification they had for that office. or by any thing like divine right inherent in their persons .- To carry on this juggle since their reigns, and to deceive the populace into the divinity of the Stuart family, their fucceffors pretended to work miracles, 'in curing difeafes

diseases by a touch, and the bishops and clergy countenanced the fraud, and carried on the imposture. Some fools now have faith enough to believe (and when have not fools a foolish faith) that the seed of the Stuarts have this gift, and have been as far as France or Rome to partake of it. A sufficient demonstration of the imposition and stupidity of that party. But truth and sighteousness are not supported by religious knavery.

Enthusiasm enraged is madness; if the perfous feized with it are exasperated, they grow mad. The king was enthusiast enough to believe, that he of all the nation was the fole favourite of heaven. The people who had scrutinizing eyes, seeing nothing superlative in him, worthy the delight of heaven or of earth, began to conceive, that if he by the grace of God, was God's peculiar favourite, they had as much right and title to that grace as he. Thus the enthusiasm which the priests had kindled in the king, began to fpread among the people; and the wild fire being caught out of the priests hands, it was no longer under their direction. Every one of the Lord's people was as good as a priest or a king. And how indeed could it be otherwise, unless the king and priest had by their better doctrine and conduct taught the people better ?

And so all thought themselves to be kings and priests to God, even the lamb, even that lamb who is convertible into a lion. As the king himself, in his way, was baptised with the fire of this enthusiastic spirit, so from him the stame catched the people; his priests sowed the seeds of it in him, and he among all the people. It begun at court, and extended over all his dominions. Such as mensowed, they also reaped in full measure, making good the righteous sentence of scripture, which saith, With whatsoever measure ye metey it shall be measured to you again.

I read that, 'The bad policy of king James 4 appeared in nothing more than his falling out with his parliaments. This was princia pally owing to his extravagant notions of regal power, which he carried higher than most: of his predeceffors, and fo far as was incon-" fiftent with a limited monarchy, fuch as is-* the wife and happy confliction of England. 6 This brought many and great inconveniencies upon him; and happy had it been, if his only furviving fon and fuccesfor Charles I. had taken warning by the imprudent mae nagement of his father; for then he might have avoided the rock on which he unhape pily split. But being brought up in the · fames fame bigb notions of prerogative, he trod in the fame steps, nay took larger strides towards arbitrary power than even his father had done. By this means, the people that fided with the party against the court, grew every day more formidable, mens passions on both fides were heated, mutual distrust and · jealoufy took place; and religion also mixing in the quarrel, the patrons of civil liberty a made their advantage of it, till enthusiasm, which gathered strength from the arbitrary proceedings of the court, and the severity of the bierarchy, grew rampant in its turn, and overturned not only the hierarchy but the " monarchy too.' This is the fum of the general history of those times, of which particular facts are but fo many proofs.

These were the mismanagements of king Charles, his exercising an unlawful power, that is, a power to raise taxes without consent of parliament; his insulting, provoking, and falling out with them, instead of a becoming endeavour to please them, as if majesty consisted in haughtines—never convoking them but when compelled by want, and when his wants were satisfied, suddenly adjourning or dissolving them again in a short time after their meeting; and at those times seizing some

of their members; calling men to account out of parliament for what was faid in it, which ought to be the fanctuary of freedom; and trying all the illegal ways he could to supply his need without them. Eleven years did tyrannical power reign uncontrouled by parliament. The king's protecting and defending evil migisters, that persuaded him into such meafures, both abroad and at home, as were prerudicial to the nation .- His shewing favour to papills, and putting many of them into poffs of power and authority, whom all protestants had reason to dread and abhor, remembering queen Mary's burning reign. Authorifing archbishop Laud's tyranny, who fined men in his high-commission court at his pleasure, while the king's ministers, by his sole authority, did the same in the star-chamber. - His giving men reason to complain by hard and unjust usage, and denying them the liberty of complaint.-His raising an army against his Scotch subjects to force them to conformity and obedience to Laud and the liturgy. was grievous to the king to redrefs the grievances of his subjects, which were often remonstrated, and perpetually augmented; and when he suffered them to be redressed, it Geemed to be by constraint, and with a design to renew them .- The parliament's being

grever able to depend on his promifes being fulfilled, if he had power to break them.-These things were the unhappy mismanagement of that king, which in the end brought on him the hatred of the people, and his own destruction. And as the king took extraordinary and unprecedented frides towards arbitrary power, the parliament were obliged to take extraordinary and unprecedented strides to prevent his engroffing it to the ruin of the people's properties and liberties. Though neither side were entirely innocent, or all their actions justifiable; and in such confusion of affairs, it is impossible they could be void of blame; yet 'tis enough if we fee clearly which fide was most in fault, and was the real occasion of all the faults of the other fide. - It appears by the general conduct of Charles's reign, that he used his people not us a nur fing father does his children, but as the Lord used his enemies, and made them such to himself, for he ruled them as with a rod of eron, and broke them to fieces as a potter's veffel. -The commons shewed their fidelity to the nation, in often entering into the confideration of the liberties and properties of the subject, and of the multitude of grievances complained of by the people, as it was their duty to do. who are chosen to be guardians of their liberties :

liberties; and not to be creatures of the courts or tools of dominion, to enrich themselves and beggar the nation, but defenders of the kingdom, to redrefs an injured people from court-oppressions. They had a right, as it was their business to hear and examine into grievances, and do their endeavour to redrefs them. To whom should the people seek redress in such cases, but to their representatives? and when fought for in a legal manner, it was i'legal not to do them justice; for that is to crush them with injustice. - Such vile infringements of the laws were so often made, that the parliament then must have had no regard to themselves, nor their country, not to be incensed at it .- The severities of the church and state increased the enemies to both. I may here fet the church before the state. because the state was ruled by it .- Many then forfook their native country, forced by the inclemency of government, for shelter among the favages of America, hoping to enjoy life more to their fatisfaction abroad, in an unknown and foreign country, than what they could expect at home.

As the duke of Buckingham was the man to whom (at the beginning of Charles's reign) the people imputed the cause of all their grievances, one lieutenant Felian-undertook, at the expence

expence of his life, to attempt the redemption of the nation, by stabbing the duke to the heart, fo that he fell down dead; and happy had it been, if Felton's success had been equal to his good intention, and undaunted action. Happy had it been, if the king could have : learned care and conduct from it, by endeavouring to ease and please the people; and not by an obstinate difregard, or invincible stupidity, opened the fountain of their blood. which inevitably drew after it the loss of his own .- Actions well defigned, but without fuccess, are often blamed when men see the event, , but not before. Many things are: known to be wrong when they take a wrong turn to our expectations and defires .- The putting Charles I. to death, was not esteemed a fin by the nation, till Charles II. came in: The nation did not repent of it, till then; and till then, God did not feem displeased with them for the action; and then the Lord was displeased, or the priests belied him, as they have often done. Charles the martyr gives us'a fample of what many other martyrs have been, who died for their folly and obstinacy, not for their wildom and goodness. The mo. ber church has many fuch martyrs in . her calends; and its excuseable for the daughter to have one. - The power that is of God is a good

a good governing power, or a power that governs us for our good: This excites a love to God, when he punishes us only for our reformation, not visits the iniquities of the fathers on their innocent children, for this prevents our loving him. The more dreadful we conceive him to be, the less love we have towards him .- A religious sense of deity must needs be, that God makes, or knows the difference we make between good and evil, and rewards or punishes according to the regard we have thereto. But, what is good and evil to man, is really and necessarily fo to him, whether it be the fame to God or no, and we must form our conduct by our fense and knowledge thereof in all things relating to ourselves and society, that is, we must judge, whether actions are fit or unfit, as they may be prejudicial or beneficial to ourfelves or others, by the nature and necessity of their circumstances .- If we act for our own private good in opposition to that of the public, 'tis a vice; and fo much the greater, as the actor is a more public person, or person entrusted with the good of the public. An action for the public good, is an extensive virtue; and the goodness is greater or less in degree, as it more or less redounds to the public interest or advantage. This is good and true policy, and better than any bad and falle religion.

religion. And all religion is false and bad that has not this true policy in it. Seeing necessity requires, of two evils we should chuse the least; private good, when it comes in competition with the public, should be made to submit to it. If then taking away the life of one man, will redeem a nation from civil and intestine wars, he knows nothing at all who does not consider, that it is good one man should die for the people, that the nation perish not.

The king's endeavour to force episcopal government, with the discipline, ceremonies, and service of the church of England, on the Scots nation, fet the Scots against him with no less zeal on their side, which produced the Solemn League and Covenant, to maintain their own mode of religion against all innovations. -Religion is a thing of that nature, that though by pretending it, nothing is more easy than to wheedle people out of their fenfes, as appears by the pageantry, trumpery, idols, and breaden god of Rome; or though people may be brought up in what is called religion, without any fense at all of right or wrong, but as they are taught, as perfecuting and burning men for conscience and judgmentfake, evidently shew; yet neither can religion, , or what bears that name, bring forth the VOL. III. fruit

fruit of good works, which is forcibly uthered in, and put on as a yoke with feverity. Reason may sometimes prevail, but composition never, to make men abandon what they efteem facred: for violence committed on the facred veneration men have for what they esteem. and have been accustomed to esteem religion, Hirs up their abhorrence to that violence, and turns their veneration to zeal, to enthusiasme. to frenzy; and then it is, men fo irritated are fit to burn or be burnt. Whoever attempts to fill God's house by compelling men to come in. will find it the only way to empty it. This method, instead of driving any useful members io, will drive many out. He that endeavours to force mens consciences, in matters not injurious to the government, has no right notion either of government or of religion: for he that suppresses an honest conscience. suppresses religion. The conscience that would injure another, is an evil conscience; because It is an injurious one; therefore a popish conscience is such as deserves no toleration among protestants; because it suffers papists not to tolerate any other than their own. If it have toleration, therefore, among protestants, it is more than it deserves; and that toleration ought to beunder proper restraints and limitations, to guard their own liberties against

soulast its baneful influence. It is much more fafe to tolerate Mahometanism, Judaism, or Paganilm, than Popery .- A right conscience towards God, can never injure others for conscience-sake .- Religion is nothing else but believing in, and worshipping God, according to the distates of conscience, and if it hurts no body, nor has wny tendency to it, it ought so be tolerated; for not to telerate fuch faith and worthip, is destructive of fincerity and eruth. And kindling a persecution against it by unwarrantable opposition, kindles the flame of enthusiasm in the persecuted. He that -erects a church on the ruins of humanity, and carries a spiritual conquest over flaughtered consciences, is ignorant of divine and human nature, knows nothing of religion, and is a -rebel to the majefly of heaven, which he prertends to worship; but 'tis the majesty of the prieft he really promotes and pays his adoration to.- Ceremonies are insignificant as well .ins indifferent things; but he makes them effenrial who raifes contentions and bloodshed in :defence of them. Such ceremonies and enreroachments as are fet up to pull down -liberty, men may warrantably guard against wand oppose .- Where liberty is rooted out, fincerity is rooted out; impartial juffice and goodness in such a state finds no place .- If Q 2 God

God is a reasonable nature, form or no form equally pleases him, for alike fincerity in allmust be alike acceptable from all, by whatever mode, or in whatever manner the fincerity appears; as we are told, * The Lord feeth net as man feeth, but the Lord regardeth the heart. And again, + The true worshippers worship the Father in spirit and in truth. The best and only best things please the only best being. -Modes and externals please the men of mode and of superficial indements .- Whatever way men use, which pleases themselves in ferving God, cannot displease him; for the heart fanctifies the action, without which all is no more than mere fantastic fashion, empty ceremony, and foolish formality. God loves that men should please themselves in pleasing him, if he made us, as we are told, to give us pleasure and happiness, not to increase his own .- He who understands that equal successiv in all religions is equally acceptable to God, will give liberty of conscience to all; but he that fees it not, is religiously blind, and piously stupid .- He that denies men liberty of conscience, makes some men hypocrites, and destroys those that cannot be so made. He destroys that sincerity among men which is the

[&]quot; r Sam. xvi. 7. + John iv. 23.

only pure religion all the world over. Liberty of conscience to every man to worship God, and endeavour to please him in the best' manner that appears to him, is as much the divine right of every subject, as power is the divine right of the best and most rightful kings on earth .- What I call the worthip of God, is, that action which concerns only God and the worshipper, and has no relationto meum and tuum. An action which hurts no man, and which benefits no man but the wor-Thipper: And as God is the God of the fririts of all flefb, he must have an equal regard to the spiritual worship, which is sincerity in all. -If it was evident to all, what fort of worthip God loves or hates more than another; there would be some reason to value one better or worse than another. But till that is done. or appears on good proof, all fides have equal pretentions in their own way.-The consideration of man's ignorance of God, is fufficient to humble the spiritual pride of the most conceited enthusiast; for though there is not any thing in the world is more talked of, than of God, there is not any thing in the world less known; and the greatest priests know as little of him as the meanest men. Therefore methinks they should not presume too much, feeing though they bear the name

of divines, they are but little acquainted with divinity; therefore gentlenels and moderation become all parties.

The king went to Scotland with an army of 20,000 men, to reduce the Sees to the obedience of prelatic power and common prayer. So the king first raised arms against his subjects, and taught them to stand un in their own defence against a deluge of arbitrary power. True it is, that he did not use his. army against the Scots, because the English were not fond of affifting fuch power, the king being advised not to venture a battle: but if he had not intended it, why all that parade of power, and sunning the nation to fuch an unnecessary expence, when he was always in want of money? This wound was skinned over between the king and the Scots by a fort of truce rather than peace.-The Scots obstinately determined not to submit to any alteration in their religion, and the king as obstinately to make them, urged on by archbishop Laud, who managed the king's conscience, as men manage beasts of burden. Such stupid animals are kings who are enflaved by priests .- The king resolving to reduce the Scots by force of arms to his will, a numerous army is railed, but wanting money there was

m necessity to call an English parliament, les further impositions should further alienate the affections of the people. But the parliament when called had no defire to aggrieve the Scors: but to have their own grievances redreffed. Brave men, that would not be blaffed by court-threats nor flatteries ! and though we pray for the pardon of their fins, in would become us more to-mend our own. This parliament not complying with the king's demands, nor he with theirs, it was diffolved in about three weeks, and as was blual with him, he feat some of the members . so prison - When power is in the hand of a foolish prince, his exercifing it exposes his felly. His priest should have taught him Selemen's advice , Be not bafly in thy fpirit to be angry, for anger resteth in the bosom of fools. -Now the king prepares against the Scots, and the Scots against the king, and in the end the Scots had the advantage. The king is now obliged to call an English parliament to fettle the diffurbed state of the nation. This was the last parliament, which met in November 1640. And as the nation had been . always oppressed, without being able to obsain any redress, and all former parliaments had been bubbled; they first appointed a -

. Ecclef. vii...g. .

felect committee to draw-up a remonstrance. of all the grievances of the nation, which were. aumerous, but not prefented till a year after. The king well knowing what he had to expect, shewed great compliance in giving. his affent to all their bills, being awed, 'tis. likely, into a fort of tractableness, by an. army of Scats being in the nation.- The parliament went a great way in redressing the nation's grievances, and punishing the authors of them, which rendered them popular. Strafford was brought to the block. The high commission-court and star-chamber were abolished, and many great and good things. were done at the beginning of this parliament. -But though the king fuffered them to go. on great lengths, in delivering the nation from great oppressions, they knew it was contrary. to his natural disposition; for he hated to. have his anthority limited by parliament, and was delirous of nothing more than of reigning. without them; therefore, though they had passed a bill for triennial parliaments, they. could not depend upon the fecurity of that. law; for what fecurity can law afford, from. one that tramples upon law; therefore they. procured the king's affent to their establishment during their own pleasure, and having. fo done, they carried their point in all things they undertook to transact, -And well know-

ing their power had been despised, and as it were, annulled for fome time before, they looked with a jealous eye on all the actions of the king, and refolved, by way of felf defence, to fland by and protect one another, and to prescribe due limits to that tyrannical power, which had enflaved the nation fifteen wears before. - They knew that to make lions tame, is to fetter them, and that then, though they may feem tame, yet as foon as they flip their fetters, they appear to be lious still. Whether the king feared those he had before infulted and irritated; for tyrannical tempers pader power, or in fear, are the most abject : or whether he was under some better fort of tuition, like Nero under Seneca, that he behaved in a tractable manner for a while; I Asil not pretend to determine : but certain it was, they knew the man. Therefore they had a jealous eye on all his actions; and asthey could never trust him with fafety, when he went afterwards to Scotland, they had as much reason to fear, he would contrive to bring a Scotch army against them, as he had before sailed an English army against the Scots, contrary to the will of the English parliament and people.-Men of fense and penetrationhave the gifts of discerning the spirits of other men, more than the imprudent and unwary

can discern their own; and time made it aspear, their mistrost and jealousy was not 114founded. The king, who was always as weak in his conduct, as he was tyrannical in temper, could no longer be restrained: the severity and folly of his disposition discovered itself; though at the most improper feason: for as the proverb fays, Muffled cats are no good moufers. It was now too late to begin again to attempt the shewing his great power when he had suffered his head to be shorn; and though he awake and faid. I will go forth as at other times, and flew my great flrength; be knew not that the Lard was departed from bim, and was now with the parliaments for the Lord is never on the fide of weakness and folly. Undoubtedly this condescension in the king's delivering fo much of his regalia to the parliament, was a proof of a weak judgment, if he was right in maintaining it at first fo strenuoufly, that he always disobliged his parliaments, and would if he could have reigned without any; but if he was right in his complacency, because he saw his former error: why did he foolishly assume such authority again, in fending officers to the house of lords and commons, to feize fome of their members, and to deliver articles of impeachment against them of high treason, and at the same time,

by his fole authority, to fend perfons to feal up their doors, trunks, and papers? And why did he come himself with an armed band the next day to demand their delivering up those members? Does this look like a those rough conviction of his error? or was it only the effect of restraining grace? Was not this like the dog's returning to his vemit egain, and like the fow that was washed, to her wallwing . in the mire? Did it not evidently shew the nature of the man, that the old man, the old tyranpical nature was yet in him, and that he had not put bim off with his deeds; that he had not put on the new man in righteousness and fincerity, but in profession and external appearance only? Did not those clear-fighted: men the commons fee through him? Was not their inward jealoufy confirmed and ins creased by this outward proof of his unconwerted flate? Had not then the commons, the guardians of the people's liberties, reason to be on their guard against all his actions? Did . not they well, in-withstanding such tyrannical spirit, and in sending a serieant at arms to break open the feals, and apprehend thofe that put them on? for if they had not made a ftand against these arbitrary proceedings, all they had done before had been to no purpoles And did they not well, to make an order, forbidding -

forbidding the feizing any of their members without leave of the house, authorizing all members to fland upon their guard, and all constables and other officers to affift them? For had they not done this, they had established themselves as members of parliament in vain; nay, they had not established themselves at all; for if they had left it in the king's power to apprehend any of them at his pleasure, he might have gone on, and by fuch repeated acts, foon demolished the parliament. No doubt but if they could have trusted the king to the laws, and permitted their triennial act to take place when they were diffolved, they would not have continued shemselves by a new act; which, though it was contrary to any former, was however law : because it was agreed to by the king, lords and commons; for fuch agreement makes law by the constitution of this realm; and extraordinary cases may require extraordinary acts to be made: for to every new necessity a new law must be adapted, and proportioned to the exigency of the case. But if a king, or his ministers by his command, act contrary to law, it is unlawful, and they are culpable of the breach of the laws of the land .- Force. must be opposed by force, and deceit may be subverted by deceit, when other methods fail, or man has not an equal regard for felfdefence. Where there is good ground for jealoufy, men ought always to be upon their guard, and never part with their power, when they fear being attacked; and fo much the more exert themselves, as the enemy is great in authority. Kings that use their power to prey on the people, Solomon compares to roaring lions and raging bears; and they are not more merciful when their indignation is flirred up, and revenge is in their reach .-He that takes away a people's liberties, has a defign on their properties; and their lives are next at his mercy. Let kings alone to engrofs power, and the property of his subjects, and their liberties and lives will, follow .-- If Charles did not grasp at this, why did he pretend peace to his parliament, and prepare for war against them, by fending his queen to Holland, to buy up arms and ammunition, and putting the crown-jewels into her hands for that purpole-Arbitrary power is what no man breathing ought to be trusted with; therefore 'tis good policy, to overturn the bad machinations that any person makes use of to obtain it: for when it is obtained by any king, there remains no remedy to any people: feldom doth the death of the tyrant redeem them, if his heirs fucceed, though a fra

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fea of blood be spilt to recover their loss.
liberty.

After this fresh provocation given the parliament, the king, perceiving how unpopular he had rendered himself, sent two messages to them in a complying humour; telling them he would wave his proceedings against the fixmembers, and be as careful of their privileges, as of his own life and crown: and offered a general pardon. But pardon could not begrateful, when himself was the aggressor .-Now either the parliament faw that this was temporizing and flattery, knowing his natural disposition, or it appeared to them, he was like those christians that are always finning and repenting, whose repentance and reformation pever last longer than the influence of the saufe that occasioned it. Whether of their ways they judged, his word appeared to them not to be confided in; their jealoufy was confirmed, the fire was rekindled, they judged their lives and liberties were in danger fromhis power, and therefore it was to be retrenched as much as possible. Things were now carried to that pitch, and mutual jealoufies raifed fo high, that the people could neither trust the king, nor the king the people. Had they submitted to the king's authority, in all probability they would have been crushed.

And

and ORTHODORY Shaken.

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And the king feemed refolved not to fuffer a diminution of his divine power, as his courtiers and favourite priefts perfuaded him that he was a divinity; and weak heads exalted on an eminence, are always made giddy thereby. Ambitious spirits chuse rather to reign in hell; than serve in heaven.

The sudden starts of mischief and treachery in the king, were a good foundation of jealoufy to the parliament and people: And when will not fire increase fire where there is fuel? It increased here to a flame, till the king was burnt in the fire which himself had kindled: for in him was fulfilled the threatens ing of the Lord by the prophet Isaiab, (l. 11.) Behold all ye that kindle a fire, that compass your filves about with sparks: that walk in the light of the fire and in the sparks ye have kindleds This fall ye have of mine hand, ye fall lie down in forrow. And so it came to pale with those that had kindled the fire on both fides; and . if the Lord hath executed the fierceness of his wrath on them already, will he do it again on us? Doth he not know when to , have done? that the nation yet fast and howl before the Lord, and rather pelt him with prayers, if I may fo fay, than pray with true piety; for as Ifaidh faith, lvis. 4, Behold ye ... foft

fast for strife and dehate, and to smite with the fift of wickedness. Is this such a fast as I have chosen, a day for a man to offict his send? Wilt thou call this a fast, and an acceptable day to the Lord?-They fast, pray, and preach in spite to their brethren; therefore be that fits in heaven laughs them to scorn, and bas them in derision: therefore this their righteousness is as filthy rags, and they ought to pray God to . forgive them the iniquity of their hely things. The wife God heareth not the prayers of fools: because they are foolish prayers. Not, but I would have this droping day for ever kept, to shew the world the mockery of. religion; how one party, pretending piety, calls on God to pardon that fin of theirs which they never committed; while the other party that did the action, and in like circum-Aances would do it again, think it was an action worthy of as much praise as Rabbing -Cafar in the capitol. When those that did the action ruled. God was not mocked by a national repentance for it, and yet in all appearance, he is not in better friendship with us, than he was with them, norwithstanding all our prayers and penitence, which appear to be all in vain; fince being yet continued, shey have not we answered their end, in making atonement and procuring pardon: and

hypocrites; and therefore wisely rejects their foolish, or hypocritical humiliation. However, it is very fit and necessary this day should be for ever kept, to remind kings that if they are desirous of living the life, they may expect to die the death of that king which this day celebrates.

. The flame which begun in England, burnt to the utmost bounds of Scotland, and reached ? even to Ireland, where the Irif, to make use of the advantage, destroyed 40,000 protestants : fettled there, by innumerable acts of barbagity; which, if only done to free themselves. from the English yoke, whether countenanced; by the king or not. Certain it is, that he regarded not the life of his protestant subjects; but the only thing he regarded was, that he might have fole dominion over thema: to this end, he called for his forces from Iralord, that he might employ them against his . parliament in England; whereby it's plain, he judged that the fettling his own anthority on . the destruction of the constitution, was more mereffary, than revenging the blood of 40,000 . protestants, or securing Ireland under the dominion of the crown of England; and therefore, he either knew, the Iriff papills. that:

that committed those massacres, were his friends, and he could trust them to fecure Ireland to his obedience; or he was willing to lose a kingdom, to have revenge of his protestant subjects. And he that thirs for .. dominion by blood, or that endeavours to wade to it through a fea of blood, deferves a bloody reward.-In short, the consequence was, what is very natural, and in such case will always be, that both king, courtiers, and high-flying priests on one side, and the parliament and people on the other, secured what power each party could for themselves :for it was not fafe for the parliament to trust their persons in the power of the king, nor did the king think it fafe, to trust his powerwith their persons. And the steps that each party took, but enraged the other; which of necessity terminated in the utter ruin of one of them. And as in nature the fame canfes will always have the fame effects; fo the fame circumstances would always produce the same event, was the affair acted in any age or country in the world.-It happened at the end of eight years intestine wars which followed, to terminate by the death-of the king, and his death alone could put an end to the blood that was spilt on his account. And fare it was better that one. man should die for the ..

If Charles received his royal power from God alone, it is more than any king in this world ever did .- But Charles mistook his kingdom, for it was not of this world; therefore he was removed out of it, to feek a better, for which he was doubtless better qualified; for I don't dispute the goodness of the man, but the goodness of the king; who feems to me to have been the reverse to what fome have faid of king David, that he was one of the best of kings, but one of the worst men. Whereas on the contrary, king Charles who 'tis faid was one of the beft. of men, was one of the worst kings in the world, as archbishop Land was a very famous churchman. but a very infamous christian. As for religion, 'tis certain Charles had enough in him so let up a bishop, and a greater stock of that fort than kings ought to have. Yet this unhappy prince deferves our pity, as well as the nation under his government; he being ftupidly instructed by the pedant, his dogmatical father, in his younger years, was fo fitted in maturer age to receive the malignant impressions of his spiritual Land and count flatterers, who fowed those feeds in him, that growing up, brought ruin to the nation ands himfelf.

himself. And one would think, that he being made perfect through sufferings, and happy before his natural time, it does not require a hundred years penance of a whole nation; for fending the foul of fo good a man, among the fouls of the bleffed; and that the exchanging a mortal inglorious crown, for a crown of immortality and glory, was fuch a. fufficient and fatisfactory advantage to him. that he and his friends have reason to thank God and the nation, for fuch happy translation. And had it been done fooner, it had fased the lives of thousands more than it did. Necessity makes things unlawful, to be lawful. That which justifies war, in the defence of the rights and liberties of the people, from tyranny from abroad, will justify whatever measures necessity obliges people to take, to . defend their rights and liberties against tyrants . at home. But no man's liberty or propertyis now at all invaded, every man fits under bis own vine, and under his own fig-tree; eniovs the fruits of his labour, and may worship -God according to his conscience, if he has any good conscience at all; if his conscience. don't mislead him to overturn the state, and the confciences of all those that are led by more reason and humanity than himself.

In all probability, the preflyterians would a not have attempted to overturn the episcopal ochurch thurch, if that church, when governed by archbishop Laud, had not endeavoured to overturn them. It must be owned, the church was the aggressor, or his tyrannical behaviour over them in it, which had the favour and protection of fovereign power. As both king and pontiff confederated together, and encouraged each other, to humble and demolish the power and liberty of nonconformists. both civil and religious; what was more natural, than for them to fland up in their own defence, to grasp that power which was capable of defending them against both civil and religious tyrauny: and when they had grafped it. to use it as a scourge on their adversaries. and pay them in their own coin by way of retaliation? Men may talk what they will. that religion being the subject of the quarrel. by the principles of that religion they ought not to have gone fuch lengths as they did: the laws of religion will always fubfide when they are against the laws of nature, as soon as nature has power to prevail; and they will find reasons to comprehend the laws of retaliation in their religion, which before appeared opposite to it. For though the doctrine of loving our enemies may be preached, and embraced in fentiments when men have no enemics, or may feem to be embraced and practifed.

tifed, when retaliation is out of their powers yet when the power is turned, the tables are turned; when wrath prompts opportunity to action, then you shall hear another fort of religious doctrine maintained by the ascendant party; then the vengeance of the Lord of boffs is to be executed to maintain his honours Then you find it commanded, * Reward'her even as the has rewarded you; nay more, double unto her double according to her works: in the cup which she hath filled, fill to her double, then torment and forrow, plagues, death, famine and fire, follow to the conquered party. And this gives joy to the conquerors. Thus it ever was, and thus it will ever be; men's passions will direct men's conduct, as policy and power give liberty to their actions .-'Tho' revenge is not always laudable, yet it is generally justifiable, because necessary to awe men in power, not to exercise their power tyrannically and wickedly. Retaliation of injuries, not exceeding measure for measure, is therefore just, needful, and proper to be executed, being that chiefly which awes the wicked, and keeps men within the bounds of duty or moral behaviour. If I allow that christians, as such, ought not to revenge in-

Rev. xviii. 6.

juries done them, yet it must be allowed too. that christians are men, no more divested of passions than others, and those passions have the same influence, on the same occasions. over christians as over other men; therefore they, in such cases, will act as other men. even as beretics and infidels do; for when was it known that ever they did otherwise? I don't think there is an infidel, deift or ath ift in the world would burn a man for his religion, but if they were burnt by people of any religion, as foon as they had it in their power, they would destroy the power of that religion; and reason just, and practice good. And these (if they feared not God) would be as obedient to a mild and merciful king that acted for his subjects good, as any subjects the king had; but if like Satan on Job, he out forth his hand to destroy their properties, and their liberties, and torment their flesh, they would be as fit to rebel, and as zealous in the cause as other men, that are prompted on to action by the fury or enthusiasm of rereligion. And all men, religious or not religious, will do the same when excited by oppression, which makes a wife man mad.

He that redeems men from tyrannic power, and brings liberty and peace to an enflaved nation, even tho' it is but already begun, and

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a certain prospect of it appears; he that from fuch a state, frees a kingdom by his virtue and valour, is by nature a king, and bern to reign, therefore has in himself divine right from God, his actions are a sufficient proof of it; and that slavish religion which is a friend to arbitrary power in the prince and priest, in any nation, is inimical and injurious to the peace and happiness of mankind. And such religion should be kept in a state of subjection, whose leaders and abettors are promoters of slavery in civil and religious government. Both civil and religious tyrants are such fast friends to each other, that they cannot well be separated; they rise and fall together.

One may generally know the goodness of mens religion, by the spirit that maintains it; for the worst opinions are generally maintained with the worst spirit by those that embrace them. And it is no wonder, if stupid principles or frantic opinions, should have stupid or frantic effects in practice. By their fruits ye shall know them.—That religion which teaches men to damn and burn those that cannot embrace it, ought to be condemned by all men. Better would it be for mankind, then maintain such religion, to extirpate all religion out of the world. It is more to the

honour of God, to fay he requires no worship of us, than fuch a worthip as makes man inhuman, and the world miferable. What is it but religious madness to affirm, that ali . men will be damped who are not of this or that faith, or who do not conform to this or that church discipline, or fort of worship? For feeing these all damn one another, don't they all prove themselves to be mad? Needs there a greater proof, when neither party will be directed by cool reason, which alone can cure their madness? The furious and bigotted spirit is equally bad in all religions; it is the spirit of popery in them all, which nothing but time and reason can expel. -Anger and rage on one fide, breeds anger and rage on the other, so does a persecuting fpirit in a church, ffir up the same spirit in that which is perfecuted. Thefe who are first in the quarrel, are the cause of the effect that follows. If the presbyterians perfecuted the episcopal church, it was a fign of a bad fpirit, but it was first stirred up by the episcopalians; they were first, and therefore greatest in fault; though nothing is more common than to lay the whole blame on the provoked, not on those that gave the provocation; and yet nothing is more wrong, for it is as natural for anger, indignation, and · VOL. III. R refentment.

refentment, to arise from oppression, abuse, and injury given, as for fire to kindle fire; and men must be devoid of passion to be otherwise, which is more than any men are. Therefore to the public peace-breakers all the consequences of the public disturbance are owing.

O! cry churchmen, the presbyterians are a rack of wicked rogues, they pulled down the church! Nay, fay I, not fo; for they possessed themselves of the churches, and so became churchmen. But the church folk pulled down the meeting-houses, in my time, and would have pulled down all in the nation, if they had not been stopped by force. Was not this religious high-church frenzy and fanaticism? though this very party called the other fanatics! so madmen know not their own madness, and think others mad: but the churchmen, to have been even with the nonconformists, instead of pulling down their meeting houses, should have gone and preached in them. The presbyterians indeed pulled down the common prayer, because God should not be on the fide of the church; for if they did not pray, to be fure the Lord could not hear tem, and they could not pray without book, at the fame time the presbyterians themselves pray'd for dear life-and liberty to pray.

But suppose they did pull down the church, was not the church as had which would have pulled down the presbyterians at the same time? They wanted not will, but power. I don't suppose any nonconformists would have had any intention or thought of robbing the church of her bishops and godly gear, if archbishop Land had been a good man, and not, like a wolf in theep's cloathing, have worried Christ's sheep in his spiritual courts, No doubt but the church might have droved in peace, had the let her fifter church toned in peace. But at the end, the fortune of war turned for the diffenting party, and whatever party lofe the day, they must be at the mercy of those that get it. Those that fall undermost must submit to them that get uppermoft. What was the fate of the epifcopalians and common-prayer mongers, would have been the fate of the presbyterians, had they lost the field. But they fought with the fpirit, as well as prayed by the spirit; and it happened at that time to help their infirmities. Indeed, in my opinion, it is the fairest way of ' living to live and let live, not to have any business monopolized. Religion, like-trade, ought to be free. It is best dealing at an open market; by that means we have a more reasonable choice, and at a more reasonable

rate. When you have only Hobson's choice, you must pay Hobsen's price. Parsons, when they find people can by no means help themfelves, but must deal with them alone, are as great extortioners as any pawnbrokers whatever. Why should not every man chuse for himself in spirituals, as well as in temporals, and buy those wares he likes best, or thinks he has most need of, seeing he must pay for them. Religion is a thing of choice, and hehas no religion, that never chose any himself. for himself; but if he seems to have any, it is the religion of another he puts on, but not his own. It was the religion of the perfor that first chose it, but is not his that wears it, and that person might, perhaps, be his great grandfather's great grandmother; and it may have been, of a very different fashion from his, worn in the family till it becomes quite thread bare. Many families have religion by hereditary right, and this they take to be divine. but if it was fo, it would be by election and grace, both on the fide of Christ and the christian. Let either of them chuse first. they must both chuse; or else neither does the professor chuse Christ, nor Christ the professor. Therefore, in the day of judgment, will not Christ say to such, Depart from me, I know you not; and the professor, if he speaks the truth.

truth, must answer, Nor do I know you. What will become of these in that day, the day must declare. - But should any be so honest (for in that day men may be allowed to speak the truth) as to fay, the priests of his country would not let him chuse, for they would damn him if he did. And I suppose this will be the complaint of millions. Let the priests look to it. I think it is but just that they should be damn'd for 'em. If any had liberty to chuse for himself, but depended on the priest to chuse for him; how can he think it unjust, that the priest should be faved for bim. But as priefts in all fuch cases, chuse for others what is most consistent with their own interest, they are paid here, therefore it is unreasonable for them to expect to be paid again bereafter: therefore both these we may reckon the Lord's chaff, which he will winnow from him with the fan of his word .-And suppose one is called to the bar, who, upon being asked his religion, declares upon his conscience, that as he lived in such days of fury, wherein every religious party damned each other, for fear of being damned (by all . the rest) he chose none; and not thinking it safe to depend on mercenary priests, thought it better to preserve an honest conscience, and so place his whole dependence on the merits.

of the fon, or the mercies of the father only. Will not the fon or the father take pity of him, think you, and fave him for his honesty and fidelity, if not for faith and formalityfake? God cannot condemn a just man, and be just himself. But he whose faith and worship makes him inhuman and injurious to men, mistakes the true God for Moloch, or Mals, and he that makes his interest the motive of his choice, instead of serving the God of heaven, he ferves the god of this world. worldly power, and a worldly disposition. Men that will not do justice here, will furely there feel justice done them, for the devil is just in his own dominions; how elfe can he be the executioner of juffice? and there must be justice in hell, if there is mercy in heaven.

Nothing I think shews more the government of a good God, or his regard of this world, than that great criminals armed with power receive condign punishment in it; for what they receive in another world, those in this, know nothing of: therefore God's conduct in that world, is no proof to us of his moral character in this. Certainly power and greatness cannot sanctify wickedness in high places. If it be criminal to condemn great criminals, justice is all a farce, and power is only right, whether it be executed rightly or

no; and power is facred in them that have it, howfoever it be profanely used, and impiously prostituted for the screening villainy, and the worst of all villainy that of tyranny. Casar was a tyrant, because he overturned the conflitution of his country. Charles did not this. because he could not; but he endeavoured to reduce the state into an absolute monarchy. Cafar knew how to procure to himself favourable opportunities, and make the best use of them. Charles knew neither. Cafar warred with glory, but Charles was inglorious in all his wars, and never shewed more bravery than when it least became him, in the unneceffery war he raifed against his own subjects. In one respect they may be compared together; · when we reflect upon the prodigious number of men, whose death, poverty, or slavery they occasioned, we can hardly forbear abhorring them. Their falshood and ambition brought on a civil war. They used the arms of their country for the oppression of their country.' The people indeed in Rome and Britain did not tamely submit: therefore they that made the noble stand for the liberty of free-born subjects in opposition to tyranny, are damned by their favourites and priests, who endeavoured to enflave mankind by their wicked counsels and doctrines, and lead weak R 4 beads-

for their ambition to rule as they ought not, both might have lived and died in peace. He that makes a prince's head giddy with unlawful power, paves the way for his destruction.

We blame that age, but not our own. They put a bad king to death. We expelled · another, not killed him; because his heels faved his head. But we do worse than they, when we blame our redeemer, the ILLUS-TRIOUS WILLIAM, for the action of redeeming as, and fettling liberty on that glorious foundation on which it now flunds. We were again redeemed by the bravery and conduct of another IVILLIAM, from flavery rolling on like a deluge, and him, and that very glory which freed the nation, we now depreciate. They cut off a bead that was troublesome to the body; we have feveral times rebelled against our head, in which the life, fafe'y, and health of the body depends, against those that have fettled and fecured those civil and religious liberties to us, which they prayed and fought for; and is defirable and acceptable to all wife and good men, in all nations and in all ages. O let this day be for ever kept, to perpetuate the infamy of his tyrannic, reign, and the holiness and power of high-churchs that it is capable of making one, who was fo . great

great a sinner in his life, so glorious a saint and martyr at his death; consecrating not only the man, but tyranny, oppression, and bigotry; and that generations yet unborn may know the hard and bloody struggle their ancestors had to preserve the liberty they have conveyed to them, and awake to the sense of its inestimable value. And whenever they are in like danger of losing it, let them cry unto the Lord, and say in the words of his prophet of old, * Awake, awake, put on strength, O arm of the Lord; awake as in the ancient days, in the generations of old. Met not then the same arm that hast wounded the proud, and bean the dragon in pieces?

It cannot be denied, that actions are knownto be good or evil by the intentions and confequences. Now to judge by this maxim,
the putting king Charles to death, being intended to put an end to civil wars, and the
confequence was, that it did so, and prevented!
the death of many men, and valuable members'
of the commonwealth, every one of which'
could not be less useful to the public, thanthe king. For how could he be useful tothe public, who destroyed the peace, pro-

Isaiah li. 9. So the old translation renders the latter part of the verse:

perties, and lives of the public ?- If he was a king appointed by God, he was such a king over this island, as the stork was, which devoured the frogs, whom Jupiter fent to rule over them .- To plead or pretend, that it is for men's fus, such kings are commissioned by heaven to rule over them, is an ignorant subterfuge; for do they make men less finful, and not rather much greater fumers than they were before? unless rebbery and marder, the necessary confequences of war, are no fins. Does God punish sin with sin? or does sin make an atonement for fin? if fo, a less degree of sin displeases God, but a greater degree propitiates him. Or does God disapprove of fome fort of fins, and approve of others? If he does, it may be hoped, that the fin of putting king Charles to death, might atone for the fins of the king, and of the nation committed on his account, as reasonably as the sin of putting Christ to death, atoned for the fins of men. Is heaven more pleafed with earth when fet in a tumult, or is there fometimes a diforder in the divine mind, and allayed by the diforder of mankind? This. as my reason informs me, is a false and stupid imagination. Does God regard men in such degree, as they are advanced to power and dignity by men? Is his judgment conducted F .

by ours in the estimation of things? I am fure, if God exalts men in and over the state. according to the value he has for them, our judgments are not conducted by his .- Kings reign by divine right, when they reign as they ought; but to fay they reign by divine right, when they trample upon right divine, upon law and inflice, and reign as they ought not, is a facrilegious doctrine, and profaning. if not blaspheming, divine nature. If the persons of kings are divine, and sacred in the fight of God, let them rule as they will, then power is divinity, and authority is fanctity; and lawless sway may be lawful government: then the office of a king is not an ordination for the public good, but the public were ordained for his good, and then to be fure, God makes the people for the fake of the king; and his life alone, is of more value than the lives of all the kingdom. If fo. what the high priest spake, by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, is not true, that it is better one man die, than the nation perifi. If this was true when applied to Christ. one would think, as Charles was not, to be fure, fo good a man, it was better, at least to the people of this land, for their temporal flate, that their fovereign Charles should die to fave the further effusion of the nation's blood, .

R 6

and their liberty, than that the Lord Christ. Mould die to lave the temporal state of the Jews, which was all that Caiaphas meant. though the Holy Ghost might have a further meaning. If God only regards kings, and the good of the people are below his notice, as must be the case, if the doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance be right; then are the people in evil case! in evil case nodoubt! But this is contrary to what we are taught, that God is no respecter of persons, and if a sparrow cannot fall to the ground without his notice, and we are better than they, in his fight; if he takes care of oxen only for our lakest, fure we ought to take care of being gored, for our own fakes, by any person . armed with power, or claiming a power over us. 'Tis reasonable to think that those to whom God has a peculiar regard to, more than to other men, he has given them fome greater endowments of body or mind, more than he has to other men; but if nothing of this appears in them, how does the proof of it appear? It feems also reasonable to believe, that God guards his peculiar favourites in a peculiar manner, and yet what king cares to trust himself to God's guard only, if he can

^{* 1} Cor. ix. 9, 10.

get other guard befide?-That this divine right mould be indefeasible and hereditary too. is fach a piece of priesteraft and imposition on the common understandings of men, that there is no man of any common understanding, but. what must see the folly, absurdity, and villainy of it. Let them produce the original grant, warrant, commission, or indenture, written above, figned and fealed below, and the witnesses. "Tis not fit we should take the priest's word, who afferts what he is ignorant of, or contrary to what he knows: He that does, will be priest-rid with a witness; it being an evident witness of priefly imposition. Or to prove that any particular line of princes are fo eminently explied above the rest of all mankind, to have their authority from God alone; fure they ought to be proved to be descendants from above, that the first of the race came down from heaven, or was begotten by some God originally, not an imaginary but a real God, not Yove or Mars, whose godthips are now dead and buried; and that the breed has not degenerated down to manhood. Let the affertors of this doctrine also prove that the Stuart race are of this heaven-born blood; for I think they have never conferred that boneur on any other family, nor preached the doctrine of passeve obedience to any other princes.

princes, an honour peculiarly great to them of all others; because they of all others deserved it so little! This is all they have to prove, and if they cannot prove this one thing, of their indeseasible hered tary right, who have afferted it with so much warmth, casting about fire-brands, arrows, and death to support and vindicate it, and therefore ought to have been very sure, they were very right in doing so: I say, if they cannot prove this, who can believe them in any other point, or, who ought to believe them without producing their authentic credentials?

He that fuffers such doctrines to be preached. to him, or of him, has a mean bead, and a monfrous heart; for he must be a man of means judgment, and a monfler in the judgment of other men that have understanding .- If we go to scripture for our rule, God gave to David and to his descendants the kingdom of Ifrael by oath, and yet God chose rather, not to infift too firiffly on the performance of his eath, than disoblige his people. Nav. God gave up his own prerogative rather than their liberty. He let them have a king to their mind, and let the king have a God to his mind. God himself did not force men to worthip him contrary to their own inclinations. If therefore any officious fet of men pretend

pretend to regard men's service of God, more than God regards mens fervice, it is for their own fervice they make those pretensions, and thew of zeal for God, in an ungodly manner. And why fhould any earthly king infift on his prerogative, more than the king of kings infifts on his; feeing " in time past be suffered all nations to walk in their own ways. God furely knows better, what he has to do, and how to do his will, than man does. If man can ferve God better than God can ferve himfelf. God may be obliged to man for ferving him; but if God cannot be obliged by man's fervice, man can only ferve himself in serving God.-But what if God gave the kingdom of - Hrael to David, and his fons, by divine hereditary right, what's that to us? How came the transition from Ifrael to England, and from David to Stuart? Our constitution of government is as different from theirs, as that people, time, and place, are different from ours. They had prophets that knew the will of God, and received their revelation from him; but our priests know no more of the will and revelation of God, than we do; for they know no more of it than what they read. and we know as much, and understand it as

well. Besides, the gospel gives no rule about national government; therefore God leaves all. christian nations to walk in their own ways, as, he did the nations in time paft. Therefore it is not the business of christian priests to direct christian governors; 'tis impertinent in them. to prescribe or meddle in state-matters, unlesstheir affiftance or advice is called for, or commanded by the state. And as Christ's kingdom was evidently not of this world, what have they to do to interfere and concern themselves with worldly kingdoms and affairs. Christ. came to fet us free, and is it their bufiness. who profess to be his fervants to enslave us?. It is both ridiculous and infolent, for the fervant to pretend to have more authority then the maften; the fervant is not greater than his Lord. How then can those who call themselves Christ's ministers, pretend to worldly. power and authority, when their mafter had. none, bad not where to lay bis head. Were they to have no wages, but what their mafter Christ is to give them, there would be very, few but what would quit his fervice; though those Christ sends, he will no doubt reward. They that pretend to have their mission from. him, not from the state or the people, and therefore claim civil dominion, claim what their mafter never did, should have no reward.

ward, but fuch as he thinks fit to give them, from whom they presend to be fent: for this very good reason, because they assume a tyrannical authority over those on whom they are dependents for their livings, and who pay them their wages; especially when humility. and obedience to lawful kings and magistrates is their lawful and just duty, that they may, by their example, teach men to lead quiet and peaceable lives in all godliness and honesty. Their doctrine and behaviour ought to be fuch, as may bring glory to God, peace on earth, and good-will to men. This is goftel; and this is the business of the ministers of the gospel. They ought not to lord it over Ged's beritage. Their duty is not to rule, but to obey, not to use force and violence, but meekness and instruction; both in life and doftrine promoting righteousness.

Be it known to all kings and princes, that those who preach unlimited obedience to them, do it for some base end; but will practife it no more than those that maintain opposition in some cases to be lawful and just, for there is no such obedience in man's nature; they preach a doctrine unnatural which cannot be practised, and therefore will be no more regarded by them than by others: for such doctrines

doctrines of religion as are against nature. whatever gloss may be put upon them, cannot, and will not be obeyed; and are therefore arbitrary, tyrannical, and unjust. Religion should restrain and regulate mens passions. not prefume to crucify or extirpate them; for that is a prefumptuous aiming to make menother creatures than ever God defigued them; therefore fuch aims are equally stopid and wicked. Should any king put forth his hand to oppress the clergy, as king Charles oppressed his fubicats, and Laud the latty; the clergy will be as ready as any other men to blow the trumpet of fedition, and the alarm of war; nor will they be content with bare exercifing their fpiritual terrors in the next world, and fufferings in this. The battle will be the Lord's of whatever regiment in religion the clergy be a and I have always observed, that the most zealous affertors of paffive obedience, have been men of the most resisting and turbulent tempers. That they love tyranny, is very apparent, because they always promote it; and always deify that king who deiffes them; who gives his power and dominion to them; though by his actions he be apparently the wilest of men: which shews, in the most glaring light, their extreme partiality, being always ready to fanctify and applaud whatever men or measures contribute to their advantage, to heap on them wealth and dominion, though they are of the darkest hue that moral characters can represent.

God who for the good of man, spared not his teen fon, for the good of the kingdom, spared . not the king; efteeming it better that one man frould die for the people, than the nation perifh. Nor does it appear to me that the one was less necessary in the different nature and reason of thing than the other. For had the nation submitted to the king's will, it had, in all peradventure, remained enslaved at this day; for when his vengeance had been irritated by opposition, in all probability there would have been no end, till tyranny had established its feat by blood, and popery by fire. But what if the church had not been subject to the pope at Rome, if it erected a pope at Canterbury, would that have mended the matter? What if it had not all the popish trumpery and ceremonies, if it had her tyranny and cruelty, how would the matter have been mended? His grace of Canterbury was graciously pleased to declare, that he hoped to fee the time when never a Jack gentleman in England should dare to stand with his hat on before the meanest prieft. This was sufficient to thew, that he drove at making every gentleman fervile and submissive to every mean spini404 The Pillars of PRIESTCRAFT tual tyrant, and that he hoped to make all priests rampant in power.

Though I may have feemed to have treated the divine right of king Charles without divine homage or veneration, yet if we consider rightly of the matter, there was a fort of Athanalian divinity, fomething like triniy in unity in the family; for fuch as Charles was, fuch was the fither fames, and fuch was fames the for, in majestic prerogative co-equal, in religion coexternal. As was the tree, such was the fruit. And as we found the fruit naught, we contradict ourselves to mourn over the tree, as if it had been good, which there was judged to be. a necessity to cut down. Our fathers began the struggle for liberty against an arbitrary family, and we finished it with glory. Can that which is glorious in us, be inglorious in them ? They, for the peace and fecurity of the state, cut off the head of the father; we, for the same reason. cut off the tail of the fon; though it had been, been better for us if we had cut off his head. alfo. But this was the judgment of God executed upon them, that he might have mercy. upon us; for his judgments are always mixt, with mercy. Such judgments the Lord threasened to his I/rael of old, "The Lord will cut.

[·] Maiah ix. 14.

off from Israel bead and tail, branch and rush in one day.

If we may judge of men's dispositions by their actions, if the tree be known by its fruit, this prince was certainly weak in his judgment, obflinate, and vindictive in his temper, and very infincere as hypocrites are; and therefore no wonder if he affected to be thought religious, and so fond of ignorant devotion and religious ceremonies, that he became a flave to priefts; and endeavoured, as sutored by them, to inflave the people. Though it must be confessed, the king had a conscience, and a very great one for when he had to do with the consciences of others that were different from his, it swallowed them all up, as Aaron's rod swallowed up the rods of the Egyptian Magi. And 'tis well known, that the rod of the prieft's power always endeavours to fwallow up all other power. and often does fo .- In Charles's younger years he was looked on by all that knew him to be of a very obstinate disposition, which his mother much lamented; and publickly confessed, that the feared he would live to be the ruin of himsetf, and occasion the loss of the three kingdoms by bis obstinacy. If any thing hindered him . from being a papist, it was his love of praragative; for notwithstanding the strictness of the laws against papists at the beginning of his reign,

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reign, he granted them a general pardon and indulgence; and declared, it was his will that all the laws against them should stand discharged. Thus he early discovered himself a friend to popery and tyranny .-- And as the king and priestbood grasped at absolute authority, and increased in the exercise of it over the people. to the dire effects of their tyranny and cruelty increased. Their new invented and erected high-commission courts and star-chamber were nearly related to popish inquisition, by which monftrous cruelties were committed. and prodigious fines imposed on great numbers of persons, some of whom were men of the best reputation, parts and learning, of which it may not be improper to give a fample, whereby to judge of others.

Mr. Pryme, for reflecting on the court and archbishop Land in his writings, was profecuted in the star-chamber, and sentenced to pay 5000 l. to the king, to stand twice in the pillory, to have both his ears cut off, one at each time, to be afterwards imprisoned during pleafure without use of pen, ink or paper, and to be stigmatized on both cheeks with S. L. denoting a seditious libeller.

Two or three years after, the same Prynne, and Bastwick, and Burton, for writing some reflec-

and ORTHODOXY Shaken. 407 reflections on the hierarchy and government, were sentenced to pay 5000 l. each to the king, to stand in the pillory, to have their ears cut off, and Prynne that part of his ears which were left.

Mr. John Lillourne for writing in Mr. Prynne's vindication, was condemned by archbishop Laud in his star-chamber to be whipt with a treble knotted cord from the Fleet prison to Wastingter-ball, and had 500 lashes. Afterwards in this deplorable and bloody condition he was obliged to stand in the pillory, and was there gagged for complaining of this cruel and barbarous usage.

Dr. Leighton for offending the hierarchy, was fentenced to pay 10,000 /. to the king, and by two of Laud's officers was hurried into a most dismal cell in Newgate, there kept almost two days without food, and his effects feized, received when very ill thirty-fix stripes with a treble cord, afterwards stood in the pillory all bloody as he was almost two hours in a time of frost and snow, had there one ear cut off. one noffril flit, and one of his cheeks branded with a red hot iron, then carried away to the Fleet prison again by water; and that day seven night the fores on his back, nofe, and face not being cured, he was again whipt and pillored 3

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lored in Cheapside, and there had the remainder of the sentence executed, by cutting off the other ear, slitting up the other nostril, and branding the other cheek.

Innumerable were the torments and troubles of the subjects, in the reign of this pious king. And wherever the clergy reign, or a bigotted prince, they damn the laity, that is, they make them damaed flaves or villains: and if they drive them to heaven, it is through hell. None facrifice to mammon more devoutly than they. When tyranny is intended to be established, it is the work of mercenary priests to begin the fally against common sense: the better to bubble, bully, and inflave the people; the terrors of damnation are of facred use: by these they endeavour as much as in them lies, to annul all the laws that secure to the people their rights and properties. Laws cannot possibly be of any service, if they may not be defended, against a powerful robber and perverter of them. Or against a band of men combined to rob the nation of their properties and privileges, which are as much their right, as what the king holds by law is his, because both hold them by the same rightful power, the law of the nation; and therefore subjects have equal right to possess and defend, what the law

efves them, as the fovereign has. Nothing IS MORE SACRED THAN LAW; ît is the power of wisdom and goodness, or both, united for a good end, and is called fustice. It is justice that is law. Juffice is the proper ruling power, net the power of the ruler; for power is given to a ruler, to a political head, for the lake of maintaining justice. To transgress the law, is a criminal thing; it is doing what is not just, and therefore renders the transgressor criminal, and an unjust person, whoever he be; for the law is like God, which is God's law, it is no respecter of persons; and the law of nature is the nature' of that law. When the political head therefore is become unjust, it is unnatural to the body politic, and offends it; ought not then the gospel precept to be practifed, which fays, * If thy right eye, right hand, (or principal mem-Ber) offend thee, cut it off, and caft it from thee; for it is profitable for thee that one of thy members perifb, nather than the subole bady; for desperate diseases must have desperate remedies; though it ought not to be in the power of pope, priest, enthufiast, or any private, particular person, to determine the public particular case; but it refides in the united power of the public body,

[•] Matthew vi. 29, 50:

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from which the head received its power of being head, for the united good of the body, or the public. For this reason, they confer their power on one person, and vest their authority in him, not for his good in opposition to theirs, but for their own good in conjunction with his. Confidering the end and intention of their action, it is a power lent, not given : it is their power who are lenders, and they are the body who have it in themselves by natural right, that is, and that only is divine; and he that receives it from them, has it by the fame right; but has no right to possess or execute it longer than he rightfully uses it. He that has lost his conduct cannot be a conductor. Of him that perverts what is lent him, to his own use, in prejudice to the lender: certainly the lender has a right to demand the restoration of what he lent, and oblige him to it by force, and foul means, when fair means fail. No law can bind men down for better for worse till death, if threy are aggrieved, and can find a remedy, no more in political, than in physical cases. No laws of God or nature oblige any person or people to remain miserable if they ean be freed from milery, and make themselves happy. To expel or kill a governor, undoubtedly puts a nation into convultions; but when

when his life puts a nation into convultions, then his expulsion or death is the only remedy. When a disease is bad, the cure is good. If the remedy is worse than the disease, we must feek another; but some cases admit of but one remedy, one method of cure, and in those cases that must be had, or none. Let the remedy be what it will, it is not the less good because it is public; nor is justice the less justice, because it is done in a justiciary way .- To extort money from a nation contrary to law, is a national plunder, and public rapine. And we all know what punishment the law pronounces on highway-robbers. Do they who rob a whole nation deferve less punishment than those who rob only fingle persons? or ought great criminals to escape with impunity, and little criminals only fuffer. Or in desperate cases, is it not expedient that one man die for the people, that the nation perish not?

Mr. Gordon, that Herculean reasoner, in his discourses on Tacitus*, says, An absolute prince is of all others the most insecure, as he proceeds by no rule of law, he can have no rule of safety; he acts by violence, and violence is

^{*} Vol. I. p. 106:

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the only remedy against him. His acts of cruelty upon particulars, whether done for revenge or prevention, do but alarm other particulars to save themselves by destroying him.

4 It is rate for a prince limited by laws, and content with his power, to reign in forrow, or die tragically, as it is uncommon for those who have no bounds set them, or will suffernone, to escape a miserable reign and unbloody end.

The people likewise expect complaisance from a prince, expect to have their fentiments and humours confidered; while the prince probably thinks that they have no right to form any judgment of public matters, or to make any demands upon him, but on the contrary requires of them blind reverence and obedience to his authority; and acquicicence in his fuperior conduct and field, that all his doings fhouldpass for just; himself for a person altogether facred and unaccountable; and his words for laws. If their behaviour towards him do not happen to square exactly with these his somereign notions and high conceit of himself, he will be apt to think, or some officious flatterer will be ready to persuade him, 'his royal ac-,

+ Vol. 1. p. 121. * p. 123." thority

thority is fet at nought, the people are revolted; and what remains but they take arms.' To punish therefore their disobedience, he proceeds to violence, and exercises real severity for imaginary guilt. Mischief is prolific; and violence in him begets resentment in them: The people murmur and exclaim; the prince is thence provoked, and flies to vengeance; when one act of vengeance is resented and exposed, as it ever will be, more will follow. Thus things go on; affection is not only lost, but irrecoverable on either side, hatred is begun on both; and prince and people consider themselves no longer as magistrate and subject, but one another as enemies.

Mr. Gordon says thus, of this royal martyr's reign, in his ladependent Whig *: 'Now, if we enquire into the first cause, from which all the rest naturally followed, we shall find that the wiolence 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 sisteen years together practised it, raising money without law, and against law; which was robbery

[.] Vol. III. p. 361.

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in those who enforced the collection of it i imprisoning men, the best and greatest men, without law, and against law: which was law-less 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, 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 syramy.

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 syranny. If he had a right, of what force are laws and oaths; and where is our constitution, the boasted rights 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

and ORTHODORY Sbaken.

would they have relished the imprisonment of . their persons, taxes laid on, and exacted without confent of parliament, arbitrary and exceffive fines, their 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. How do they reconcile fuch zeal and profession with an approbation of the reign of king Charles I. which was one continued feries of oppressions, and abolished liberty and law, and established universal slavery?'-

Was it not crying guilt in the crown, to abandon its duty, to violate the coronationoath, to tread upon law and justice, to perfecute 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 Englishmen, and freemen, to commemorate and detest an administration so pernicious and devouring, meafures fo black and lawlefs? 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 flavery, and fup-. press it betimes; to rejoice that we live in hap-

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pier times, live in a free government, and under the free course of the laws, to pray for the continuance of such an invaluable blessing, and be dutiful and affisting to that GOOD AND GREAT PRINCE who secures it to us, and claims nothing to himself, but what our parliaments and known laws give him.'—

Seeing we have now the best of kings to govern us, which is the greatest of all national bleffings, let us not grieve that our fathers delivered themselves from tyranny by their struggles. and us from the pernicious confequences of it. Have we not more reason to rejoice, that the parliament's army had got the better of the king's, than if the king's army had got the better of the parliament's? for whereas we now lament one day in the year, should we not then have lamented every day in the year? We might have fought the freedom we now enjoy in America, we should not have found it in Britain. If we were not ungrateful to that God who redeemed us, he would give us feafting for fasting, and the oil of gladuess for the fairit of heaviness, we should thank God for his mercies to us, instead of complaining and repining before him of his judgments to them. feeing

and OR THODOXY sbaken. 417 seeing in the midst of judgment to them he hath remembered mercy to us.

'As the leffon for this day is the fufferings of . our bleffed Lord, and as Charles's devotees use fond of making an analogy between them, I shall grant there was some in their deaths. though there was none at all in their livers: for the one went about doing good with his power, and faving the lives of men; the other went about doing-mischief with his army, and . defireying men's lives, to defend his power, and maintain his prerogative. But both friends and enemies allow that he died a good death. It was a national good that one man died for the people, and the nation perighed not. In fuch case therefore, it may be looked on as a kind of propitiatory facrifice, and his death. may be imputed righteousness, which brought. temporal redemption to the nation, as the death of Christ brought spiritual redemption to the world. As he died a good man, we must allow his death was unfortunate and is cause of mourning; but as he died a bad king the death of fuch a one is fortunate, and matter of joy to any people. Thus justly stating both fides of the account, we may fet equal, reasons of joy against equal cause of sorrow,

fo cancel each other, and make the balance even. And as our fathers have fent him to his heavenly father, and have followed him themfelves, Requiescant omnes in pace. If God is reconciled with them, as we ought in charity to believe, there is a reconciliation between God and his people; therefore we ought to be reconciled with one another t.

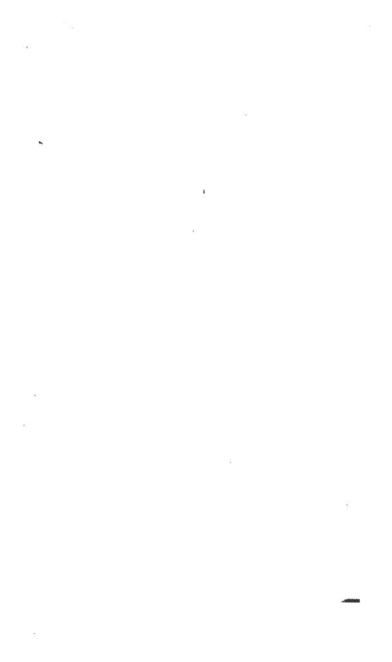
+ Notwithstanding some grammatical errors in this tract, there is such an honest simplicity of heart, such good meaning, and such worthy sentiments in the whole, that I thought it deserving of preservation. How much better reasoning is found here, than in many sermons preached by great and dignished men before Lord, and Comment?

END of the THIRD VOLUME.

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THE

PILLARS

PRIESTCRAFT

ORTHODOXY

SHAKEN.

They are always forward to complain of innovations, and of diffurbing things that are fettied. But who have made more innovations than churchmen? Who have more diffurbed 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 wident and lawless changes, were there not wrought by I.aud and his brethren in his time, and always attempted by tiose of his spirit ever fire? The laity have been only on the defensive, warding off the attempts and morstrous demands of such of the clargy, and answering their wild writings. Gordon.

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Difficulties and Discouragements

Which attend the

Study of the Scriptures

In the way of

Private Judgment;

Represented in a Letter to a Young Clergyman.

In order to flow,

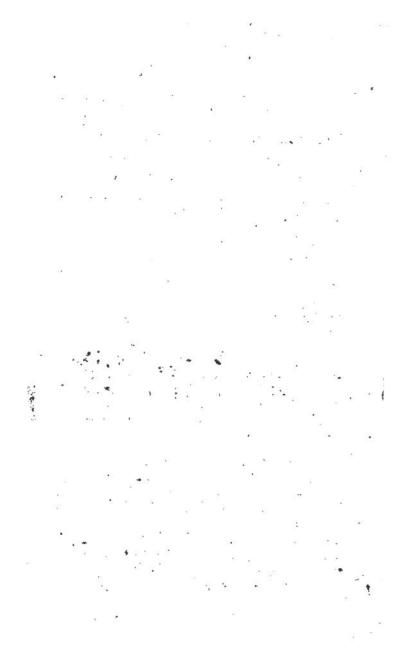
That, fince such a Study of the Scriptures is Mens indispensible Duty, it concerns all Christian Societies to remove (as much as possible) those Discouragements.

By a Presbyter of the Church of England.

To which is annexed, The CENSURE of the Lower House of Convocation upon this Book. And a LETTER written by the Reverend Mr. John Hales of Eaton, to Archbishop LAUD, upon occasion of his

Tract concerning SCHISM.

From the SEVENTH EDITION.



The Difficulties and Discouragements which attend the Study of the Scriptures in the way of Private Judgment; &c.

In a Letter to a Young Clergyman.

SIR,

Do not wonder at the furprize with which you received, when we were last together, the advice I ventured to give you in relation to the Study of the Scriptures. For one who is a clergyman himself, to seem to disfuade those of his own order, from a study that has so many arguments to recommend it; and which, in the opinion of all good men, ought to be their chief business; has, I confess, the appearance of a strange paradox, and that of the worst It looks like popery and priest-craft; and therefore young and tender minds may easily be forgiven, if they startle at the first proposal of it; those especially, who have a just sense of the excellency and inspiration of the Scriptures, and are eagerly bent on the pursuit of such truths, as more immediately tend to the advancement of virtue and religion. As you are of that number, and went into orders with so

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either view, but that you might the better fludy the Scriptures yourfelf, and advance the knowledge of them in the world; it was not to be expected you fhould prefently come into other fentiments. Which I am fo far from taking amis, that I think it to your commendation, that neither the offection or efteem you fo often express for an old friend could prevail with you to act a part that might have the appearance of levity in a matter of fo much consequence. Nor is it less for your credit, that you can retain your opinion, without lofing your temper, or shewing a backwardness to hear what is to be faid against it. Most tempers run into extremes: They are either too volatile to be fixed; or elfe fo fixed, that no force of argument can move them. But 'tis your happiness, that you can adhere without obstinacy, and change without levity, and therefore I shall think it no trouble to refume the subject, and lay before you in the best manner I can, the reasons that feem to make against the fludy of the Scriptures in the way of private judgement; which I hope will not upon cooler thoughts appear so strange to you. You will consider they come from one, who is not more a friend to you, than he is to the church. And, if examples be of any weight, I can affure you this fide of the question is by no means destitute of profelytes; and that when you come to know the world more, you will find this study neglected to a degree you little imagined. But 'tis reasons, not examples, will determine you. To come therefore to them; let me in the

I. First place, observe to you, that the study of the Scriptures, fuch a thorough study of thems I mean, as you aim at, is extremely difficult, and not to be successfully pursued, without a very great and constant application, and a previous knowledge of many other parts of ufeful! learning. The New Testament cannot be understood without the Old; the truths revealed in one, are grounded on the prophefie: contained in the other; which makes the study of the whole Scriptures necessary to him, that would understand thoroughly a part of them. Nor can the Apocryphal books, how much foever they are generally flighted, be fafely neglected; there being a great chalm of five hundred years between the end of the Prophets, and the beginning of the Gofpel; which period is of the greatest use for the understanding of the New Testament, and yet is the least known now, if the O'd Testament must be well studied, a good knowledge of the Oriental tongues is: absolutely necessary. No man can be igno-

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gant, who knows any thing of letters, that no vertions of old books can be thoroughly depended on; the mistakes are so many, and fometimes of great moment; especially the versions of books writ in a language little underflood, and many parts of it in a style extremely figurative, and those figures such as these parts of the world are almost wholly strangers to. But put the case these difficulties were less than they are, is it an eafy matter to add to Greek and Latin the knowledge of fo many other lan-... guages? Do not they two alone find work . enough for most scholars? What pains then must a man take, if he will study so many athers besides? And if the knowledge of the Old " Testument could be dispensed with, give me · !-leave to tell you that the language even of the New testament is not to be understood with so little pains as is commonly imagined. 'Tis learnt indeed in schools, and from hence thought to be the easiest Greek that can be . read; but they who have read it in another manner than school-boys, know it to be quite otherwise. Not to mention the difficulties peculiar to St. Paul, whose epistles are a very great part of the New Testament; Plate and Demefibenes are in many respects not so hard, as even the easter books. The style indeed of the biflorical books, is plain and simple; but for

for all that, even these parts have their difficulty. And the whole is writ in a language peculiar to the Jews: The idiom is Hebrew or Syriac, though the words be Greek; which makes some knowledge of these languages, still necessary.

Again, though it were not necessary to read the Old Testament in the original, yet the Greek version of it must be read, and that carefully a it being oftentimes the best, if not the only help. - to explain the language of the New; befides that all citations in the New, are generally made from it. But now, how laborious a thing must it be, to study an ill version of a very hard book, which we cannot read in the original? I call it an ill version; for though it be indeed a very good one, confidering the time . it was writ in ; yet as a version, it must be allowed by those who can judge of it, to be far from being exact or true. A man need only consult it on some hard places in the Pentareach, as well as in the Poetick or Prophetick books, to be convinced of this. 'Twas certain-' ly far from perfect at first; and is made much worfe by the corruptions it has faffered in handing down to us : So that I may venture to affirm, that should any body now-a-days make a version so imperfect; instead of admiration

The Pillars of PRIESTCRAFT and esteem, his work would be much despited by most of our modern criticks.

I might to these add many other difficulties that attend a serious study of the New Testament. It requires a good knowledge of the Jewish state at the time of our Saviour's coming, a knowledge of their government, fanedrim, symagogues, customs, traditions, opinions, sects; the kinds of learning received among them; what they borrowed from the Greeks; when their mystical and allegorisal manner of expounding the Scriptures began, and on what grounds; what their particular expectations were, in relation to the Messiah; and what they taught, and on what grounds, in relation to angels, damons, possessions, oracles, miracles, &c.

But 'tis in vain, you say, to tell you of difficulties.' You are resolved not to be deterred. You have time before you, goodseyes, a strong constitution, a mind prepared for fatigue, a reasonable degree of skill in the languages, and are furnished with a competent knowledge in all the parts of useful learning that are preparatory to this study; so that difficulties animate rather than disheatten you. And I am not unwilling so far to agree with you, that were there no objection against this study, but the difficulty; this alone should not deter one who

is so well prepared for it. Butif you are able to go through so laborious a study, I presume you are not fond of difficulties for difficulties sake. You cannot think it reasonable to take so much pains, unless it will turn to sime good account. I shall therefore in the

II. Second place take leave to ask, Cui bond? What good can come of such pains? For it may seem, that a free, ser ous, impurtial and laboricus study of the Scriptures, will be of no great service; for the following reasons.

If. Because 'tis plain the orthodox faith ist not founded on a nice and critical knowledge of the Scriptures. Many of the antient christians, 'twill be allowed, were not great critics; but argued very much in a mystical way. Origen in particular, who was the greatest scholar Christianity had bred to that time, perpetually turns the letter of Scripture into allegory. From whence we may reasonably conclude, that the knowledge of the bare literal sense, was, in the judgment of many even in those times, thought to be of little use.

But 2 dly, 'Tis certain that the original l'inguage of the Old Testament was known to very sew, for the first six centuries, in which those general councils were held, wherein all the articles

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ticles of the orthodox faith were fettled. They governed themselves and determined alltheir controverted points by the Greek version; and those who knew Hebrew best, whether they took to the mystical or literal way, had the misfortune to be least orthodox. So it was with Origen, who knew the Scriptures fo well, that he had them all by heart. And Eufebius and others, who studied and understood the literal fense of the Scriptures best in the next ages, succeeded little better. So that this findy feems to have been of little use, to the establishment of the orthodox faith. Now if an exact and critical knowledge of the Scriptures, was not necessary to the feitling of the faith; it cannot be necessary to the understanding of it. or to the understanding those who have writ best in the explication and defence of it. On the contrary, fuch a knowledge tends to leffen our esteem for the fathers of the church, by difcovering their mistakes; and may weaken our regard to the decisions of councils by exposing the falleness of the ground they feem to be built on. A man well skilled in the literal sense of .the Scriptures, will often find in the fathers and semeils, texts of Scripture urged very infuffi-... eierth; and great Arefs laid upon paffages, - which when critically explained, prove netking,

or perhaps make against them. Which suggests to me a third reason, why it may seem that such a study can do no good. And that is,

3dly, Because the orthodox faith does not depend upon the Scriptures confidered absolutely in themselves, but as explained by Catholic tradi-The faith was preserved in creeds, and handed down from one orthodox bishop to another, whose business it was to keep this facred depositum pure and undefiled, and to deliver it to his successor entire as he received it. It was by this tradition the main articles of faith were preferved in the church; and not from any particular fludy of the Scriptures. The ground therefore of these articles must carefully be distinguished, from the Scriptures that have been brought in proof of them. These proofs may be weak and inconclusive: but the truth stands independent of them. 'Tis the faith they had received; and if at any time they argue weakly for it from the Scriptures, 'tis an argument indeed against their learning, but none against their orthodoxy.

This therefore may feem another good argument to prove, that an exact and careful fludy of the Scriptures, is not a fafe and profit-

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able fludy. 'Tis a much fafer, as well as more compendious way to make a man orthodox, to fludy the tradition of the church.

But you will fay, that to fend you from-Scripture to tradition, is to turn you out of paradife, the garden of God, into a vast confused bewildered wood; and that this is so far from mending the matter, that 'tis ten times more laborious than the study I would disswade your from. And so, I confess it is; if all the ecclefiastical writers were to be carefully read, in order to know the Cathelic tradition. But that is not my meaning. The substance of Catholic tradition, lies in much less compass. The established courch, you will allow, is orthodox in all necessary points. If therefore your know the fense of the established church, you have in epitome the church Catholic; and: therefore you need only study her opinions tomake you orthodox. And this, the most illiterate man may find in the liturgy and articles. This, I trust you will allow, is as short a way. as could be wished, of knowing all that is necessary to be known. A very little time will ferve a man to read, in his mother-tongue, things which all together will not fill a moderate volume; and he will be orthodox enough. and have a great deal of time to spare for other fludies.

Audies, that will turn to more account. Besides that 'tis of great advantage to go in a way that is sofe as well as short; and will lead you into the knowledge of all useful truths, without the hazard of falling into any dangerous opinion.

Athly, But if you will infift that 'tis Scripture, and not tradition, that the faith is founded on; there is one thing further I must put you in mind of, which may feem to prove, that a profound and laborious study of the Scriptures will not make you at all more orthodox. fundamental principle among protestants, that whatever is necessary to be believed, is plainly and clearly revealed in the Scriptures; and confequently what is not plainly and clearly revealed in them, cannot be necessary. Now if what is plain and clear in Scripture, is the only part that is necessary to be known; then a laborious fearch into the obscurer parts, may feem unneceffary to the obtaining a true orthodox faith. But you will say perhaps, that, notwishstanding this declaration of protestants, it may and has been urged against them by their adversaries, that they do believe and maintain as necesfary, articles that cannot be proved by plain and char passages of Scripture. This, I confess, has been urged, and may possibly be true of all parties of them, except the flublished church. But

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if it be, it proves only that they are not true to their principle; not that the principle is not in itself true and good. And he surely must be allowed to be the best protestant, who adheres best to the principle on which the reformation was founded.

stbly, Once more: Supposing the study of the Scriptures as necessary as you please; in the lost place I say, and I am fure the world will fay it with me, that they have been fufficiently studied abready; and if any parts remainstill obscure, who can hope to clear up passages that have puzzled fo many great men? or wilf presume in disputable points to set up his private judgment, against them that were men of more learning, of abler parts, of greater application, and better acquainted with the traditions of the church, than any one will now be allowed to be? And (which is the best guide in knowledge of religion) they were moreover men of most exemplary piety, devotion, and humility; virtues, of which very little footsteps are to be found in the learned men of our times.

Must not now a man have a strong bent of mind indeed, who cannot by all these reasons be dissuaded from giving himself up to a study, that may by many be thought as unprositable as 'tis laborious? but will go on, in defiance of all that has been faid to convince him that he wastes himself in vain, and that there will be no fruits of all his labour, but to know he knows nothing? I call that nothing, which will turn to no account.

But to shew you I am disposed to make all possible concessions, I will grant that even this objection might be got over, were this the worst of it: But I have one argument still in reserve, that I am persuaded will be decisive. My

III. Third argument then is this; That a painful, exact, impartial fludy of the Scriptures, will by some be thought not only to do no good, but also a great deal of burt, both to the public and to year left.

if, It will do hurt to the public. It will disturb the peace of the church, and that cannot but have a malignant influence on the state.

'Tis certain that disputes in the church, disturb the peace of it. And 'tis as certain these disputes have been generally raised by men pretending to a superiour knowledge of the Scriptures, and to discoveries that have escaped others. The Scriptures have always been made this use of by the heretics of old: And 'tis

the character of the great heretics of this and the last age; who have fet up for a free and impartial fearch into the literal fense of the Scriptures, above the rest of the christian world. But with what fuccess? They have purchased their pretended knowledge of the Scriptures at the expence of their reputation, and their fludy. has destroyed their orthodoxy. And were not their books and opinions carefully supprest, and their persons rendered odious to the people; who knows what disturbances they might have created to the church? On the other hand, the peace the church has enjoyed for many years among its own members, feems to be owing to no one thing more, than to a general neglect of this study; and the dangers that at prefent threaten its tranquillity, come wholly from men, who have endeavoured to revive a study, that has so often proved pernicious to its peace.

Nor can it well be otherwise. - For whatfecurity has a man that fets out in this way; that attempts to fludy the Scriptures in a free and impartial manner, laying aside all preposfessions and previous notions, resolving to see with his own eyes, and judge for himself, and to believe nothing that he is not upon his own fearch convinced is clearly contained in them; what fecurity has fuch a man, that he shall not fall fall into fome opinions that have been alreads condemned as erroneous and heretical, or which may interfere with those that are commonly received? Which, if they do not immediately strike at any fundamental point, yet will be thought to do fo; and may have a tendency to put scruples into weak minds, and to diffurb the peace of the church, by railing doubts about the meaning or truth of some articles, or by afferting that an explicit belief of them is not necessary? 'Tis so natural for curious and inquisitive minds to deviate from the common road, and the examples are fo many, that 'tis edde but you do so too, unless you had more lead in your constitution, or a more resigned understanding, than any curious man ever had yet: Otherwise you cannot be fure, that you shall not study yourself into doubts at least, if not into opposite opinions concerning some recrived notions. You will doubt perhaps of the euthority or author of some canonical book, and think perhaps that fome passages are interpolated, or that some celebrated texts are nit gemine, or fhould be otherwise read, or have not been rightly underflood, or do not prove the paint. they are commonly brought for. You may fall into notions that will be thought tending to Arianism or the like. You may reject arguments brought from the Old Testament; to prove the

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the Trinity; as trifling, and proving nothing but the ignorance of those that make use of them. You may think a prophese has a literal meaning, where commonly the myflical is thought the only one. You may think that many texts in the New Toftament, which are strong against the Socialians, do not prove against the Arian That the title of fon of God, has not always one uniform meaning in the gofpel; and that that fingle expression, of itself, is no proof of any thing in God analagous to generatien in men. That the identical consubstantiality of the fan, the eternal procession of the spirit, and many other notions relating to the trinity. tho' they may be true in themselves, are not so in virtue of the texts alledged for them. These notions, learned men have fallen into; and from thence 'tis to be prefumed, you will not easily keep clear of them. I chuse to instance chiefly in matters relating to the Trinity, because 'tis the controversie now on foot *: But the like may be faid on many other articles; in each of which the truth is but one, but the errors infinite: And there is hardly any notion with respect to any of them, which some learned man, by following his own private judgment, instead of taking the doctrine of the church for his gnide, has not fallen into.

Now

^{*} See a late book, intitled, The true dastrine of the New Tostament concerning Josus Christ: printed 1767: wherein the Trinity is demolished for ever.

. Now if you should study yourself into any men opinions, or into ald ones that have been condemned, what will you do? Will you keep them to yourfelf; or publish them? Or shall I rather fay, 'tis no question? The authors of new notions are apt to be very fond of them; they think it barbarous and cruel, to slifle the infant in its birth. There is a secret pleasure in fingularity. To differ from the vulgar, is in appearance to be above them; and to be diftinguished from the herd, is too great a temptation to be easily resisted. But had you prudence enough to govern your ambition, confeience may come in here, and make you do what ambition could not. The truths you think you have discovered, either are, or will be thought by you of too much impertance to the honour of God and the good of religion, to be concealed. You will look on them as the bleffing; of God on your studies; and think it a eapital crime to extinguish the light, and suppress the knowledge he has imparted to you. In thort, you will think yourfelf under the bighest ebligation not to dissemble in religious spatters, and conceal from the church of God. opinions which you are convinced are not only true but of great service to it. Let me then conclude, that the novel or revived opinions which

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which your fludy leads you into, will be publifhed to the world. What now will be the consequence? Certain mischief, but no certain good at all. No good, I fay; for possibly your notions may be wrong, or not of consequence; and, whether they are or not, the prefumption against you will be so strong, that your notions will not be received, and perhaps not examined : . They will be condemned as novel notions, or as exploded ones. And, whatever you advance, 'twill be thought a certain proof of its being of no consequence, that in so many ages it has never been received. There is no room therefore to expect, that what you advance, should be received, or do any good. But the mischief is fure and certain. It will raise scruples in weak and unstable minds, sap the foundations of the orthodox faith, and give a handle to sceptical men; who, because some things are called in doubt, (though incidental matters only and of little confequence) will think they have a right from thence to question every thing. Thus the church and established faith will fuffer by the scruples put into its friends, and the handle given to its en mies. And when religious disputes are begun, designing men know how to intermix affairs of state with them; and then no body knows where they will end, or what mischiefs they may do. WhereWhereas if you can be content to go on in the beaten road; if you will implicitly submit to the received notions; and humbly think the judgment of the church, where 'tis not the same, better than your own; you will be out of harm's way, and neither hurt the church nor yourself.

2. I add, your self; as another motive, that ought to have great weight with you in this question. For you cannot disturb the peace of the church, without being greatly a sufferer your-If you really do not difturb its peace, 'tis all one, you will be interpreted to do it; and that will bring on you more evils, than I would wish to my greatest enemy. In a word, you will be thought a heretic; a term, which there is a strange magic in, though it has no determinate meaning in the mouth of the people, nor any ill meaning 'Tis supposed to include in it every thing that is bad; it makes every thing appear odious and deformed; it disfolves all friendships, extinguishes all former kind fentiments, however just and well deserved: And from the time a man is deemed a beretic, 'tis charity to act against all rules of charity; and the more they violate the laws of God in dealing with him. tis, in their opinion, doing God the greater fervice.

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That you may not think this is faid at random, purely to frighten you into a compliance with me; let me defire you to confider feriously the natural consequences of being under the imputation of berely. And the first I would obferve, is, that from the moment your people have this opinion of you, you are incapacitated from working much good upon them; and that, I'm fure, fo good a man as you are, must think. to be a great evil. While they think you orthedex, your virtuous and inoffensive behaviour, your strict sobriety and temperance, your affable and familiar manner of conversing with them, your generous and charitable regard to those who are fick or in distress; these good qualities, joined to your plain and easy, but affectionate and moving manner of instructing them, have a mighty influence, and you may lead them as you please: They admire and endeavour to imitate your good example: Your virtuous conduct is a conflant, though tacit, reproof when they do amis: The very fight of you, is, a lecture of virtue to them; and the influence you have already had in the little time you have been among them, is too visible to be denied. from the time you are called beretic, much of the good you could have done, is at an end. Those who before had a secret veneration of you, think it their duty to defame and injure you: your virtue, they call hypocrify; your humility. humility, spiritual pride. They look on you as an abandoned wretch; that God has withdrawn his grace, and that the devil is at the bottom of all you have been doing: That nothing can better testify their orthodoxy, than to throw off all regard both to your doctrine and example; and for fear they should seem to be insected with your errors, they will return to the vices you had persuaded them to leave; and for the future, will take effectual care not to be the better for you.

No body can do much good, whom the penple do not think a good man; and that cannot be expected, when so much reproach and infamy will, right or wrong, be heaped on you, if you do not continue orthodox. And this you cannot doubt, if you will but reflect on what passes under your own eyes. And therefore 'tis in vain to fancy your virtue will protect you. No. the most conspicuous virtue will not be believed. If you are guilty of no open vices, fecret ones will be imputed to you; your enquiries will be called vain, curious and forbidden fludies. Pride and ambition will be faid to be the fecret fprings of them. A fearch after truth, will be called a bove of novelty. The doubting of a fingle text, will be fcepticifm; the denial of an argument, a renouncing of the faith. To fay what the Scriptures have faid, and in the very fame words too,

if not explained in the common way, will be blasphemy; and the most fincere concern for the honour of almighty God, you cannot be fure will not be interpreted down-right atheifm. Every thing you fay or do, will have a wrong turn given it. A flip of memory, shall be made wilful prevarication; a mistake in a citation, . shall be forgery and corruption; an error in an incidental point of learning, shall be a good proof, that you know nothing. Every unaccurate expression, shall be pressed into a crime; any little warmth of temper, shall be aggravated into pride and positiveness, into a contempt of authority, and ill manners. In short, all the indifcretions of a man's former life shall be ript up; and nothing forgiven, that can be remembered or ffrained to his disadvantage. where is the man that can be fond of such usage? For my part, I am free to declare, I am afraid I should not have virtue or courage enough, to undergo fuch a fiery trial.

Now all this a man will draw upon himself, that brings himself under the imputation of beresy. Whereas the orthodox man lives quiet and at ease, unmolested and unenvied. His faults (and who has not some?) shall be extenuated or excused, if not quite buried in oblivion; his want of temper, shall be a commendable zeal; his indiscretion, good nature; his mistakes,

mistakes, shall be imputed to haste or inadvertency; and, when they cannot be defended, it will be argued in his favour, that the greatest men fometimes err, and the writers of the first rank are not always in the right; or perhaps a mistake shall turn to his advantage; it will be shown to be an error on the right side, and that a good cause drew him into it. learning on the other hand shall be magnified beyond measure; every body will be full of his good qualities, and his virtues shall be set in the best light to show themselves and cover his faults. In a word, orthodoxy atones for all vices, and herely extinguishes all virtues. That this is nothing but the bare truth, I appeal to what you every day hear and fee yourfelf.

There are, you know, two clergymen of the town, who have studied themselves into beresy, or at least into a suspicion of it: Both of them, men of fair unblemished characters. One has all his life been cultivating piety and virtue and good learning. Rigidly constant himself in the public and private duties of religion; and always promoting in others, virtue and such learning as he thought would conduce most to the honour of God, by manifesting the greatness and wisdom of his works. He has given the world sufficient proofs that he has not mispent his time, by very useful works of philosophy.

Mr. Whifton and Dr. Clarke. -

and mathematicks. He has applied one to the explication of the ather, and endeavoured by keth to display the glory of the Great Creator. And to his Rudy of nature, he early joined the Rudy of the Scriptures; and his attempts, whatever the success be, were at least well meant: and, confidering the difficulty of the subjects he has engaged in, it must be allowed that in the main they are well aimed. And if he has not fucceeded, no more have others who have medled with the same subjects. Nor is he more to be blamed, than they. To be blamed, did I fay? I should have said, not less to be commended. For fure 'tis a commendable design, to explain Scripture-difficulties, and to remove the objections of profane men, by shewing there is nothing in the facred writings, but what is true and rational.

But what does a life thus fpent avail? To what purpose so many watchful nights, and weary days? So much piety and devotion? So much mortification and self-denial? Such a zeal to do good, and to be useful to the world? So many noble specimens of a great genius, and of a fine imagination? 'Tis the poor man's misfortune (for poor he is, and like to be, not having the least preferment) to have a warm head, and to be very zealous in what he thinks the cause

of God. He thinks prudence the worldly wifdom condemned by Christ and his apostles; and that 'tis gross prevarication and hypocrify, to conceal the discoveries he conceives he has made. This heat of temper betrays him into some indifcreet expressions and hasty affertions. figning to hurt no body, he fancies no body designs to hurt him; and is simple enough to expect the fame favourable allowances will be made to him, that he fees made to those who write against him. As to his learning, 'tis his misfortune that he is not skilled enough in the learned languages, to be a great critick in them; and yet feems not to be fensible of his deficiency in this respect. And what advantage is taken of this, that he has not less heat and more criticism! His learning is treated in that manner, that you would think he did not know the first elements of Greek; though even in that, he is much fuperiour to most of those who make so free with him: And you every day hear his performances run down as whimfies and chimeras, by men who never read them, and, if they did, could not understand them. Nor does his warmth of temper come off better: 'tis all over obstinacy, pride and beretical pravity; a want of modesty and due deference to just authority. They that fpeak most favourably, look upon him as craz'd, and little better than a madman. This is the

poor man's character; and, low as he is, they cannot be content to leave him quiet in his poverty. Whereas, had he not been early possest with a passionate love for the Scripture and phi-I-fophy; had he not thought it his duty above all things to promote the glery of God, and been perfuaded that could no way be fo well done as by the fludy of his word and works; 'tis more than probable he had at this time been orthodox. And then, instead of his present treatment, his faults would have been overlooked; the learning he excells in, would have been extolled, and no defects would have been found in other parts of it. He would have been cried up as an ornament of the age, and no preferment would have been denied or envied him.

This you know to be the case with one of the new beretics. The other is so prudent in his conduct, that he comes under but a suspicion of savouring the same notions. How now is be treated? prudence in bim is as great a crime as the want of it in the other. The imprudent man is treated as a madman, and a rank Arian: The prudent one, is less a heretic, but more dangerous: Sobrius accessit ad evertendam ecclessiam; and therefore the greater alarm must be raised against him. And what has he done? Why, he has with a great deal of pains brought together in the best

^{*} Dr. Samuel C'arke.

manner he could, all the passages in the New Testament relating to the doctrine of the Trinity. And fo far, his work is what those who differ from him, flould be pleafed with; fince he has brought the materials together, to enable men to form a right judgment of the question in dispute; and has put into their hands, if he be in the wrong, the best weapons against himself. But he has interpreted some texts, in a manner that is not liked: 'tis true, he has fo; but not once, that I remember, has he given an interpretation that is purely of his own head. He brings great wuchers, and, if he errs, it is always in good company. This is his offence: He has maintained with many others, particularly with the late dean of St. Paul's, * in opposition to Sabellianism, that the three persons in the Trinity are three real distinct Beings: and the belief of three really diffinct Beings perfectly equal, he maintains with Dr. South to be Tritheifm : And, that there must therefore be a subordination. Now whether this notion be right, or not; if he cannot escape ill treatment, give me leave to say, that if your study should lead you into any opinions contrary to what is generally received, jeu can with no reason expect better quarter. He is a man who has all the good qualities that can meet together, to recommend him. He is possest of all the parts of learning that are valu-

Dr. Sherlock.

able in a clergyman, in a degree that few possess any fingle one. He has joined to a good skill in the three learned languages, a great compass of the best philosophy and mathematicks; as appears by his Latin works: And his English ones are such a proof of his own piety, and of his knowledge in divinity, and have done fo much fervice to religion, as would make any other man, that was not under the suspicion of berefy, secure of . the friendship and esteem of all good churchmen, especially of the clergy. And to all the piety and learning, and the good use that has been made of it; is added a temper happy beyond expression: A sweet, easy, modest, inoffensive, obliging behaviour, adorn all his actions; and no passion, vanity, insolence, or oftentation, appear either in what he writes or fays: And yet these faults are often incident to the best men, in the freedoms of conversation, and in writing against impertinent and unreafonable adversaries, especially such as strike at the foundation of virtue and religion, the learning, this the temper of the man, whose fludy of the Scriptures has betrayed him into a sufpicion of some heretical opinions; and because it has, he must be blackened and defamed; he must be worfied out of the great and clear reputation he is possessed of: and he that has so many thining qualities, must be insuhed by every worthless wretch, as if he had as little learning and virtue as the lowest of those who are against him. What protection now can you promise yourself from your virtue, when a man of such a character cannot be safe in his good name? Whatever therefore you do, be orthodox: Orthodoxy will cover a multitude of sins, but a cloud of virtues cannot cover the want of the minutest particle of orthodoxy.

'Tis expected, no matter how unreasonably, that a man should always adhere to the party he has once taken. 'Tis the opinion of the world, that he is all his life bound by the subscriptions he made in his sirst years; as if a man were as wise at twenty four, and knew as much of the Scripture and antiquity and could judge as well of them, as he can at fifty. And yet if a man will be fludying these things, he cannot be sure he shall continue a year together in the same sentiments: And, if he should not, he must either stifle his persuasion, against the distates of his conscience; or be exposed to the worst treation, to be called a renegado, a salle brother, a beretic, or any thing that malice can suggest.

But I have not yet done. This is not the worst of it. This perhaps you may pretend to despise, and not care what the world says of you, so long as your conscience cannot reproach you.

Well: let then all concern for reputation go: Can you be proof against one farther consequence of lying under the imputation of berefy? Can you bear to fee yourfelf, your wife and children, ruined and undone? This, I fee, startles you .-But you ask ; What danger can there be of that? An Englishman, you fay, is out of the reach of perfecution or an inquisition : That fpirit, God be thanked, is banished the land; and even convict beretics are protected from the flames. Very true; the spirit of persecution is either gone, or is difarmed; and that I look on as one of the invaluable bleffings of the revolution: But can you be fure it will not return? And suppose it will not; are you therefore secure, that an imputation of berefy will not end in the ruin of yourself and family? You and your children will not be burnt indeed ; but you may be as effectually ruined, as if you were. may be excommunicated; and in virtue of that be thrown into jail, to rot there, while your family are starving. And (which cannot be too well confidered) when once you come into those circumstances, what is there can deliver you? Your punishment will last and be the same, as long as you continue in the same mind. A rule of punishment, peculiar to the ecclesiastick flate. In civil cases, the offender, if his crime be not capital, suffers a temporary punishment, proportioned

tioned to the fault he has committed; and when he has undergone that, nothing further is required of him, except in some cases to find security for his good behaviour for the future. But in cases of berefy, there is no regard to the degree of the offence, in the punishment inflicted. Nov is there any end of it. 'Tis not enough to have suffered the severest punishment, though for the fmallest offence; 'tis not enough to give security of not offending for the future: The innocent offender must declare (what 'tis often times impositie he should declare) that he has changed his fentiments, and is become orthodox; and this. though perhaps no methods of conviction have been used, except that of punishment be one-This is the miserable condition of a convict heretic: The punishment which fell on him for expressing thoughts beretical, he must continue to endure for barely thinking; which is a thing nos in his power, but depends on the evidence than appears to him : He must for ever (cruel justice !) for ever fuffer for his private thoughts (though they go not beyond his own heart,) the punishment which some overt-act has once drawn upon him. To punish toties quoties, as often as those overt-acts are repeated, will not satisfy the boly office: Nor can a forbearance of fuch acts avail any thing, or a promife of filence for the future; which yet is all that is in a man's power. power. No; he must recant, whether he came or not; and generally 'tis required to be done in words drawn up for him. So that, if he do not see reason to change his opinion; and will not say he has changed, when he has not; he is in for life, and his punishment can only end with it.

Indeed, on every supposition, a man excommunicated for berefy has fad time of it. For if he does not recant, he is (as I have faid) in prifon for life, and his family must starve; and if he does recant, what does he get by it: his liberty indeed, but what elfe? Will people believe he is fincere? Will they not think hisrecantation loofely drawn in favour of him, to make it a recantation in appearance only? Or, if it be in the strongest words, will he not, if he submit to it, be suspected to equivocate? Will they not expect the reasons of his change; will they not ask, (if he says no more for the orthodox fide than he has faid before) why, if these reafons are convincing now, he did not think them; so before? Will they not conclude, that to bim: they are inconclusive still; unless he can findbetter reasons than the best that had been before offered him? Which I take to be a contradiction. And will it not be argued from thence, that he is not changed? that 'tis the puniftpunishment only, and not his opinions, he would leave? So that if he continues in his opinions, he must lie under all the infamy and punishment of herely; and if he does not, yet it will be sup-He is punished for acting posed he does. according to bis conscience; and, if he would leave the berely imputed to him, he will be faid to act against bis conscience; and perhaps be reputed a worse man than he was before. This in all events: once a heretic, and always miserable. The reputation (change, or not) is never to be retrieved; no preferment or employment to be hoped for. He will always be suspected of berefy, who is once guilty; and his wife and children must fee him the perpetual subject of reproach and obloquy; and feel it too: Feel it in their character, feel it in their maintenance: as if the children of a beretic were a brood of monsters, nuisance to the common-wealth, and infected the very air they breathe in.

These missortunes a man of the most unblemissed life may draw upon himself and samily, if he will be meding with so dangerous a study, and cannot in conscience dissemble the result of it. Missortunes, which the vilest, lewdest, most immoral wretch upon earth, is in no danger of. The greatest immeralities, nay, a long course of them, shall oftentimes escape unpunished; especially if a man be very orthodox: But if they do mot, the punishment extends only to the person of the offender. It derives no infamy on bimself if he reforms, nor on his children if he do not. They are rather pitied for having such a father, and every body is willing to be kind to them. Who now, after this, can be so fond of a study, that may bring on him, let him be never so innocent, such a load of misery and infamy, a load without measure and without end? And if this will be the consequence of excommunication, tell me how much better 'tis than persecution.

But you will fay, that 'tis possible a man's Audies may not lead him into any beretical opinion; and if they should, yet 'tis not very easy to convict a heretir, or to fay what is herefy. the first I have already faid enough: As to the other, I copfefs 'tis not very eafy to convict a man of herefy. The law feems to be deficient in this point; but who knows how foon this defect may be supplied by a new law? And in the mean time, it may be difficult indeed to convict a man of beresy; but perhaps it may be found not to be impossible. And, if it should, 'tis but changing the word, and the offender may be come upon easily enough. If, through a defect in the laws, he cannot be convicted of herefy, he may however be convicted of writing or fpeaking against the established doctrine of the churchs

and that will draw on him all the same consequences, that heresy would do. For heresy is the opposing the doctrine of the Catholick church; but the doctrine of the established church, will readily be supposed to be the doctrine of the Catholick church; and therefore to oppose the doctrine of one, is in effect to oppose both. So that a man shall be deemed a heretic to all intents and purposes, and sentenced to the same punishment; though in the sentence itself, for his comfort, the word heresy may be left out.

But you are willing to think the temper of the English clergy more moderate, and the generality of them averse to every thing that looks like the spirit of popery; as the ruining of a good man, merely for matters of opinion, must be allowed to do. I wish you may find it so, if ever there should be occasion. I confess there has appeared a good spirit, a very humane and christian temper in some late writings, where perhaps it was not much expected; but for all that, I must beg leave to differ from you. If indeed no one would judge in a cause he did not underfland; if no one were allowed to understand a cause of berefy, but who was a good judge of the fense of Scripture and of primitive antiquity; if no one were esteemed to know Scripture and antiquity, but those who had fludied them well, who had read them carefully with their own eyes, and did

did not take the sense of them upon trust from modern writers; if the arguments for his opinion were to be examined, before his opinion were condemned; if a man, before he gave his vote, were to lay his hand upon his heart, and declare himself thus qualified to judge; that he had confidered the matter, and would fpeak nothing but what he thought; on these suppositions, I am apt to think, a number of judges would not very easily be found; and, when they were, it may reasonably be presumed that they would not be very forward to condemn. They would be fenfible there was room for honest minds to be missed, from what they had read and observed themselves; they would know that there is more to be faid on the other fide, than the generality at all dream of; they would be careful how they discouraged learning, by discouraging the enquiries of learned men. They would be very unwilling a man should suffer by their sentence, whose life they are fure is innocent and virtuous, but whose opinions they cannot be so fure are falle or dangerous. They know discouragements in learning and virtue to be of fuch ill consequence, that a man's opinions must be very bad indeed, to make it necessary to come to fuch extremities. But give me leave to fay, you have no reason to expect such judges, or fuch a backwardness to judge. 'Tis always Supposed supposed, that the doctrine of the church you are of, is right; that it is the doctrine of Scripture and antiquity. And this, every body thinks he understands. So that little learning or reading is necessary, to make any elergyman a judge over the learnedest man alive.

Another thing I take leave to tell you, is that most men think they can do conscientiously, whatever they can do legally. Men of refined and exalted understandings, who have a large compass of thought, and have lookt into the principles of things, know that written laws are but deductions of the law of nature, which is prior to all human institutions: That these sometimes deviate from that unwritten law; and, when they do, are of no real intrinsic authority. They know that a thing is not just and reasonable because it is enacted; but, in good governments, is enacted, because 'tis just and reasonable. know that laws are fometimes obtained by furprize and corruption, by party-management, by craft or superstition. They know that penal laws' in matters of religion, are feldom advise-They would not eafily contribute to the making them; and, when they are made, would be glad to have them generally lie dormant. They know that no authority of man can alter the nature of things, or justify a cruel or unjust featence.

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fentence in the fight of God. They are fure; that if to punish men for their opinions be not very right, there is no medium, it must be very sureng. 'Tis public robbery or murder to deprive a man of his life or goods for his religion; if it be not just in itself to do so, as well as legal,

Some perhaps may think in this manner; but these must be men of refin'd and exalted understandings; and therefore must be very few. The generality think they may do jufly, whatever they can do legally. And it is, no doubt, for them, a good rule. They cannot judge of the nature of things for themselves; and thesefore the law is the most proper guide and direct tion they can have. As long therefore as there are laws to punish the afferters of beretical opinions, or fuch as oppose the established destrines; you may depend on it, they will not be fuffered to lie dormant. There will never bewanting great numbers, who will call aloud to have them put in execution; and they will think their zeal in this matter, the best fervice they can do the church.

This is human mature: thus it has been in all times. And no experience of the mischief done to christianity by a forwardness to pronounce anathema's on those who differed from the rescived

coived opinions, will make us wifer. It may, I doubt not, be demonstrated with the greatest evidence, that all christian churches have suffered more by their zeal for orthodoxy, and by the violent methods taken to promote it; than from the utmost efforts of their greatest enemies. But, for all that, the world will still think the same methods necessary. The same zeal will prompt to the same persecutions or prosecutions, (call them which you will) without considering that the same means must necessarily produce, at long-run, the same fatal consequences.

Let me therefore entreat you, not to fancy the world is altered in this point. Do not think your opinions cannot ruin you, because 'tis not reasonable they should. Do not flatter yourself. that temper, prudence and moderation, can in religious controversies get the better of indiscreet zeal, bigotry and superstition. In short; be not hafty in espousing of opinions, which can have no other effect, but to lay the best men at the mercy of the worft. Every mean person, who has nothing to recommend him but his orthodoxy, and owes that perhaps wholly to his ignorance; will think he has a right to trample on you with contempt; to asperse your character with virulent reflections; to run down your writings as mean and pitiful performances, and give bard names to opinions he does not understand; which you must bear, without the least hopes of being heard a word in your defence.

Let me observe one thing more; that 'tis the misfortune of a clergyman, that he is confined to one profession. Other men, if they cannot live in one way, are at liberty to try another: But a man who has once the indelible character, must live by the one profession he has made choice of. If therefore that livelihood be taken from him ; 'tis in vain he has learning, parts, industry, and application. He will not be allowed to take any other course to repair the loss he suffers by his opinions as a clergyman. His time, and fortunes, and fludies, have been spent to make him uleful in that one profession; and, if he had abilities to maintain himself in any other, 'tis too late: He has made his choice, and must abide by it. This then is the unhappy dilemma a reputed beretic is reduced to; he will neither be fuffered to keep the profession, nor to leave it; he shall neither live in it, nor out of it. So that, notwithstanding his learning, parts, virtue, and industry; though he could make a good lawyer, physician, merchant, or mechanic; if he be not erthodex, all possibilities of living comfortably, at least, and reputably, are taken from him. Go now, and think, if you can, that the advice I give you, is not the advice of a friend. 'Tis the advice of one who loves virtue and learning, who

who is a friend to all good men, and is in particular greatly concerned for your fuccels and advancement in the world. 'Tis advice feconded by the examples of the greatest men. For same me any one of the men most famed for learning in this or the last age, who have ferioutly turned themselves to the fludy of the Scrip-I might name to you the most eminent men down from Scaliger and Cafaubon to the present time. Capellus indeed, and the excellent Gretins, are exceptions; but they met with fuch afage, that one has little encouragement from their examples. But not to go beyond our own country; who are the men that have excelled most (excepting always Sir Ijaac Newton) in philosophy, astronomy and mathematicks? Have they not been clergymen? And was not their skill in these sciences, the effect of their great and constant application to them? Was not that time fpent in these studies, that you think should have been applied to the fludy of the Scriptures? On the other hand, take out two or three from fo great a body; and where is there a clergyman of a great genius, and that has made a chief figure in the learned world, that has writ upon the Scriptures? at least with any masterly skill in critick?

And what is it, that all this can be imputed to? Did these learned men decline this study, because

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because they wanted the abilities proper for it? Surely that will not be faid of men of their confest learning. Or was there want of inclination and good-will to it? No, they were men of virtue, and good protestants, as well as scholars and men of letters. What then? Did they, who have taken so much pains upon other books, and with so much success, think the Scriptures the only ones that needed not their help? Neither can that be pretended. They faw the facred books, through the injury of time and the ignorance of scribes, had suffered as well as others; and much more by falle and abfurd interpretations. To be plain: the one thing that turned them from so noble and necessary a study, was the want of liberty, which, in this fludy only, is denied men. They found it was dangerous to examine impartially, and speak freely; that they must write without liberty, or with no fafety; that it would be expected of them, to ftrain all their wit and learning to patronize and palliate gross errors, instead of exposing or mending of them; and to support the received interpretations, however absurd, instead of such as reason and learning convinced them were the only true ones. But this was a task, which men of ingennous minds, whose integrity and love of truth was equal to their penetration and great abilities, could not submit to. For men to have eyes and understandings

derstandings of their own, and yet not fee or understand, but as they were bid, and that by men who could not fee or understand themselves ; wis meyantor mean ma! To make fuch a blind ufe of their learning and abilities, was, they thought, to pervert the very end of them, and really to dishonour God, whose service they were given for. Since therefore they could not bear the thoughts of studying the scriptures on these terms, no part was left men who could not be idle, but to turn to some other study, in which, without fear of danger or offence, they might freely go whither truth and reason led. The consequence of which, besides the improvements made in arts and sciences, has been, that many of them have feparately made more good emendations; and bappily explained more difficulties, in the [malleft Pagan writer; than they have done, take them all together, in two hundred years upon the whole body of the Scriptures.

What then I would advise you, is, to follow fuch examples. Turn yourfelf to the fludy of the beathen bifterians, poets, orators, and philoso-Spend ten or twelve years upon Horace or Ference. To illustrate a billet-doux, or a drunkenratch; to explain an obscene jest; to make a hapby emindation, on a passage that a modest man would bluft at; will do you more credit, and be

of greater service to you, than the most useful employment of your time upon the Scriptures; unless you can refolve to conceal your sentiments. and speak always with the vulgar. You see a present example in the great Beutley : What a reputation he has acquired by the noble edition he has given us of Horace? How are his abilitics confessed and admired by all? But had the fame genius, the same sagacity and labour, been applied to the study of the Scriptures; to settle the text in doubtful places, to mend corrupted ones, explain hard ones, fix the meaning of obscure ones, and to trace out the literal sense where it can be done; sould he, I fay, have attempted a work of this kind; instead of thanks and applause, 'tis more than probable he would have been treated as a rash man, of no judgment, of little learning, and less religion; and, if his works had been fentenced to the flames, a majority would have been for throwing him in after them.

Consider well therefore, how you engage where there is no retreat, no repentance, no room for pardon, if you once offend. You have two ways before you. One will enable you to be useful in the world, without great trouble to yourself; it will crown your labours with success; it will bring you reputation and esteem;

it will put you into a way of making a decent provision for your family, and give a good education to those two fine children God has blessed you with, and you may have many more. The wiber will itself fatigue you with many difficulties, and expose you to the most fatal consequences: It will draw on you an insupportable load of infamy, as a disturber of the church, and an enemy to the orthodox faith; and in all probability end in the extreme poverty and ruin of yourself and family. Which God forbid should ever be the case of one who has no other views but to dedicate his life to God's service. I am,

S 1. R.

Your faithful humble servant.

The CONCLUSION.

FTER all that has been faid in this long letter, I am persuaded that many readers will still think what is here advanced, a strange paradox; or perhaps be scandalized at it as a very wicked one; and will on no terms allow, that clergymen should lay aside what ought to be their chief study. And, to be ingenuous, I will confess I am entirely of the same mind. I am as unwilling, as they can be, to admit the conclusion, that the fludy of the Scriptures should be deserted; and yet cannot deny, but, humanely speaking, this must be the consequence from these premises. If therefore we will not allow the conclusion, we must show the premises to be untrue, and that this study will not be attended with fo much danger. But this we in wait at tempt, if we do not our parts at least, that thefe may not be the consequences. For as long as they are, the fludy of the Scriptures will certainly continue to be negletted, as it now is; and all mea who contribute to these consequences in any degree. do fo far discourage the study of the Scriptures. whatever they pretend.

In truth, there is nothing more abfurd, than to fay the glorious things we do daily of the Scriptures;

Scriptures; and, at the fame time, make the finds of them, to men of fincere and honest minds, fo extremely hazardous and inconvenient. If then we would not be guilty of discouraging a Rady, which we acknowledge to be the great duty of the clergy, as we are christians; if we: would be true to the fundamental principles of the reformation, as protestants, that the Scriptures ere the only rule of faith; let us use our best endeavours to remove the great obstacles that lie against the study of them; let us do what we can, that learned men may have full liberty to study the Scriptures freely and impartially; good encouragement given them to go through the labour and difficulties of fuch a study, not slightly and superficially, but with application and diligence as the nature of the thing requires; and have leave to speak their sense with all manner de fafety: That their opinions may be examined fairly and with temper : That their names be not apjaftly loaded with calumny and flander; that their words and actions may be interpreted with the same candour, as is shown to those that differ from them: That, if what they advance be right, it may be received; if wrong, their errors may be refuted, as the mistakes of learned men on other Subjects; if doubtful, and the Scriptures fay so little, or speak so obscurely, that nothing can, certainly be decided either way; that then no-

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body may be obliged to take either fide as necesfary: That, whether their notions be right or wrong, their persons may in all events be fase, and their maintenance not affected by it: That as long as they live virtuously, and write with all due modesty and good manners, and advance nothing that breaks in upon merality and government, they may be treated in all respects as those are or ought to be, who employ themselves in any other part of useful learning.

I must add, let them be never so much in the wrong, I can apprehend no danger from it to the cburch; or that the errors of a few men, can have any considerable influence in opposition to a great body of a vigilant and learned clergy, who will be always able and ready to defend the received notions, if they can be defended; and if they cannot, it must be allowed they ought not. But if some inconveniencies would arise from the liberty I contend for, they are nothing in comparison of those that must follow from the want of it.

Till there is such a liberty allowed to clergymen; till there is such a security for their reputations, fortunes, and persons; I fear I must add, till so difficult a study meets with proportionable encouragement; 'tis impossible a sincere, impartial and laborious application to it, should generally generally prevail: And till it does, it is as impossible the Scriptures should be well under flood : And till they are, they are a rule of faith in name For 'tis not the words of Scripture, but the fenfe, which is the rule; and fo far as that is not understood, fo far the Scriptures are not our ru'e, whatever we pretend; but the finse that men have put en them; men fallible as ourselves, and who were by no means fo well furnished, as the learned at present are, with the proper helps to find out the true meaning of Scripture. And while we take the sense of the Scriptures in this manner upon content, and fee not with our own eyes; we infensibly relapse into the principles of popery, and give up the on'y ground on which we can justify our separation from the church of 'Twas a right to fludy and judge of the Scriptures for themselves, that our first reformers afferted with fo good effect; and their successor's can defend their adherence to them, on no other principle.

. If then we are concerned for the fludy of the Scriptures, further than in words; if we in carnest think them the only rule of faith; let us ast as if we thought fo: Let us heartily encourage a free and impartial fludy of them; let us lay alide that malignant, arbitrary, perfecuting, popish spirit; let us put no fetters on mens understandings, nor any other bounds to their enquiries, enquiries, but what God and truth have set. Let us, if we would not give up the protestant principle, that the Scriptures are plain and clear in the mecessary articles; declare nothing to be necessary, but what is clearly revealed in them.

Then may we hope to fee the Rudy of thefe divine books fo happily cultivated by the united. labours of the learned, when under no disconragements; that all may in the main agree in. the true meaning of them. Places that can be understood, they will agree in understanding alike; fuch at least as are of consequence to the faith. And for fuch as are too obscure to be cleared up. with any certainty, those likewise they will agree. about, and unanimously confess they are such as no article of faith can be grounded upon, or . proved from. Next to the understanding a text of Scripture, is to know it can't be certainly. understood. When the clear and dark places of .. Scripture are thus distinguished, an unity may then reasonably be hoped for among protestants in necessary points; and a difference of opinion in .. fuch as are not necessary, can have no manner of ill consequence, nor any way disturb the peace of ... the church; fince there will then be nothing. left in its doctrines, to inflame mens passions, or feed their corrupt interests, when we are all agreed about what is effential to religion; and what is

mon effential, is looked on as indifferent, so that a man may take one side, or the other, or neither, or may change, as he sees reason, without offence.

Upon the whole, a free and impartial fludy of the Scriptures, either ought to be encouraged, or it ought not. There is no medium; and therefore those who are against one side, which ever it be, are necessarily espousers of the other. Those who think it ought not to be encouraged, will, I hope, think it no injury to be thought to defend their opinion upon fuch reasons as have here been brought for it, till they give better, On the other hand, those who think these reafons inconclusive, and can't find better; will ... find themselves obliged to confess, that such a findy ought to be encouraged; and confequently must take care how they are accessory to such practices, as in their natural consequence can't but tend to its discouragement; lest they come into the condemnation of those who love darkness rather than light, and, for their punishment, be finally adjudged to it. There is in this case no . other medium between encouraging and diffouraging, but what there is between light and darkness. Every degree of darkness, is a want of so much light; and all want of light, is a certain degree of darkness. To refuse then a greater degree of light, where it can be had; is

in truth to prefer darkness: Which, in my humble opinion, can never be reasonable or excusable. Those who are of another mind, plainly distrust themselves or their cause. Which if it can bear the light, why should it not be shown in it? But if it cannot, 'tis not the cause of God, or of the Son of God; for God is light, and in him is no darkness; and the Son of God is the true light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world.

THE

CENSURE*

Of the Lower House of Convocation upon this Book.

- I. I T treats of things facred, in a ludicrous and prophane manner.
- 2. It casts injurious restections on the fathers and councils of the antient church.
- 3. It infinuates that the doctrines and articles of the established church, are not grounded on Scripture, but are rather inconsistent therewith.
- 4. It represents the body of the clergy as neglecting, and the governors of the church as discouraging the study of the Scriptures.
- 5. It exposes the discipline of the church under the notion of persecution, and invidiously reflects on the laws provided for its security.

[The particular passages upon which these observations are founded, are not referred to.]

• Note, this censure of the Convocation upon this excellent tract, was basely omitted in many succeeding editions, but is here restored to shew the true Spirit of that body of men.

A

LETTER

Written by the Reverend Mr. John Hales of Eaton, to Archbishop LAUD, upon Occasion of his Tract concerning SCHISM.

May it please your Grace,

HEREAS of late an abortive difcourse, indited by me for the use of a private friend, hath, without lawful pass, wandred abroad; and mistaking its way, is arrived at your Grace's hands; I havetaken the boldness to present myself before you, in behalf of it, with this either apology or excuse indifferently, being resolved in utramvis aleam, to beg either your approbation or your pardon. For myfelf, I have marvelled, whence a fcribbled paper, dropt from fo worthless and inconfiderable a hand as mine, should recover so much strength, as to be able to give offence. But I confess it to be most true, that Bellum inchoant inertes, fortes finiunt; and a weak handoften kindles that fire, which the concourse of the whole vicinity cannot quench. If therefore any fire can arise out of so poor a spark, (which I can hardly conceive) I am myself here at hand to pour on water, to prevent a farther mischief.

Whatfoever there is in that schedule, which may feem apt to give offence; confifts either in phrase and manner of expression; or in the conceipts, and things themselves, there pressed and insisted upon. For the first - Whosoever hath. the misfortune to read it, shall find in it, for file, fome things over-familiar and fub-ruflick; fome things more pleasant than needed; some things more four and fatirical. For thefe, my apology is but this, that your Grace would be pleafed to take in confideration, first, what the liberty of a letter might entice me to. Secondly. I am, by genius, open and uncautelous; and therefore fome pardon might be afforded to harmless freedom, and gayety of spirit, utterly devoid of all distemper and malignity. fome part of the theme I was to touch upon, was (or at least feemed to me) of fo fmall and inconfiderable a moment; and yet hath raised that noise and tumult in the church, that I confess it drew from me that indignation which is there expressed. When Augustus the emperor was asked, what was become of his Ajax; (for he made a tragedy upon the life and fortunes of that man;) he answered, incubuit in spongiam. For.

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For all these things which I have above touched upon, my answer is, incumbant in spongiam. And I could heartily with, (for, in the case I am, I have nothing but good wishes to help me) that they into whose hands that paper has unluckily fallen, would savour me so much as to sponge them out.

Now concerning the things discussed in the pamphlet, I humbly beg leave, before I come to particulars, to speak for myself thus much in general. If they be errors which I have here vented, (as perchance they are;) yet my will hath no part in them, and they are but the issues of unfortunate inquiry. Galen, that great physician, speaks thus of himself, Erw d' in bid' όπως έυθυς, &c. I know not bow (fays that worthy person) even from my youth up, in a wonderful manner, whether by divine inspiration, or by fury and possession, or however you may please to file it. I have much contemned the opinion of the MANY; but TRUTH and KNOWLEDGE, I have above measure affected; verily persuading myfelf, that a fairer, more divine fortune, could never befal a man. Some title, some claim I may justly lay to the words of this excellent person: For the pursuit of TRUTH hath been my only care, ever fince I first understood the meaning of the word. For this, I have forfaken all hopes, all friends, all defires, which might biass

bials me, and hinder me from driving right at what I aimed. For this, I have spent my monies, my means, my youth, my age, and all I have; that I might remove from myself that censure of Tertullian,—Suo vitio quis quid ignorat. If with all this cost and pains, my purchase is but error; I may safely say, to err hath cost me more, than it has many to find the truth: And truth itself shall give me this testimony at last, that if I have missed of her, it is not my fault, but my missortune.

Having begged your Grace's pardon for this περιαυτολογια, (peradventure unseasonable;) I will take liberty to confider of the things themfelver discussed in the pamphlet. And first, howfoever I have miscast some parcels of my account, yet I am most certain that the total sum is right; for it amounts to no more than that precept of the apostle-As far as it is possible, have peace with all men. For this purpose, having fummoned up fundry occasions of SCHISM. and valuing them with the best judgment I. could; I still ended with advice to all possible accommodation and communion, one only excepted. Now certainly there could be no great harm in the premises, where the conclusion was nothing else but peace.

One of the ancient grammarians, delivering the laws of a comedy fomewhat scrupulously, thought Non posse Ferrum nominare in Comedia, ne transeat in Tragadiam; that to name a sword in a comedy, was enough to fright it into a tragedy. The very theme I handled, caused me to fall on words of dissention and noise and tumult, and stirr: Yet I hope it is but an unnecessary fear, that the last scene being peace, the discourse will prove any other than conical.

To touch upon every jaring string in it, were too much to abuse your Grace's patience, of which once already you have been fo extraordinary liberal unto me. All that may feem to lie open to exception, I will comprize under two beads; within compass of which, all other petty and inferior matters will easily fall. first, concerns my carriage-towards antiquity; the fecond, towards authority: Against both which, I may be supposed to trespass. For the first, I am thought to have been too sharp in censuring antiquity, beyond that good respect which is due unto it. In this point, my error, if any be, fprang from this; that taking astions to be the fruit by which men are to be judged. I judged of the persons by their actions, and not of actions by the persons from whom they procreded. For, to judge of actions, by perfons and simes.

times, I have always taken it to be most someties rel. Hence it is, that having no good conceit. (for I will speak the truth) of our rule by which; we celebrate the feast of Easter; (First, because. 'tis borrowed of Moles, without any warrans . for ought I know: Secondly, because it is of no. uses for, which way is the service of God or. man any jot more advanced by making that feast wander betwixt day and day, than by fixing it. on one known day? Thirdly, because it is obscure. and intricate, few scholars acquainting themselves. therewith, and there being nothing more ridiculous than Difficiles Nuge, uscless intricacies. and obscurities:) I could not with patience freak gently of those, who used so small and contemptible an occasion, to the great disturbance and rending of the churches; and, in. maintenance of a toy and fimple ceremony which it is no way beneficial to preferve, to fall into . that error, than which themselves every where tell us there can scarcely any be more dangerous.

Whereas in one point, speaking of church-authority, I bluntly added, [which is none;] I must acknowledge it was uncautiously spoken; and, being taken in a generality, is false; tho as it refers to the occasion which there I fall upon, its (as I think I may fasely say) most true.

For church-authority, that is, authority reliding in ecclefialtical persons, is either of jurifdittim if church coufes, and matter of fast; or of deeifin in point of church questions, and disputable opinion. As for the first; in church causes or matter of fatt, ecclesiaftical persons in cases of their cognizance have the fame authority as any others have, to whom power of jurisdiction is committed. Their confistories, their courts, their determinations, fland upon as warrantable evidence, as the decisions of other benches and courts do. I count in point of decision of church-queftions, if I fay of the authority of the church, that it was none; I know no adversary that I have, the church of Rome only excepted. For this cannot be true, except we make the church judge of controverses; the contrary to which, we generally maintain against that church. Now it plainly appears, that upon this occasion I spake it: For, beginning to speak of schism arising by reason of ambiguous opinion, I brought in nakedly those words which gave occasion of effence; which if I had spoken with due qualification, I had not erred at all. Again, whereas I did too plainly deliver myself De Origine Deminii, and denied it to be founded either in mature or in religion, I am very well content to put off the decision of this point till Elias comes. In the mean time, whether it be true or falle,

les it pals for my mistake; for 'tie but a point of mere speculation, which we fall upon when we fludy Ariffetle's politicks; and in commonlife and use, bath no place at all. For authority is not wont to dispute; and it goes but lazily on, when it must defend itself by argument in the Whether dominion in Civilibus, or in schools. Sacris be utions &c. or comes in by divine right, it concerns them to look to, who have dominion committed to them. To others, whose duty it isto obey, (and to myfelf above all, who am best contented to live and die a poor and private man,) it is a speculation meerly useless. Our Sariour questions not Hered's or Augustus's title; and confessed that Pilate had his power from above; which yet we know came but by delegation from Tiberius Cafar. Let titles of honour and dominion, go as the providence of God will have; yet quiet and peaceable men will not fail of their obedience. No more will I. of ought : fo be that God and good conscience command not the contrary. A higher degree of duty, I do not fee how any man can demand at my hands. For whereas the exception of good conscience, sounds not well with many men; becanse oftentimes under that form, pertinacy and suifulness is suspected to couch itself: In this case it concerns every man sincerely to know. the truth of his own heart, and so accordingly

to determine of his own way, what sever the judgment of his superiors be, or what sever event befal him. For since in case of conscience, many times there is a necessity to fall either into the bends of men, or into the bands of God; of these two, whether is the best, I leave every particular man to judge. Only I will add thus much: It is a fearful thing to triste with conscience: Formost assured by, according unto it a man shalls shand or fall at the last.

One thorn more there is, which I would, if I might, pull out of the foot of him, who shall? tread upon that paper. For, by reafon of a paferfage there, wherein I sharply tasked episcopal. ambition, I have been suspected by some, into whose hands that schedule fell before ever it." came to your Grace's view, that in my heart I did ... fecretly lodge a malignity against the episcopal order, and that, under pretence of taxing the antients, I fecretly lashed at the present times .-What obedience I owe unto episcopal jurisdiction, -I have already plainly and fincerely opened untoyour Grace; and my trust is, you do believe me: So that in that regard, I intend to fay no more; and the very confideration of the things themselves which there I speak of, frees me from all suspicion of secret gliding at the present. spake of fchisms arising either out of plurality of bishops

bishops in one diocess, or superiority of bishops in fundry diocesses: Both these are strangers to ours, and proper to the antient times; the first ariting from the unruliness of the people, in whose hands in those times the nomination of bishops was; the other, from somewhat (whether good or bad I know not) in the princes then living, who left the bishops to themselves, (among whom fome there were no better than other men,) and took no keep of the antient canons of the church, by which the limits, orders, and preeminences of all diocesses and provinces were fet. But our times have feen a profperous change: For the nomination of bishops. (which was fometimes in the people) is now most happily devolved into the prince's hand, together with the care of the prefervation of the bounds of bishops sees, and antient titles of precedency. So that now, fince that happy change, for well near one hundred years, we have had no experience of any fuch misorders; neither are we likely bereafter to fear any; fo long as fo good, fo moderate, fo gracious a royal hand shall hold the stern: which God grant may be either in him, or his, till times be no more,

. . . • 1 x 3 65 663

SERIOUS ENQUIRY

INTO THE

USE and IMPORTANCE

OF

External Religion.

OCCASIONED BY

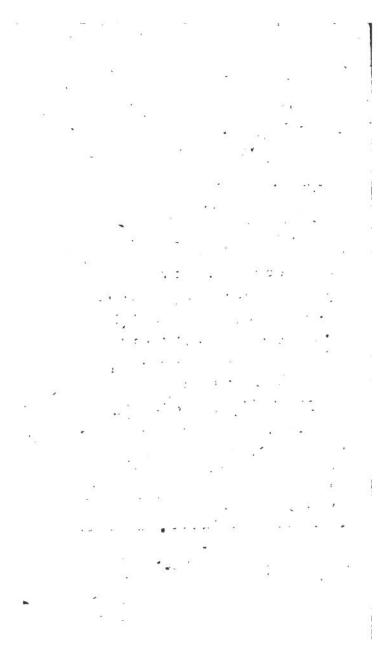
Some Passages in the Right Reverend the Lord BISHOP of DURHAM's

Charge to the Clergy of that Diocese,
At his Lordship's Primary Visitation in the
Year MDCCLL.

Humbly addressed to bis Lordsbip ..

I cannot but hold truth more ancient than error; every thing to be firmest upon it's own bottom; and all novelties in the church to be best confuted by shewing how far they cause it to deviate from the first original. Twysden's Hist. Vindication of the Church of England.

First printed in the Year 1752.



Part of a Letter written to the Author, relative to the subject of these papers.

Have, as you recommended to me, confidered Mr. Warburton's * comment. on I Tim. iv. 8. and agree with him that the bodily exercife there spoken of has reference to the ritual observances of the Jews; but whether to those alone, as that learned gentleman's argument seems to me to require, I am, not so clear.

There are two constructions of the wordsrpos Algor, either of which will indeed imply that no other but Jewish exercises are there intended.

- 1. The word xeever may be understood, and then the sense will be, as in the margin of our translation, for a little time, that is to say, for so long, and no longer than the Mosaic institute continued in sorce. Or,
- 2. Heos driver may mean in some degree, that . It fo far as bodily exercise has the promise of this
- * Divine Legation, book v. fedt. 6. page 470, of the fecond edition.

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high. Thefo the infinite source of call divines minima this bodily exercise peculian ato the Family dispensation.

But then, if the profitableness of ritual observaences was to determine with that part of the law which enjoined them, or if it was to ecase, when the promise of this life was superfeeded by the better promises of the gospel (as is certainly the case, if the apostle is to be understood as above) I cannot see the reason why "there "must needs be some [ritual observances] under "the gospel wherever there is a Christian "church," as Mr. W. holds; unless such observances are either derived,

- 1) From some plain and positive institution of divine appointment; since, if such things are no longer profitable by any virtue naturally belonging to them, and have none superadded by divine authority, the Christian church can have no reason for enjoining them; in that case the Christian church, teaching for destrines the mandments of men, would fall into condemnation. Or,
- a.) If the profitableness of rites, he they more or sewer, in the Christian church be derived from some general expedience in the things themselves (as I am inclined to understand the apostle's

apostie's words) there may then be lest forms soom for human injunctions of the ritual kind; limited by the use of edifying: But then was must take the bedily exercise here mentioned in a larger sense, and not understand it of the Jewish ordinances exclusive of others; and whether that will suit the interpretation Mr. W. gives of the latter part of the verse, I am not quite satisfied.

I expect you will say that Mr. W. by ritual observances in the Christian church, must be understood of such as are appointed in the suffers the divine wisdom being the best judge of what is either necessary or expedient for the church in any period; and, I suppose, when we meet, you will ask me for some account of this general expedience I talk of.—For Mr. W. I pretend not to answer; and for myself shall only offer, that possibly there may be some instrumentality in human rites towards ediffication, and that such instrumentality may be verified by their effects and operations upon particular persons, though you and I may have no experience of the like.

However, I own, my notions of this superdience are but very oblique and confuled; nor am I much enlightened by the episcopal on: built b

charge you mentioned to me some sime ago, and which was put into my hands this morning, with a very high character, by my neighbour Mr. ****. Perhaps his lord-ship's doctrine might have the less weight with me, for having so much in the adversaries scale.

February 7th, 1752.

A Serious Inquiry, &c.

MY LORD*,

HEN I first perused your lordship's charge, I could not but think some passages in it, particularly in the 13th and the three following pages, liable to many just objections.

My conjecture was, that the papists, ever watchful to countenance their superstition, by pointing out the remnants of it yet unpurged out of our church, and to make their advantage of the concessions of some of our unwary divines, would certainly lay their singer upon what your lordship has advanced concerning the importance of external religion.

Still this was but my conjecture, which alone would never have afforded me sufficient reasons for troubling your lordship or the public on any occasion: But having now the misfortune to find them verified by a strenuous recommendation of this very charge from a zealous and bigotted papist to a worthy protestant gentleman (both in my own neighbourhood) your lordship and the

The lord bishop of Durham, to whom this letter was addressed, was Dr. J. Jeph Butler.

reafonable part of the public will, I truft, excuse the for dropping all other respects but what are due to my religion and allegiance, till I have freely declared my sentiments of the dangerous tendency of your lordship's doctrine contained in the passages above referred to.

Tour lording, having told your clergy, p. 13.

That their chief business is to endeavour to beget a practical sense of religion upon the hearts of the people, as what they acknowledge their belief of, and profess they ought to conform themselves to," proceeds to say, a and this is to be done by keeping up, as we are able, the form and face of religion with decency and reverence, and in such a degree as to bring the thoughts of religion often to their minds; and then endeavouring to make this form mere and more subservient to promote the reality and power of it."

Tho' your lordship's expression in this passage is not very clear, yet the subsequent parts of the discourse lead us to understand your lordship here of the clergy's endeavours in their public ministrations: and thereupon to remark, that the clergy of the church of England have no way of keeping up the form and face of religion any often, or in any other degree, than is directed by the prescribed order of the church; nor can they,

I apprehend, contains to make this form more or less subservient to promote the reality and power of religion, beyond the common operation of the form inself: and what that may be we shall have occasion to consider by and by.

There are indeed some methods of keeping up the form and face of religion in use with some slergymen of our church (tho', I think, butfew) which are not prescribed in our established ritual; such as, bowing to the East, turning the face to that quarter in repeating the creeds, dipping the singer in water, and therewith crossing the child's forehead in baptism; and some others of the like fort: But, that your lordship means to encourage any thing of this kind by the degree, in which you would have this form and face of religion made more and more subservient, &c. 1 cannot be persuaded.

A late eminent and pious prelate, well skilled in the ritual of the church of England, hath told us that "altho" our church claims a power (in. "common with other national churches) to or-; dain, change, and abolish ceremonies or rites, or-; dained only by man's authority, so that all things: be done to edifying [art. 34.] yet of this edi-; sping she does not allow or make any bishops; sparson, or curate to be the judge, but has tied them down to certain rules—the rubries of; them down to certain rules—the rubries of;

" the common prayer, which are also now con-

" firmed by the laws of the land-Whofoever

" does less [than is prescribed in these rubries]

" is an offender; whoever does more, is an inne-

" vator, and does it without authority, and is

" fitter to be punished than followed "," &c.

But, as I have little inclination, and less anthority, to put a construction upon your lord-ship's words inconsistent with so plain a state of the case, for no better reason than because I cannot understand them myself in any other, I am obliged to leave them under their present ambiguity, and pass on to something more intelligible.

"The form of religion," continues your lordship, "may indeed be where there is little of the thing itself; but the thing itself cannot be preserved amongst mankind without the form."

Which may be very true if your lordship means the Pagan, the Mahametan, the Roman Catholick thing called religion: Take away the form from the religion of any of these, and you effectually destroy the thing itself: But, surely, your lordship, on second thoughts, will not extend this maxim to the Christian religion.

Bp. Fleetwood's works, fol. 1737. p. 722.

The Christian religion was revealed and dispensed, as we are taught, to make mankind happy both here and hereaster; we are farther taught that the circumstances of this religion, without the spirit or power of it, will have no efficacy to procure this happiness: Now one or more particular christians may be so situated that they cannot have the benefit of the form [the public form, of which your lordship is now speaking.] Apply your lordship's premisses to the case of such people, and the consequence will be, that they can have no religion amongst them.

How different are the fentiments of the great and good archbishop Tilletson. His opinion was, that a man may be a very religious and good christian, "who quietly, and without any noise" and bustle minds the substantial parts of religion, and is truly devoted towards God, just and peaceable, and charitable towards men; meck and humble and patient, kind and friendly even to those that differ from him." — Yet such a one, he tells us, "shall hardly escape being censur'd for a lukewarm, formal, moral man destitute of the grace of God and of the power of godliness ":" — But why censured? why

Sermons, 8vo. edit. 1713. pag. 4645, vol. X. I fet down this just as 1 find it printed, but cannot imagine how the word [formal] got into the fentence. I dare say the archbishop did not put it there, as formally

why for no reason imaginable unless it is — " ho"cause the sower of godliness cannot be prefer"red amongs manhind without the forms and
"circumstances of it."

But, I am afraid your lordship will have a greater authority still to encounter, even our bleffed Saviour himfelf, between whom and a certain woman of Samaria there was once some discourse concerning this very point, viz. The respective value of the form and power of religion: Our Lord's words are remarkable. Jasus faith unto her, Woman, believe me, the bour cometh, when yo hall neither in this mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem, worship the Father. Ye worship ye know not what [i. e. according to your own inventions], we know what we worship; for salvation is of the Jews. But. the hour cometh, and now is, when the true werhippers shall worship the Father [not at ferufalem, or in this or that mountain, but] in SPIRIT and in TRUTH ; for the Father feeketh fuch to worfhip bim. God is a SPIRIT, and they that worship Him, must worthip in Spirit and in TRUTH. Tohn iv. 21, &c.

Can your lordship pick your proposition, viz.
"That the thing itself [RELIGION] cannot be.

mairy belongs to the character opposite to that he is here describing; and indeed is itself opposite to the other terms of reproach there mentioned.

" preferved

of or one of any other words in the new reliament? Do they not rether most evidently and expressly declare that true religion shall be preserved, and true worshipers sought and accepted by God without any regard to forms at all.?

Your lordship probably may suggest (what has often been said and repeated upon occasion of handling this subject) that "it is the utmost extravagance and enthusiasm to suppose that our Saviour intended to exclude all forms from religion, seeing that he himself instituted two forms at least."——To which I answer:

- are one thing, and the face and form of religion, spoken of by your lordship, quite another; if it is not so, your lordship should have told us. If your lordship only means, "that the swangelical "thing called religion, cannot be preserved amongst mankind without the evangelical forms," surely it was very needless to refer to the Heathens, the Turks, and the Papists in this behalf. I answer:
- 2. I receive and comply with the forms inftituted by Christ, with the atmost reverence; and for the rest, I am of opinion with the excellent:

presate asready cited, viz. We must not be rude, nor do any thing that is naturally indescent in the worship of God; this authority so should restrain; but farther than this, I doubt not but the gospel hath left us free?" But what is it to be left free in this respect, but just to pay less or more regard to human forms, as we are inclined, without laying any stress upon them, or giving them any importance, in the affair of religion? But to answer more punctually:

I very much question whether your lordship's position will be found true; even tho' the forms inflituted by our Lord himself should be taken into the account. We have among us, as . your lordship knows, a fect of nominal christians called Quakers, who make use of neither of the two forms above mentioned. Will your lordthip fay that these men " have no religion pre-" ferved amongst them?" It is more than I dare affirm, because they tell me very seriously that "they have a spiritual baptism, and a spiritual " communion, by which they are firmly perfuad-" ed they fulfil the command of Christ as effec-" tually as we do, who practife the formal rites se according to the verbal institution." In which, tho' I think they are mistaken, and that I could

[·] Ibid. vol. VIII. pag. 37183

discove them; yet I dare not condenn them, as I certainly fhould do by faying that they have no religion preserved amongst them. To their own master they must stand or fall for me. In the mean time I observe among the members of this fociety much seriousness of deportment, benevolence of heart, and a fobriety and circumspection in their manners and conversation, not only extremely edifying in itself, but extremely full of tacit reproach to certain christians with more religious forms. All this they ascribe to the influence and operation of the good spirit of God, agreeably to the Scripture-accounts: And if among this people (who have too their religions worship in public assemblies) there is no religion preserved, we must, I verily think, abide no longer by the gospel-rule, but judge both men and things hereafter not by their fruits, but by their forms.

Your lordship, having stated this necessary and essential connexion between the firm of religion and the thing itself, goes on to say: "And this "form frequently occurring, in some instance or "other of it, will be a frequent admonition to bad "men to repent; and to good men to grow better; and also be a means of their doing so." pag. 14.

86 She Pillers of PRIESTORAPT

Hardly, my lord, if the good archbishop non derstood the case, who says the gospel left us free [as above] " to the end that the less we are tied to external obfervances, the more intent we should " be upon the foiritual and fubfiantial parts of " religion, the conforming ourselves to the " mind and will of Gon, endeavouring to be like " unto Gon, and to have our fouls and fpirits . engaged in those duties we perform to him :" -Which certainly was no good policy in the gofpel, if the form and face of religion has a tendency to beget a practical fense of it upon mens. hearts: and a greater tendency in proportion to the frequent occurrence of this face or form in fome instance or other in it; i. e. if in every fuch occurrence it is an admonition to bad men. to repent, &c. Bad men are so greatly indisposed to put themselves in the way of such admonitions, or to apply them, whenever or however they occur, that it feems quite necessary they should be tied to them, whenever their operations are fo promising.

And therefore, if, as archbishop Tilletson hath stated the case, men are lest free as to the face and form of religion, the presumption seems to be, that the face and form of religion is either wholly void of, or at least much less connected with the spirit and power of it, than your lord-ship's doctrine would make it.

Mor indeed will it be found, upon examination, that the archbifliop hath at all milreprefented the gospel in this matter.

From our Lord we learn how apt the religious forms, dollrines, and traditions, of men are to make the commandments of God of no effect.

Matth. xv. 1—21. Mark vii. 1, &c. From St. Paul, that observances of this kind had, instead of forwarding, greatly observed his ministry among the Galatians, chap. iv. 9, 10, 11. and in his epistle to the Colossians, chap. ii. 20, 21, 22.

The same apostle speaks of ordinances after the commandments and dollrines of men, as means and expedients of men living in the world: that is, living a mere carnal and seconar life.*

. I am not forgetful that our divines, in their controversy with the diffenters about ceremonies, have alledged, that the forms and ceremonies abalished or condemned by Christ and his apostles, were either, 1. Such as were rudimental or elementary, and peculiar to the Mefaic fystem : or 2. Such as were in themselves idolatrous or at least superstitious: But if it is confidered what a variety of forms are specified in the feveral passages commonly referred to; as wain repetitions, long prayers, long garments, washing of cupis consecrated gifts, observation of days, abstinence from meats, Sec, it may not perhaps be so easy to avail ourfelves of this diffinction as is commonly imagined: For my own part, I have always confidered the, reproof in the gospel as extending to mere human doctrines and commandments respecting religion in general: if I am wrong (which is very possible) I will be thankful to him who will fet me right.

'To this agrees the experience of reasonable men m all ages and countries, both before and fince the promulgation of Christianity, who have obferved that the number, variety, and frequent occurrence of forms in religion have been confidered by the generality sa commutations or compositions for their vices and iniquities; as fomething substituted in lieu of repentance, and dispensing, from time to time, with the thing itself: And accordingly, ever fince the gospel hath confirmed this observation by its superior evidence. wife, and good, and resionable men have complained of the number and frequency of forms in religion, as loads and incumbrances upon true Christian edification; and not seldom intimated that they were too often fnares and traps to the fecular and fecure finner, as well as fometimes to better men; teaching them to depend upon a virtue, and expect an influence from forms, which (as they have it not) they cannot impart. How things may be altered fo, as to make this a feafonable doctrine only at certain times, as your lordship hath thought fit to suggest, pag. 16. we shall have occasion to consider when that passage comes to be examined in its course.

Your lordship's next observation is, that to That, which men have accounted religion in the several countries in the world, generally

" speaking, has had a great and reofficueus part the line all public oppourances, and the face of it been the kept up with great reverence throughout all ranks from the highest to the lowest; not only upon occasional solemnities, but also in the daily course of behaviour."

In giving instances of this, it is remarkable that your lordship has only mentioned the ancient Pagan, the Mahometan, and the Roman-catholick religions, wholly omitting the Jewish, which undoubtedly had as great and as conspicuous a part, as well in all public appearances as in all ordinary transactions, as any of them. had your lordship specified, or in the gentlest terms referred, to the great and conspicuous parts of the Mosaic institute, it must have immediately occured to the hearer or the reader, that thefe great and conspicuous parts were actually and expresly abolished by Christ, and his disciples enjoined from thenceforward to lay the great fire's of religion upon worshipping God in spirit and in truth.

It is true, your lordship, at a convenient distance, has made mention of the Jews, but in what manner, and with what propriety, shall be considered by and by.

fn the mean time, my lord, permit me to alk, what fellowship hath Christ with Belial, the Turk.

Turk, or the Pope? Hardly so much as he had with Moses. What help then can your lord-ship's argument receive from these instances, unless your lordship could prove that the forms in these three systems had and have a greater tendency to beget practical religion in the heart, or were more effectual admonitions to bad men to repent, or to good men to grow better, than the forms in other rituals? How the case stands in that respect, let us now inquire.

"In the heathen world their superstition was
the chief subject of statuary, sculpture, painting and poetry. It mix'd itself with business,
civil forms, domestic entertainments, and
every part of common life."

Good my lord, what is all this to us Christians? Will any man say to us, Go ye and do likewise? Should a masquerade in the Hay-market be advertised in honour of the nativity, or a ball at Rane agh to commemorate the ascension, what would be thought of your lordship's bench if they did not to a man remonstrate loudly against it? A traveller would hardly now a days be deemed void of superstition, even by the moderate papists, who should pack up among his necessaries a crucifix or a madena of exquisite sculpture, with a design to pay his devotions to.

it somfuch solemnities as might fall out during his journey *?

All, therefore, that, I conceive, your lordship can build upon this fact, is, that "though the "rites themselves were superstitious, yet might "they still have a good effect in bringing the "thoughts of religion to mens minds, and in being subservient to promote the reality and power of it." To which I would humbly answer:

- 7. That the reality and power of heathenism was little worth promoting by any means: and what the philosophy of those times and countries contributed towards the bettering of the human heart, was founded upon principles (as I doubt not but your lordship wery well knows) which
- Morem mibi babeo, quoquo eam. simulachrum alicuius. Dei inter libellos candisum gestare; eique diebus
 Essis Thure & Mero & aliquando Visimis supp icare;
 says Apuleius, [Apolog. pag. 296. Lugd. Bat. 1623]
 at a time when paganism had received its sinishing
 touches from the refining Platonists. The learned
 Mr. Warturian has suggested, on very competent evidence, that Apu eius's adversary was a Christian; this
 evidence is founded on the remarkable contrast between the two men in point of reversure for religious
 surms; the use and value of which a whole college
 of J-suits could not set forth with more elegance,
 pertinance, or colour of reason, than is done in this
 apology.

- ga The Pillars of PRIESTCRAFT derive little honour to the popular religion and forms of worthip.
- 2. That I am very creditly informed by the testimony of St. Paul and St. Peter, that the heathen superstition had no such good effect. The former of these apostles, writing to the Ephesians, says that the unconverted Gentiles walked in the vanity of their minds, having the understanding darkened, being alienated from the LIFE OF God, through the ignorance that was in them, because of the blindness of their heart: and that being past feeling, they gave themselves over unto lascivious saes, to work all uncleanness with greedin ness. Chap. iv. 17, 18, 19.

And lest it should be thought that these Gentiles might be no regular observers of forms, the same apostle speaking of other Gentiles who were carried away unta dumb idols, even as they were ted (that is to say, who were under all the influence of idolatry, and consequently parties in all the forms and superstitions of it) says of them, that they were fornicators, adulturers, effeminate, abusers of themselves with mankind, thieves, covetous, drunkards, revilers, extortioners. I Cor. xii. 2. and chap. vi. 9, 10, 11.

The time past of our life, says St. Peter, may fuffice us to have wrought the will of the Gentiles, when

when " we walked in lastiviousness, lusts, except of wine, revellings, hanquetings, and abominable Inolant RIES: Wherein they think it strange that you sun not wish them to the same except of riot. I Pet. Chap. iv. 3, 4.

This testimony of the apostle Peter is the more considerable, as it proves that these Gentiles were not only under no restraints in these eriminal excesses from the forms of their own religion, but even wondered there should be any other religion, which prohibited the same sort of licentiousness: and this was indeed a resection that would naturally occur to those, who laid so much stress on the form and face of what they accounted religion, as to mix it with business, civil forms, diversions, &c. So much of the face and form could have no other effect but to extinguish the spirit and power of religion, even where the principles of it were much better.

There is no reason for translating this passage by, we walked; the participle wirequipmes no more agrees with hat than with is we and Peter himself never thus walked; and the the apostic might cane descend to rank himself with those who had in some degree wrought the will of the Gentiles heretofore, yet would be hardly charge himself with these specifical crimes. It would therefore, perhaps, be better to render it indefinitely, who bare walked: in the Basil edition of the Greek Testament, 1543, instead of wirequipmes, it is wegivepines; and Curcellaus (perhaps on better authority) hath put this among his various readings. If this latter is the true readings the walking is limited to the Gentiles only.

Let us now fee whether what the Maboutetow account religion does any more for them; "They," your lordship observes, "are obliged to short devotions five times between morning "and evening."

To this observation I will take the liberty to subjoin a larger portrait of this people and their religion, drawn by the hand of a most elegant, candid and sensible writer, and a clergyman of the church of England.

"Their [the Mahametan] religion is framed es to keep up great outward gravity and folemmity, without begetting the least tincture of wildom or virtue in the mind. You Thalf to have them at their hours of prayer (which are or four a day always) addressing themselves to their devotions with the most folemn and disical washings, always in the mon public of places, where most people are passing; with most lowly and most regular proftrations, and es a hollow tone; which are amongst them the segreat excellencies of prayer. I have feen " them, in an affected charity, give money to bird eatchers (who make a trade of it) to re of flore the poor captives to their natural lib ty; and at the same time hold their own flaver " in the heariest bondage. " And at other times they will buy fleih to relieve morgant dogs and 64 €ats:

Seattes and yet curle you with famine and pel-"railence, and all the such hideses execusions. bin which way thefe caftern nations have cer-"minly the most exquisite rhetoric of any peo-" ple upon earth. They know hardly any " pleasure but that of the fixth sense. " with all this, they are incredibly conceited of " their own religion, and contemptuous of that " of others: which I take to be the great arti-" fice of the devil to keep them his own. They " are a perfect visible comment upon our blef-" fed Lord's description of the Jewif pharifees. 46 In a word, lust, arrogance, covetouineis, and 44 the most exquisite hypocrify complete their "character. The only thing that ever, I could-" observe to commend in them, is the outward. " decency of their carriage, the profound re-" fpect they pay to religion and to every thing. es relating to it, and their great temperance and frugality "." For which two moral virtues. the historian may perhaps be thought to have. fufficiently accounted without having recourse. to the influence of their religious forms.

Here, my lord, we feem to have every thing requilite to the efficacy of forms; here is great gravity and folemnity of appearance, constancy

^{.?} Mr. Maundral's first letter to Mr. Offers of Exster College, at the end of his Journey from Alepse to Jernfalin.

and regularity of performance, frequency of occurrence, with a mixture of religion in most, if not all parts of common life; and what is the consequence? Not the least sincture of wildom or virtue begot in the mind; an affected charity, indeed, for birds and beafts, but the exthemest cruelty to the human kind; a decent respect for their own religion, but a petulant contempt for every religion but their own; and horrid execuations denounced upon those who profess any other. The hearts of these men, so lowly, fo folema, fo punctual and fo critical in their devotions, are still the receptacles of luft. arrogance, avarice, and the most exquisite hypocrify.

From the Turks then your lordship's argument can receive no aid; perhaps we may fucceed better among the Roman Catholicks .- " In "Roman Catholick countries, people cannot país " a day without having RELIGION recalled to se their thoughts by some or other memorial of ef it; by fome ceremony or public RELIGIOUS 66 FORM occurring in their way: besides their " frequent holidays, the thort prayers they are . " daily called to, and the occasional devotions. " enjoined by confessors."

- This; my lord, is the passage, which (taken along with your lordship's positions above laid down) down) may well give occasion of triumph to the papists, and of grief and resentment to all good christians and true protestants: For if true religion cannot be preserved among men without forms; and if the frequent occurrence of forms in some instance or other, afford so many admenitions to bad men to repent, and to good men to grow between, the consequence must be, that the Romish religion, having more of these instances and more frequent occurrences of forms, is better than other religions, which have fewer of these instances and occurrences.

Nor is any thing faved by the intervention of the Pagans and Turks, as if your lordship intended we should make no other use of the Roman Catholicks than of the other two; what your lordship had called superstition in the former, becomes in this period, RELIGION, and RELIGIOUS FORMS, which the papists pretending, in their system, to connect with Christianity, and your lordship giving no hint that this is no more than a pretence, a plain reader must needs take this as spoken by your lordship of the means and memorials of TRUE RELIGION, and will accordingly consider these as recommended to his practice and imitation.

Here it is likely your lordship may remonfirate, and say, that you have expressly distin-VOL. IV. E guished

guished the superstition of the Roman Catholicks from their religion in the very next words. The words are these. "By These Means" [i. e. by these memorials, ceremonies, public religious forms, frequent holidays, short prayers and devotions enjoined by confessors "their super-"stition sinks deep into the minds of the "people, and [by these means] their religion also into the minds of such among them as are serious and well disposed."

But if your lordship holds with the church of England, (as I must needs believe you do) that the memorials, ceremonies, &c. of popery are fuperstitious and fond things, the means and the superstition, in that case, are one and the same thing, and to be considered in this sentence no otherwise than as a common and convenient vehicle of religion, necessary to sink it deep into the minds of the serious and well-disposed.

And does your lordship think, if supersition be once allowed to do this good service for true religion, that it would not quickly lose that invidious name, and be called (as indeed it would well deserve) by the more respectable appellation of necessary and important externals? And then who would not lament the sate and the folly of unhappy England for throwing so many of these valuable memorials to the moles and to the batts?

Who would not deplore her blindness in being guided by a rule of faith and edification which gives her authority to treat these memorials, and every thing like unto them, in the very manner she has done?

I am not, my lord, of the number of those who deny to any people their just commendations in the regular practice and reverend profession of their religion, because it differs from mine. But, to speak my heart's thoughts, I cannot afford to bestow any more or any other praise on the papists, than just what the ingenious Mr. Maundre'l above-cited hath given to the Turks, viz. That, generally speaking, a profound respect is paid by them to their own fort of religion, and to every thing relating to it. there is any tincture of true wildam, virtue, or piety in the individuals of that communion (as I trust there may be a great deal) I will be free to fay, they derive it not either from the genius, or the modes of POPERY, which I hold with the great and good archbishop Tilletson to be, " in " the whole complex of it, a corruption of the " whole design of Christianity "." Whoever among them acts according to the gospel of Christ, deserts, in that instance at least, the genuine principles of the church of Rome, which,

Bishop Burnet's sermon at his funeral, p. q.

being adhered to and followed as far as the would carry her votaries, will leave no man one moral or christian principle to act upon; all faith and duty, as is most notorious, being refolved, in that church, under the pretence of infallibility, into an implicit belief of, and blind obedience to the destrines and commandments of men.

As to particular papifts, whatever their private fentiments or perfonal dispositions may be. it is well known, they must no longer continue to conduct themselves by these, than holy church forbears to call them to her service on some particular emergency; when that happens, all private obligations of justice and mercy, must at once evaporate. Of this that unhappy prince James II. has been given as an example by more than one of our historians. And if to this there is one exception in the whole range of popery, if there is a man, who, at the hazard of the censures of his church, will venture to do justice or shew mercy to a protestant, upon the true Christian principle of disinterested charity, I will open my arms to embrace him as a brother, and require no other proof that he is no more a papift than the mufti of Aleppo.

It would be well indeed for Popery if it could fland a fair trial with Mahometism. The musual-

man is as clear of idolatry in his worship, and is fo far honest in his religious malice, as he has the precept and example of his prophet for propagating his religion by fire and sword, and for treating all those with execration who do not conform to it; but what name is bad enough for those who would fix these infamous characters and principles on the meek and benevolent Jesus, the gracious Saviour of the world, who came into it to seek and to save that which was lost, and not to destroy men's lives, but to preserve them, whether they would receive him or not?

The excellent prelate so often quoted, and who had studied popery to the very entrails, was so far from your lordship's opinion that its external forms funk religion deep in mens minds, that "he thought (as his right reverend eulogist has informed us) the idolatry and superstition of the church of Rome did enervate true piety and morality; and that their cruelty was such a contradiction to the meekness of Christ, and to that love and charity which he made the character and distinction of his disciples and followers, that he resolved to facrifice every thing, but a good conscience, in a cause for which he was resolved, if it should come to extremities, to be a facrifice himself."

But perhaps these opinions were only fafinions of the times, seasonable enough for the days of those zealous prelates; possibly we may know better, and have some reason to believe that popery is become a tame and peaceable *, as well as an edifying superstition. Believe it who will for me, I shall still continue to make it a petition in my daily prayers, that neither we nor our posterity may have occasion to try.

Here it may be faid that the edification is not placed to the account of superstition, by your lordship, but simply to the number and frequency

So Mr. Worthington, Essay on the scheme and conduct, &c. of man's redemption, p. 156. To the fact a satisfactory answer has been given, in a fmall piece intitled, "The true Spirit of Popery displayed," printed 1746; and another more at length, in a pamphlet printed in the same year, wiz. " Popery always the same." - But here it may be proper to rectify a small mistake in the first page of the former of these pieces. The excellent author of the Confiderations on the state of the world. &c. there cited, has indeed expressed his hopes, that the cruel spirit both of Popery and Mahometism may be abated; and for the ground of those hopes with respect to the Papists he cites Mr. Worthington, as. above, and, with respect to the Mahometrins, Sale's notes on the Koran; and confequently is no farther answerable for the facts than these authorities will Support them. For the rest, this honest and worthy writer, not attending to Dr. Law's context and reference, has put Mr. Werthington's words into the mouth of Mr. Sale, who is only an evidence for the Makomerans, and a better, I doubt, than the papifts have to produce. of

of these memorials. If this is your lordship's meaning, I humbly apprehend it should have been differently expressed; and some instance given of a religious system with an equal number and variety of rites which are void of superstition; but such an instance, I believe, would be hard to find; and after all I am afraid that when we want to illustrate any thing of this kind, we must still bring our examples from Roman-catholick countries.

And therefore, to do as much justice to this plea as may be, let us ask, how comes it that these memorials are so numerous and frequent in Roman-catholick countries? The plain reason of which appears to be the frequent and numerous swarms of ecclesiasticks in these countries, who would have nothing to do if they were not thus employed, and (what would be worse to them than that) who would have no pretence to amass and appropriate to themselves those sumptuous palaces and large possessions they enjoy,

^{*} One instance of this we have indeed in our own country exhibited in Deacen's catechisms; but this performance having in it "rather more soppery and "superstition, than is to be found in the top //b ritual," will not help in the present exigency. They who desire to see an abridgement of this work, may find a very useful one in Dr. Middieton's presace to his Remarks on two Pamphlets, &cc.

if they could not persuade the people that their function was necessary to keep up the sense of religion in their minds by this variety in the form and face of it.

I lay no stress here, my lord, upon the superflitious nature of the rites which these men perform. Some of their usages may be as innocent and as edifying as some of ours; and whether they are or no, they have that reputation, and must have it among those who would edify by them.

What I infift upon is, that these memorials could not be so frequently occurring in sime inflance or other, without a suitable number of men who have nothing else to do but to ply the people with them; and who are accordingly set free for this purpose not only from familycares, but from all public charges besides.

Now the account we have of these men, even from serious, well disposed and sensible persons in these very countries, is, that a large majority of them are idle and useless drones, and too often worse; that they are many of them intolerable incumbrances on the liberty and industry of much better men than themselves; that they occasion great inconveniencies and disorders in private families, even by the influence of these

memorials; and that, upon the whole, the edification of their ministry is in no reasonable proportion to the scandal of their lives.

Perhaps, my lord, it might be possible to devise a ritual as sull of memorials and circumstantials as the Roman, and which might have nothing of what your lordship may call superstition in it: But if still we must have a proportionable number of men to discharge the offices prescribed in it, how shall we avoid these grievances, occasioned, as it should seem, by a multitude of such men? The ecclesiasticks of the popish church are certainly bound to good belaviour by as strict and solemn oaths, profesfions, subscriptions, vows, and rules of their several orders, as it is possible to lay upon humans agents. And yet, all it seems, without the defired effect.

Upon the whole, my lord, the more I confider these instances, the less am I able to conceive for what purpose your lordship referred to them, or what practical use (consistent with our christian profession) we can make of them:

The externals of paganism have no better name given them in the New Testament than abominable idulatries; and from these what your lordship calls the momerials of popery, have, the

very most of them, been derived by very competent judges, and in a very legitimate pedigree. These then are equally useless to us. Were they ever so full of edification, the very cast and temper of christianity prohibits the adoption of them; they are the traditions and commandments of men; and what can we contrive that will be equivalent to them in number and frequency, which will not be liable to the same objection?

The Turkish washings and other circumstantials partake more of the Jewish formality: But this, your lordship knows, is gone, never to be recalled by christians. Their prayers in public places, and where most people are passing, have a censure from our blessed Lord, which will for ever discredit the like practice among bis disciples.

If your lordship only meant in general to suggest that our religion should have a great and conspicuous part as well as theirs, we must call for your lordship's authority for this, non from the third or fourth centuries, but from the Scriptures. If this was required of christians, it is strange that our Lord should promise his especial presence where only Two or THREE were gathered together in his name. If this was to be ordered by councils, fathers,

and ORTHODOXY Shaken.

and bishops in ages posterior to the why should our Lord lay all the stress shipping God in spirit and in truth, i. ding to the word of God? John xvii. why should be direct his hearers to go the meaning of those words of Go prophet, I will have mercy and not Mat. ix. 13.

Again, if a great and conspicuous par gion was necessary, why did not the take the appointment of it upon thems rather why did they fay fo many thing courage such appointment? To what was Stephen's observation that the m dwellstb not in temples made with bands should St. Paul add to this observat God is not worshipped or ministered to a bands, as though he needed any thing + · should be observe that the kingdom of (meat and drink t, i. e. is of a differen from that kingdom which flood only in a drinks, and divers washings and CARNA. NANCES IMPOSED until the time of RE1 TION 6? Why should these men say al ofter this time of reformation, other ma temples, other conspicuous ordinance

^{*} Acts vii. 48. † Chap. xvii. 25. xiv. 17. \$ Heb. ix. 10.

fumptuous ministrations and services of meas hands were to be *imposed* as necessary to preserve religion among mankind?

The spirit and tenor of what Christ and his apostles taught in this matter, is not only so uniform and confistent throughout with the rest of the christian dispensation, but is so fully jussified in point of wildom by the product of a contrary spirit in the christian church, as for ever to discredit the idle pretence, that the implicity of the christian worship, enjoined and implied in the gospel, was only accommodated to the beginnings of it; to the times of poverty and distress. Was it not as easy for the apo-Ales to have provided for better times, if other provisions were necessary for other times? Did shey not foresee what the exigencies of future times would be? Have not the apostles faid every thing that may point out the fpirit, the ordinances, the corruptions, the cruelty of the church of Rome, and even the very impeffor at the head of it? And can any one doubt but they would have precluded all this, and regulated the plan of the christian church by a precife and authentic ritual, if more of this kind had been either necessary or expedient than what they have left behind them in their epiftles ?

Alas, my lord, they found by too forrowful experience the fad effects of the pride and hypocrify in which an attachment to and reverence for conspicuous externals ended; they had fufficient warning from their heavenly mafter, and were not without a measure of fagacity themselves to discover, that the like canses would always have the like effects; and were not likely to fet religion once more upon a bottom which had so miserably failed. It is too evident, I doubt, for the justification of these latter ages, that they never thought of this great and conspicuous superstructure, as in the least expedient for, or even void of mischief to the abristian church; and if their fuccessors had contented themselves to have enjoyed and lest it in its original famplicity, there would, I am perfuaded, by this time have been both more christians in the world, and better forts of them, than our later ecclefiafical polities have produced.

And now, my lord, after so much suggested by your lordship in favour of the Roman Cathelick religion, it was natural to expect your lordship, in speaking of our reformation, should throw the balance pretty strongly in favour of that, by a full and concise representation of the errors and corruptions which gave occasion to it:

What

What your lordship has thought sit to say on that head is, that "our reformers considering "that some of these observances were in them- selves wroig and superstitious, and others of them made subservient to the purposes of superstition, abolished them."

Why truly, my lord, this is no good report that we hear of these things, but neither is it a very bad one. There may be some room to doubt. whether it be quite bad enough to bear our reformers out in this abelition, especially of those things which only might be made subservient to the purposes of superstition; for these very obfervances themselves being in their turn subservient to the purpoles of true religion, it might be asked, who made our reformers judges in so critical a case? If the observances of popery were really means of finking religion deep in the minds of ferious and well-disposed persons, was it a sufficient cause to separate a whole nation from the church in possession, that some of these observances were esteemed by our reformers to be superstitious? Is the church of England herfelf contented with this measure from the diffenters, who have over and over objected to fome of our observances in words full as strong as these of your lordfhip? And how have they been answered? Why, we say, that admit this to be the case, viz. " that some of our cere-66 monies

monies or observances are wrong and superfittious; yet is not this a sufficient cause of
separation; such a cause as will acquit them of
the guilt of schism, unless they can also prove
these observances to be sinful; which, I trow, it
will be hard to prove of any thing which is a
means of promoting true religion.

An ingenious gentleman, and one, who, if I mistake not, has full as much respect for external forms as they deserve, seems to me to have put this affair upon a very different sooting, in some confiderations of a later date than your lordship's charge.

"Indeed," fays he, " if idolatry was to be now rooted out as it was in the reign of Edward VI. and an innumerable multitude of other corruptions, and those of the most heise nous nature, to be removed, or reformed, the fecular powers, in case the clergy could not be persuaded to examine their own state, would be excusable, and something more than excusable, in doing it for them, and in rescusing religion from such abominations, even in opposition, not only to the majority, but to the whole body of the clergy *."

Free and impartial Confiderations on the free and candid Disquisitions, pag. 4.

This is honourable to, and a full justification of our reformers. Instead of some wrong and superstitious observances, and others subservient to the purposes of superstition, there were, it seems, idolatry and an innumerable multitude of other corruptions and abominations of the most beinous nature to be rooted out; which, surely, was enough in all conscience to justify a reformation by the interposition of any class of men.

But now, my lord, on the supposition that your lordship has told us the ubole truth, how will this gentleman come at his conclusion? If the observances of popery were barely wrong, superstitious, or tending that way, I greatly suspect this considerer would have thought the secular powers a little premature in their interposition, since he seems to be pretty clear that our secular reformers are only to be justified on the supposition that things were in the disorder he hath represented.

On the other hand, my lord, this gentleman's premisses will equally distress your lordship in their turn; for if the memorials and observances of popery are no better than idelatries, corruptions, and abominations of the most beinous nature, by what kind of operation willthey become the means of making religion, as-

diffin

diffinguished from superflition, sink deep into the minds of the scrious and well-disposed? Your lordship goes on:

"Our reformers (having abolished the obser"vances before mentioned) reduced the form
"of religion to great simplicity, and enjoined
"no more particular rules, nor left any thing
"more of what was external in religion, than
"was, in a manner, necessary to preserve a sense
"of religion itself upon the minds of the
"people."

Not quite fo many rules or externals, I should think, if what goes before and what follows be true: But to let that pass as none of my business; your lordship by this account of our rules and externals seems to bear extremely hard on great numbers of serious and, to all appearance, well-disposed persons.

Your lordship has been reminded above of a people, professing christianity, called quakers *: Besides

It is so far out of all orthodox rule to allow the quaker; to be christians, that I am right glad, on this occasion, to borrow a little authority from a late sensible writer, whose judgment no man will call in question who has any tenderness for his own. The writer, I mean, is the reverend Mr. Adams, the author of a late essay in answer to Mr. Hume's essay on Miracles. This Mr. Hume, it seems, lays claim

Besides these, are many thousands of protestant dissenters in this kingdom: There is too the body of the Scottish nation, and great numbers in protestant countries and communions abroad, among whom the form of religion is reduced to much greater simplicity, who have not so many particular rules, and have much less of what is external in religion, than what was lest us by our reformers, nor have they any thing equivalent to many of our rules and externals.

Shall we say of these that they have not a sense of religion itself preserved upon their minds? How is this to be proved? and who among us will undertake it? That is to say, who will undertake to shew in what manner our rules and externals are necessary to preserve a sense of religion upon the buman mind, which, I suppose, in respect of impressions from external religion,

to the quakers as fellow-professors with him in the mystery of Deism. To which Mr. Adams answers, it is certain that the quakers profess the belief of the christianity as universally as any sect whatever. And what right has the author [Mr. Hume] to charge a whole body of men with such flagrant infincerity." Estay, pag. 130. In return for this little aid, and to make some amends for mentioning his name in a pamphlet whose subject is not of the respectable fort, I do hereby give that gentleman, my poor, but most hearty and sincere thanks for this and every other passage in his accurate and unanswerable essay.

is,

is, in most of the common people of all denominations, framed and capacitated pretty much alike?

I will not be positive what some of our high churchmen may have afferted and maintain'd in this matter of rules and externals, because I have not all the books of our very warm apologists at hand: And I know too that some of the warmest of them have been disclaimed and given up by others who are warm enough themselves *. Of our externals these defenders have said, that they are innocent, fignificant, and expedient; conducive, and (perhaps some of them may have added) necessary to the bene esse of the visible church : But to make them in any manner necessary to preferere a fense of religion upon the minds of the people, is a strain of merit, which, I fancy, very few of our highest churchmen have ventured to ascribe to them.

It should seem, however, that our earlier reformers themselves had no such notion of this use and virtue of our forms and externals: The remaining histories of those times afford us sufscient proofs that some of the best and wisest of them would not, if they could have help'd it, have left us so much. And even such of them

So Mantane, Heylin, I horndike and Park r are given up by Dr. Nicholis. Defence, pag. 168, 169.

as laboured the other way, have left reasons of a very different fort from this suggested by your lordship.

In the convocation of 1562, it was debated, as we are told by bishop Burnet, whether the greatest part of our festivals, the cross in baptism, kneeling at the communion, the surplice and organs, were to be retained or dropt. And the question, it seems, was carried for these externals but by one vote of a proxy, whose principal, it is probable, knew little of the debate; and of those who were present the majority were against the rites †.

We likewise learn from the same right reverend historian, that the single reason for retaining these forms, entered in the record of these proceedings, is, that "the laying them aside, "would be contrary to the authorized book of "Common-prayer." Whence it appears that even they who opposed the abrogation of these things, did not so immediately think of their necessity to preserve a sense of religion upon the minds of the people, as of the danger of a premunire, of which this convocation stood in great awe, as appears by the posissioned to their subscription of the XXXIX. articles.

Hist. Reformat. vol. III. pag. 302, 303.

Bennet's essay, pag. 198.

Concerning one of these forms there is a remarkable passage in one of bishop Taylor's books, which may help us to conceive the value put upon things of this fort by the church of England herself. "There is reason to cele-"brate and honour," says he, "the wisdom and prudence of the church of England, which hath in all her offices retained but one ritual, or ceremony, that is not of divine or- dinance, or apostolical practice, and that is the "cross in baptism "."

Now the fign of the cross, simply and of itself, that is to say, without some explanation, can, I should think, convey or preserve no sense of any thing upon the mind; and accordingly the church informs us that this fign of the cross is made "in token that the person baptized shall "not be ashamed to confess the faith of Christ "crucified," &cc. and indeed it must be owned, that if it is an effectual token of this, the sense of religion to be preserved by it is very important.

And yet, strange to hear, the church herself declares that "without doubt a child baptised without it is lawfully and sufficiently baptized." So that there is no necessity, we see, for this form to preserve the sense of any thing.

Ductor Dubitantium, pag. 668.

I do not pretend to understand bishop Taylor's suggestion that all the rest of our rituals or ceremonies are either of divine ordinance or apostolical practice: But however that may be, there is one even of these, that, it should feem, the church has less value for still, or lays, at least, less stress upon it.

For tho' the furplice is often mentioned in our ritual, on some occasion or other, yet are we on none of these occasions told of what the surplice is typical or significative; and Dr. Nichols is extremely angry with the puritans for pretending that this garment is used by the church in token of purity of life, "because, says he, it is a thing which she never once mentions";" and so leaves the people to gather any or no sense of religion from this form, as they think sit.

But is then the sense of religion preserved upon the minds of the people by these rules and externals? Nothing like it. "A great part of this is neglected by the generality among us: For instance, the service of the church not only upon common days, but also upon Saints days; and several other things might be mentioned." pag. 15.

^{*} Defence, pag. 293.

Was I not in the right, my lord, to conjecture that our reformers might leave us not so many rules or externals as are necessary? How should our people have fallen into this deplorable neglect, if these means, memorials or admonitions had been sufficiently frequent?

Permit me however to observe that your lordship and the ingenious author of the Considerations above cited, are not at all better agreed about this sact, than the other concerning the popish errors discarded by our reformers,

This gentleman having noted that a party in the nation [meaning the dissenters] have all along had some exceptions to our public service; goes on to say, "But then there is another party [the "members of the church] far more consider"able than they, who, in general, are not only "satisfied with, but even fond of our present "liturgy and constitution *." How is this to be reconciled? can it be said that our people in general are fond of what the generality of them negless.

Here again too, my lord, your lordship and this gentleman, by adopting each other's premisses, must lose your several conclusions: Your

Free and impartial Confiderations, pag. 6.
 lordship

120 The Pillant of Protes and AFT lordship thinks it "highly leafonable so infload of the people in the importance of enternal re"ligion."

More feafanable! how, upon account of this neglect? But why fo, if this gentleman's later intelligence be true, wiz, that the people are really fond of our externals already?

On the other hand, if the fervice of the church is neglected by the generality among us, it certainly cannot be fo very dangerous to make alterations in it as this gentleman would have us believe.

However, my lord, I am ready to close with your lordship in this representation, rather than the Considerer; and upon occasion of your lordship's mentioning the people's neglect of the fervice of the church upon Saints days, I will trouble your lordship with an observation of my own, tending to illustrate the value of external presiden.

Our common people, it is true, pay little religious regard to the feasts of All Angels or All Saints, but yet I have observed them to celebrate some of our protestant festivals, as well as some others of popsish extraction, particularly Shrovetide, with the several solemnities of horse-racing, bull-baiting, cock-fighting, &c. and with

all the ceremonies of drinking, gaming, fwenring, and lessedness incident to, and inseparable from, entertainments of that kind.

Among our politer parties, indeed, pleasure is the employment of every day; and they are free. enough from superflition in this article to effeem every day alike: Whereas the vulgar always take the advantage of the church's appointment for their times of idleness and revelling; and I know, at this hour, feveral very worthy and very zealous members of the church of England, who scruble not to affirm, that the riotous and licentious pastimes of Christmas, Easter and Whitfuntide contribute more to corrupt the minds and debauch the morals of our common . people, than any other affignable cause whatever. If this be true, it were certainly more for the credit of our common christianity that the festivals should be expunged from our books and calendars, than that these brutal, paganish, profance and therefore wicked passimes and disorders fhould claim any alliance, or have any connexion with the folemn commemorations of the birth and refurrection of the spotless and undefiled Saviour of the world.

Upon what grounds the apostolick authority for such forms is alledged, may be judged in part from the tenor of the Scrigtures above-VOL. IV. F quoted.

quoted, as well as from others, tellifying the disposition of St. Paul towards occasional folemnities of that kind.

And there is the stronger presumption that they have no such authority, in that we seldom or never find them enjoined, but we find them also in company with large indulgences to the carnal man; as if the more conspicuous externals in religion could not subsist without the aid of the sensual appetite.

Thus, as your lordship has observed, "the "externals of paganism mixed themselves with the diversions of those days." In population, the people are politically enough prepared for and reconciled to the formalities of Lent, by the licentiousness of a preceding Carnival. Nor have we of the † reformed church of England been entirely free from this wretched policy. It was once the humour of our great churchmen to magnify externals, and to render them as confricuous as they could on all occasions: The nation at that time was not universally disposed to come into this; and some men of reputation enough set themselves

^{*} The christian world is now divided into the
** Reformed and Unreformed: OR RATHER into those
** who ARE NOT and those who are members of the
** church of Rome." Mr. Jortin.

to oppose it: In the exigency of her affairs the church bethought herself of purchasing the favour of the people by a book of sports: And how far that may have contributed in its day, to perpetuate the festivities of these solemn times, and to wear out the religious use of them, may be worth the inquiry of those whom it concerns.

Your lordship proceeds: "Thus they [the people] have no customary admonitions, no public call to recollect the thoughts of God and religion from one Sunday to another."

And why have they not, my lord? There is a most express law for it. "All priests and deacous are to say daily the morning and evening prayer, either privately or openly, not being let by SIGKNESS or some other UR"GENT cause. And the curate that ministreth in every parish church or chapel, being at home, and not being otherwise reasonably hindered, shall say the same in the parish church or chapel where he ministreth, and shall cause a bell to be tolled thereueto a continuous time before he begin, that the people may come to hear God's word, and to pray with him."

It is not then the fault of the people, if they have not a cuffemary admenition or publick call

from one Sunday to another: The curate in any parish cannot be reasonably hindered every one of the six intermediate days, and every week in the year. And yet we are told by a gentleman who seems to have taken some pains to be informed, "that in ten thousand churches there are not sive hundred where a bell ever tolls, "or where morning and evening prayer are said "upon a week-day throughout the year "."

This gentleman's account of this neglect feems to be so reasonable and probable, and at the same time so different from what your lord-hip has suggested, that I will take the liberty to give it at length:

"To what end, says he, was such an ap"pointment set down in the book of commonprayer? Did our mother the church vainly
boast of her own piety, or pretend to a form
of godliness, without the power thereof? No.
"truly, the mother meant well; but her sons
and daughters are to blame. Like people,
like priest. But indeed, were the clergy
never so willing to discharge their duty in this
respect, not many are the places where they
can have any fort of congregation to join
with them. But is not the length of the fer-

by a pluralist. Printed for Ofwalds 1747 page 42

wice the uphappy occasion of this neglect has Would not the people's attendance upon the public worthing take up too much of their time, and too greatly interfere with their fecular affairs? Does it not cause a weariness, and become tedious to delicate ears? Is not the cold sometimes so piercing, as to make it painful to tender constitutions, to be so long detained from the fire, especially to hear plalms and chapters they can almost say by the rote ?"

Your lordship sees that this gentleman is of opinion that there is too much of our externals, and that great inconveniencies arise from the length of our service, to those who should edify by it; and to this also agrees the author of the Confiderations before-mentioned †. What then must we think would be the case if those memorials were as frequent as in Roman-Catholick countries?

To these reasons for this common neglect may be added another, viz. the aukward times of saying morning and evening prayer in most places: I en or eleven o'clock in the forenoon, and two or three in the afternoon, the time when tradefinen and mochanics are in the very throng of their honest labour.

4 "You are not indeed singular in your opinion of the two great langed of our service. And to tell you the truth, my own sentiments upon this head man pretty controlled with yours." Fr: and Imp. Confideration, pag. 41.

"Then again the clergy have journeys and "vifits to make, are idle, are not devout, have their diversions, do not reside upon their, cures, are bindred, sometimes reasonable of tener without reason. So that, by general consent of both priest and people, as to any outward or public acknowledgment of a Deity for fix days out of seven, a foreigner, that should make an abode with us only for fix days, might have reason to doubt, in the greatest part of England, whether the inhaps bitants of that happy island did, in truth, be-

Now, my lord, which way forest we confider this compounded canse of neglest, we cannot avoid the question. By whom is it to be redrested? If the fault be in the body of the clergy, by whom are they to be reformed? If in the nature and frame of our present forms, by whom are these to be amended?

So far indeed as the clergy are accellaries to this neglect, it is extremely right in your lordship to lay it before them. But what would your lordship have the clergy to do or fay in this case? Let them instif as long and as loudly as ever they will on the importance of external religion, I am persuaded; their rhetoric and their argu-

arguments will be in vain, whilft the people And themselves 'incommoded by the present state of their own externals : They will appeal to the reasonable and merciful design of the gospel, and plead their christian liberty against all human ordinances which not only edify not, but are even burdensome: And they will have reason.

We are now arrived at your lordship's account of the importance of external religion, as grounded on the Scriptures.

Before I could procure a fight of your lordship's printed charge, a friend who had seen; it, or heard it read (I forget which) had given me a general but pretty just account of this part of It, concerning the importance of external religion; which fet me upon amusing myself with conjectures by what kind of gospel authority your lordship would revive the credit of a doctrine, which of late years, had not had many abettors among protestants.

I had often thought with myfelf that the church of England had been more pressed upon this matter of externals in her controverly with the diffenters, than upon any other article : and I cannot fay, that the answers given by our apol logists have convinced me that our adherence to some specifical rites in our church, in a fort of 114 -

manuscript of Philes of Philes Terrar handle be hoped for fram dropping them; is selly editying or very laudable.

Our church claims a power of decreeing rites and ceremonies in her twentieth article, withbut exhibiting her scriptural warrant for it in any copies of these articles published by authositt, that I know of : unless the vice chancellor of Oxford's imprimatur may be allowed to give a public fanction to Mr. Weichman's edition of shem. Mr. Rogers's book indeed carries in its front a prefence to the lawful author ty of the chanch of England; but as there is no evidence what that authority was, or how obtained, there is room to doubt; besides, Rogers, in explaining the authority of the church with respect to controversies of fath, fays that this anthority is given to the church, and to EVERY MEMBER OF SOUND JUDGMENT in the fame "; which, I doubt, will extend the freedom of every member to the usage of ceremonies, a fertiori; contrary to Mr. Welchman's account, who seffrains the authority, in both branches, to those ques penes eft eccleftaftica aucleritas.

[&]quot;. Under this charfe, concerning rites and ceremonies, Mr. Welchman has referred to Efiber ix.

[&]quot; On the XXth article, pag. 103, edit. 1736.

py a Africand to John m. 20, 23 f to which they.

The passage of Esther informs us that the Jews, in commemoration of their deliverance from the slaughter projected by Haman, inflirated the feast Purim [of lots] and ordained that it should be kept and remembered by the whole people of the Jews at an appointed time of the year.—The dedication of the altar by Judas and his brethren, and the ordinance for celebrating that incident from year to year, is a fact of the same fort, and the inference common by drawn from histories is, that the Jewish had, and consequently the Christian church has the authority spoken of in the article.

But I very much question the solidity of this reasoning; for when it is considered that the former of these feasts was appointed by Esther and Mordecai only, it should seem that the Yestifa church had about as much to do in this affair as our church has in the appointment of our state-holidays of Nov. 5th, May 29th, &c., and how much that is, may be seen in the several acts of parsiament relating to those days, and his majesty's orders set before the forms of prayer appointed for shem.

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⁺ XXXIX. Articuli Eccles. Anglic. pag., 20.

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lauthe dange cafe . Juden and his benchman with the whale congregation of distaleastlained. &c. v. 50. but how far our divines, and particularly Mr. Welchman, would admit either of these to be the sense in which the word church is to be taken in the 20th asticle, I cannot take spon me to fay: " By the power of the church Mays the learned Mr. White, one of the latest advocates] " to decree rites and ceremonies, ismeant a right in the pastors and governors thereof to ordain and appoint fuch things, foas to make it ordinarily the duty of the people to conform to them "." Which Mr. White must mean exclusively of the right and authomity of the civil powers, or he will not get clear of his adversaries objections : And if Mr. White will not admit the civil powers into his definition of the church which decrees rites and ceremonies, much less will he take into it the whole congregation, because that would be going intothe enemies quarters for good and all +.

These precedents, therefore, are neither of them for our purpole, except they may receive

Defence of three letters, pag. 10.

^{*} Dr. Nichols or his translator for he did not live translate his book to far himself. vid. Prece's vide dication, preface] expresses himself with mose recess.—"They who have been at the HELM of ecolesia-stical assairs have institut d.—Have not we as much power." Def. pag. 306.

As we have it in our translation, informs us that Jifus was walking in Selemon's porch at the time of the feast of the dedication and when it was winter; and from that circumstance our commentators determine this to have been the feast instituted by the Maccabees: for otherwise the Jews had divers Encania, and the word Xeepow may possibly denote only a storm, as in Ass. exvis. 20.

Well but what of this? "Why," fays Dr. Nichols, "this feast was honoured with our Lord's own presence." How honoured? Did our Lord join in the celebration of it, or in any part of it? The context says not a word of that. Our Lord honoured the pharises with his presence so far as to eat with some of them: It is great odds but at such a time there might be some washing of cups and platters, &c. But will it follow that he did any honour to these traditions by his presence?

The plain truth is, our blessed Lord took no exceptions to times, places, or persons, when, where, and among whom he had a prospect of doing good; and I should think that cause not ever-stocked with merits, which wants to draw his appearance among the fews, at a time when great numbers were assembled together, into a

232. The Pillure of Pausstenast precedent for christian conformity to human rices.

And this consideration will, I apprehend, what the force of what the pious and learned bishop Burnet has offered in behalf of this clause in the XXth article, with respect to our Saviour's conversation among the Jews, where he has certainly strained one point to favour the church, and that is by applying our Saviour's observation Matth. xxiii. 23.—And not to have left the other undone, to rites and lesser matters in general.

Our bleffed Lord is there speaking of the sufer of tything only, and minute and insignificant as those articles may seem to be, about which the pharisees and scribes were so exact, yet had they an express and positive law for tything them all, namely, Levit. xxvii. 30. And ALL the tythe of the hind, whether of the seed of the land, or of the strain of the tree, is the Lord's; it is hely unto the land. A case widely different from that of sites and before matters, of which the law makes no mention.

For the rest, that this excellent prelate has, with a vein of piety and good sense peculiar to himself, said every thing, that can be said with

Bupol falio, pag. 193.

any colour of realon, for externals established by human authority, yet hath he, upon the whole, made a case of it not the most favourable to the present circumstances of our church, and much less such a case as will fall in with your lorder thip's positions.

Having, as I faid; my lord; often reflected on thefo defences of our externals, without receive. ing that fatisfaction I very fincerely fought for, I, was in hopes to meet with some new light from your lordship's discourse on this interesting subject; and was not a little disappointed when I found ast one text quoted by your lordfulp from the New Telament, and but one from the Old. relative to the impersance of external religion: and what that passage wilkavail your lordship. I: am now to examine.

Your lordship, having observed that our people " have no cultomary admonition, no how ic call to recollect the thoughts of Gon and " religion from one Sunday, to another," penceeds thus:

"It was far otherwife under the law, words, fays Mofes to the children of ISRARD, es which I command thee," [your lordship omits! THIS DAY, viz. the day when the ten commandments were given in Horeb, which words 41.4

were just recited in the foregoing chapter, and are the words here referred to +] " fhall be in thing heart. And thou shalt teach them discussed unto the children, and shalt talk of them when thou sittesh in thing bouse, and when thou is walkest by the way, and when thou liest down, and when thou liest down, and when theu risest up." Deut. vi. 6, 7. To which your lord hip subjoines: "And as they were commanded this, so 'is obvious how much the constitution of that law was adapt-

It was then very ill, or at least very unwisely done, to abrogate that law whose constitution was adapted to so excellent a purpose: But the truth is, my lord, the constitution of the Jewish law was just as much adapted to effect the performance of, or to keep in view the religion here meant by Mases, as the musick and vestments in

" ed to effect IT, and keep religion ever in-

66 view. 37

^{*} Compare Jerem. vii. 22, 23. with Exod. xix. 3, 6. The right reverend and worthy bishop Story, in-his admirable treatile on the Priestbook, chicaves that after Moses had been the first forty days with God in the mount, he brought nothing down but the two tables of the moral law, as if no other, law had been then intended; but when he found the people—worshipping the golden cast, God scent, sth then to have resolved—to load them, with as number of religious rites and ceremonies, in direct opposition to the customs of the Egyptians, see pag. 62.

gogr loudship's cathedral at Durbamare adapted to promote family religion and the weighties matters of judgment, mercy, and faith, in the west of the diocese.

Moses in the two next verses goes on thus; And thou shalt bind them for a sign upon thine hand, and they shall be as frontlets between thine eyes; and thou shalt write them upon the posts of thine house and upon thy gates. Now both the frequency and preximity of these domestic signs, make it very plain that the great and conspicuous parts of their religion, the public calls which they had by the constitution of their law, were not adapted to effect, what Moses in this passage wanted to have effected, viz. obedience to the moral law,

For it is to be observed of these figns, that they were not (like ceremonies properly so called) funbalic representations, but the precepts themselves exemplified in writing, which it is true, in process of time, were abused to the purposes of superstition +; and when that time same, and these natural and simple signs and

The rabbins in after times had made these signature of their original. He willess to some Jews in sespect of their original, purpose, that they enjoined them to be written only in one fort of character. "Al Phyladeria & Schedus in the million of the Association of the second allow from Association of the second and of the second of the

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memorials had degenerated into bread Phylatica, sice, see, they then received their combennation, with other things which had a more natural tendency to such abuse. A sufficient intimation; one would think, to all suture times, of the introsching nature of superstition, which could convert such expedients of plain and bleful infraction, into implements of mere oftentiation, and hypocrify.

I should have thought, indeed, that there were some expressions in this passage cited by your lordship, that might have kept any man out of this mistake, and prevented his confounding the words there spoken of, with the words of the ceremonial law; which latter in surely was never intended that sathers and masters of samilies should teach their houshholds: This kind of teaching was the sole privilege and duty of the prices, who had indeed no commission to teach any thing else that

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was not the whole law of Moses, but the communial was not the whole law of Moses, but the communial law only, the laws about external religion, ou religious worship. For as the effectial past of their office was confined to possive and instructed wousship, it is natural to believe that their teaching was left law greater extent." Bishop Story on the Posestonian pages 6. It is humbly recommended to the readest being a clergyman of the church of Sagnasi, not as

ald On THODORY Baken.

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that, as I faid above, made this moral teachings' the desirethe and familiar figure fo much the more security.

So that I very much question whether your leadship could have fallen upon any passage in the Old Testament, which relates at all to your subject, that would have been less savoueable to your lordship's argument.

But to proceed; your lordship adds: "And without fomewhat of this nature, piety will grow languid even among the better fort of men; and the worst will go on quietly in an abandoned course, with sewer interruptions from within than they would have, were religious reslections forced oftner upon their minds, and consequently with less probability of their amendment." pag. 16.

Trum what operation of external on the human mind your lordship collects this theory, I commot presume to say; I, for my part, believe that the plety of good men may be majorained

consent himself wich these detached passages, but so rightly to read over this valuable performance, where happill have the fatisfaction to see how little the latindrations of a christian priest have to do with circlessical and auternalizand from thence may judge, if happenedices with what propriety he should employ himself in preaching up the imperiance of them.

in its vigour with very little of this nature; and this I am pretty fure of, that if religious reflections must be forced upon the mind by externels, it is not a small fomewhat of this nature, that will do the work.

But to speak freely: this method of forcing religious restections by ceremonies and external forms, I doubt, is stark naught: according to your lordship's doctrine, it should be not only good policy, but wholesome discipline to force mean in England to come to church, and in France to go to mass; in both places for the same reason, namely because the dissenters (whose objections to ceremonies and outward forms are the same in both kingdoms) have not so much of external as is necessary to preserve a sense of religion itself upon the minds of the people.

And yet, my lord, the very best of this force has seldom produced any thing better than hypoerist †. Probability of amendment there can

^{† &}quot;En Poitou & en Xaintonge, &c. les menacca de la plus fieres, les coups de bason, la terreur se l'intellence du Soldat fuivent de près les premiets d'intellence du Soldat fuivent de près les premiets d'intellence du Soldat fuivent de près les premiets d'intellence du Soldat fuivent de près les premiets d'agner beaucoup de gens, dans un fiecle qu'in avec ritable devotion est rare par tout, & la figure 1998 milerable. Ces Messieurs les convertisseurs ont grant d'esprit pour n'etre pas convaincus que it que ces nou-

he little or none where men attend religious forlempities merely to avoid punishment or censure.

. There is then no fereing religious reflections this way. But perhaps your lordship might mean, that " forms and externals have in them-" felves an inherent and natural virtue to force "religious reflections upon the mind, and to work piety and repentance upon the heart." And this, indeed, I should have thought the more obvious fense of your lordship's words, had it not been that I thought it also the less defentible of the two, because it will be impos-Whe to prove this to be true of one fort of forms and not of another; and what a door this will offen to all manner of superstition and even deline, may be easily conceived : It being « veaux convertis ne wont à la Messe pour plapart que " le moins qu'ils peuvent, qu'il faut les épier & les " menacer, fi on veut qu'il y assistent.-Ne voilà-t-il 4 mas un definin fort Apostolique ?" &c. &c. BAYLE Critique generale de l'Histoire du Cominismo de Mr. Maimburg, tem. I. let. VIII. pag. 134, 135 .- Here we have ocular testimony of the good effects of forcing teligious reflections upon the mind by the means of external religion; and as thefe (and the fame will hold food of other fyftems) are to be thus seconded ere they can have even these effects, may we not juftly conchide that forms have naturally no force or efficacy of

their own to dispose the mind to religious?

The prolific nature of externals is represented to the 'The in the excellent bishop Elect wood's letter to an massificate of the parish of St. Andrew's Holbourn.

" VEBUX"

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indeed the very principle on which the papiffse justiffy the adoration of images. But neither even thus do we get clear of the ather kind of force; for if externals have this virtue to inferent religious reflections, &c. it must be right to come pel those who are indisposed to such reflections, to attend these memorials; and if, as your lord-ship has observed, the people are now in general negligent in their attendance, I do not see hower compulsion of some kind can be avoided.

But instead of conjecturing how your larder ship would explain this matter confidently stricted protestant principles, I will beg leave to exhibite the very different accounts we have of the biportioning and progress of religion from them apostles.

He that cometh to God must believe that he is, and that he is a rewarder of them that diligently seek him, for without faith it is impossible to please God. Heb. xi. 6.

If it be demanded how we may obtain faith, the apostle Paul answers, faith cometh by hearing for report] and hearing by the ward of Gaden Rom. x. 17.

Is then faith the whole of religion No. The faith must be added, virtue, anothers, some

charity; Por if these things, says the apossile Peter, build you and abound, they make you neither barren nor unfruitful in the knowledge of our Lord Jusus Charse; that is, they perfect and complete your religion 2 Pet. i. 5, &c.

Her are not forms and externals necessary to remind the people of these things? I should think not; any farther than hearing the word of God may be so called. If more was necessary here was precisely the place where Peter should have inserted his ritual ; for in this very place he is endeavouring that his readers might have these things always in remembrance, after his decess, v. 15. and yet nothing appears of these endeavours besides his religious exhortations and instructions in these two epistles.

That external sbjects are in some cases useful, and in others necessary, to remind us of our christian duty and devotion, is true enough.

Peter not only omitted his situal here, but unhappily forgot to leane it behind him: For even, the papiffs themselves could never recover more of his milal than the Lord's prayer. Nuda p imo bec erant (says PLATENA, speaking of the ceremonies of the mass) omnia simplicites tradiabattar. Petants such; abi consecration Pater noster, what est. dustribute assessment smoothes, &c. Vis. Sixti 1. A hint which protestants should have taken long ago.

The beavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament sheweth his handy work. Ps. xix. To excite us to particular acts of charity, it is sometimes necessary we should see that our brother bath need. But where a man is blind and deaf to these natural and familiar admonitions, there is, I doubt, but little hopes of his becoming all of a sudden pious and charitable on the sight of a church, even of a cathedral, a temple made with hands, and where, if the Scriptures deceive us not, we know the Most High dwelleth not, in any higher sense than he dwelleth in whet places where two or three are gathered together in his name.

It was, we may well suppose, some considerations suggested by these and the like passages of Scripture, which gave occasion, "in most "ages of the church, to the care of reasonable men to draw the people off from laying too great weight upon external things; upon formal acts of piety;" and for this care, your lordship allows, there has been, for the may part, occasion. But, your lordship goes on the the state of matters is quite changed now with the us. These [external] things are applicable to a degree, which is, and cannot but be allowed tended with a decay of all that is good."

What was a reasonable care in most ages of the christian church, and for which there has been for the most part occasion; and a care too, as it plainly appears, excited by the very genius and spirit of the gospel of Christ, is at length superfieded by a change of which we have had no warning, nor had any reason to expect; and it is now become highly seasonable to lay the weight on, where reasonable men had all along taken it off.—! highly seasonable now to instruct the special in the importance of external religion."

Is then the gospel of Christ so siekle and changeable, that it's provisions and expedients of eternal life may be accommodated, like human politicks, to the humours and interests of every faithless and perverse generation? No, my lord, the means of salvation thro' Christ are, like their ever-blessed author, the same yesterday, to day, and for ever. Other semadations can no man lay, than is laid to If in any state of the christian church it was reasonable to depreciate the beggarly elements of external religion, it is just as reasonable at this very hour.

or Bar would I be from fixing upon your lordmips words an infinuation, that the care of

Heb. xiii. 8. + 1 Cor. iii. 11.

reasonable men above mentioned hath in any degree contributed to the decay of all that is good. Yet surely your lordship should have apprized us here, how this decay and this neglect came in company together; and what dependence they have upon each other: your lordship's silence on this head you will give me leave to supply, from some memoirs of a very good judge of such matters.

of I have ever efteemed our reformation from so popery a great work, and bless God for it ec daily; and yet I am fometimes apt to call " fome of those, who had the title of reformers er (especially of the latter sets in queen Eliza-" beth's time) very little men; and think they rather deserve the character of reformers. who laboured, at the expence of their eafe se and sublistence, and sometimes of their lives. to convince the nation that, as christians and " protestants, we had common principles and " precedents enough in the New Testament. " upon which to unite and to edify each other. without having recourse to idle and unneces-" fary human inventions. These men could " hardly ever obtain an equitable or even a pa-"tient hearing from the people in power; who " never, that I can learn, gave any better reafon, 46 for not taking the course recommended to " them,

"them, than that "these outward circumstan"ces were indifferent things, and that they had
"authority to do as they pleased about them."

"Later ages have had the advantage of ad-" ding to this weighty argument, that of long " possession; and what is there that human authority and antiquity together, have not " coined into religion? And thus it is, that our " externals have been blown up so far beyond se their natural fize and fignificance; and have " fo long taken place of better things, that we of feem to have forgot where we began; and " most of us are as much at a loss in this age for " true religion as ever. But tho' these pieces " of antiquity will do little for our common " people, who feem, indeed, of late to care as " little for them as wifer men; yet they will 46 fill do for one fort among us: They will fave " them a great deal of trouble, and perhaps " fomething elfe, which they might otherwife " fustain by being put into a laborious course " of reforming and edifying the people com-" mitted to their care, by the toilsome methods " of the gospel. Let you and I be silent, and " make as good a fifft with them as we can; of for, affure yourself, we shall have nothing 45 better in this age *."

From a private Letter written 1739.

Whether this account of the decay of all that is good, or your lordship's has more of truth and reason in it, must be left to the judgment of the public; in the mean time, permit me humbly to represent to your lordship, that, in our present circumstances, 1. It is not seasonable to instruct the people in the importance of external religion; and, were it seasonable, that 2. It is not practicable to revive any greater reverence for our own external religion, than it has at present, by any sort of instruction whatever.

religion is not seasonable. That popery is gaining ground upon us daily, is a matter of fact attested by very considerable witnesses. Besides others of no obscure estimation in the world, an eminent and leading prelate * hath on two public occasions, one in 1745, and the other 1750, given the nation warning of it: What the consequence of this may, and if it goes on, must be, is easily apprehended. "Every heart aliemated from the protestant, religion [to use the words of the same judicious bishop with a "little variation] carries off with it a pair of

^{*} Bp. Sherlock in his fermon on the late rebellion, and in his letter to the clergy and people of London and We farinster, upon occasion of the late earthquakes.

" and his government +."

I will not fay but there may be different ways of accounting for this increase of popery; but of this I am certain, that there is not an argument for it, which can be supposed to influence our common people, that does not derive it's weight from the value and importance of external religion.

And this deferves to be considered by us of the church of England fo much the rather, as the diffenters affirm " that the converts to po-" pery are gathered from our church by thoufands, whereas it is hardly ever known that " one is gained from them *."

When I first met with this interesting fact, I bethought me of consulting Mr. White's defence to fee what confolati n might be had from t'at: and his answer, which is remarkable, I shall now fet down, as greatly to my present purpose.

This gentleman having intimated, " that the " fuggestion may be groundless, or, if true, may

Diffenting gentleman's 1st answer to Mr. W'hite's letters, pag. 12.

⁺ Thanksgiving sermon before the commons, June 7, 1716.

" be well accounted for by the disproportion in st the numbers belonging to each party;" goes on thus: " And if more, in proportion to the " number of each, have been gained from amongst us, the reason why is not that which "he has suggested [viz. the concessions in xxth " article of our church] but another, even the " multitude of fects that are among us. s for the most part, are educated and instructed " in just notions of the nature, unity and commues nien of the catholick church, maintained in 66 the church of England, and of the great Im-" PORTANCE and NECESSITY thereof; while "their people are, generally, so instructed, as " to have no kind of notion of these matters, or. " if any, it is only of the no-necessity, or rather, " the infignificancy thereof. And hence it is at natural for our people to be more easily scan-" dalized at those schisms and divisions which "they fee among us, and more susceptible of "impressions from the artful infinuations of " Romish emissaries concerning them. This is " far more like than that he affigns to be the " true reason that more converts "," &c.

See here, my lord, the diffenter's charge not only confessed, but clearly made out by this acute advocate for the church of England!

^{• 1}st Defence, pag. 16.

only pushed more home, and exemplified in plainer and stronger terms?——The church of England claims a power to decree rites or ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith, and thereupon sounds the NECESSITY and IMPORTANCE of unity and communion with her.—Here the Romanist strikes in and says, "Aye, but the church of England does not pretend to be the cathelick church, and consequently can maintain no such claim. The catholick church is with us, and us only, and it is there that you must look for the necessity and importance of unity and communion."

of England, to observe that she gives none of her members any such notions of unity and communion as Mr. White pretends. She acknowledges and prays for all as members of the catholick church, who "call themselves christians, and "hold the faith in unity of SPIRIT in the bond "of peace and in righteousness of life." The wishle church of Christ, she defines [art. xix.] to be "a congregation of faithful men, in the which the pure word of God is preached, and "the facraments be duly ministered according to Christ's ordinance, in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same"

the

the tells us, art. xxxiv. viz. the rites or ceremonles of every particular or national church ordained only by MAN'S AUTHORITY."

What just notions now can the church of England give, confistently with these her capital doctrines, of the importance, and more especially of the necessity of communion with ber, or with any other particular or national church, where the peculiar distinctions are human rites and ceremonies, or, in your lordship's language, forms and externals? And how should her members who are juftly educated and instructed, be scandalized at divisions, at which the church herself is not scandalized? For my own part, is there is any man who teaches or propagates any fuch notions, as tend to create the scandal and susceptibility of Romish infinuations that Mr. White speaks of, I am for having him severely censured as an unfound member of the church of England.

In agreement with these doctrines and desinitions, it is absolutely necessary to understand the word church in the xxth article. So Mr. Rogers understood it, namely for every member of seund judgment in the same; and Rogers, writing under the wing, and probably by the direction of Bancrost [as high a churchman as ever presided in it, Land excepted] was not likely to gobeless. whatever sense of the church in his exposition; whatever sense may have been put upon the words since those days, concerning which I think the church of England (much, I am afraid, to her loss and detriment) has been too silent and passive.

And here I cannot but stop a while to contemplate the dexterity of our champions in shifting their ground, and changing their batteries against the dissenters. Heretofore it was pretended that our sects were the spawn of the fefuits, that fesuits had been known to mix among them, and that many of their tenets were the same with those of that order of men*, &c. But surely the fesuits were viler politicians than ordinary in this misapplication of their crast; the sectaries, in virtue of their education and instruction it seems, have stood their ground, and bid defiance to all their artisce; while the members of the church of England—But forbid it heaven that this should be the truth of the

There feems to be an inclination in a late learn, et and spirited writer, to fix a charge of this nature upon the methodists [enthusiasm of the papists and methodists compared, part ii. pag. 179. to the end] Whether popery will thrive better in this new sect than it has done in those of longer standing, time must show. However, what this ingenious author says, about the middle of pag. 178. is well worth remarking, and not foreign to the case in hand.

case; and as Mr. White himself, and more than he are disposed to question the fact, may I with all deserence to your lordship's bench humbly suggest, that this matter may be examined to the bottom, and satisfaction given to all his majesty's faithful and affectionate subjects; which may easily be done by their lordships requiring punctual answers to two short queries, sent to the minister and churchwardens of every parish. viz. 1. How many persons in your parish have been perverted to popery within these last --- years? and 2. How many of those so perverted had been of the church of England, and how many of them protestant dissenters, and of what denomination? But

2. I am afraid, my lord, instruction in the importance of external religion would, at this time, be unseasonable on another account; the people who would most want these instructions, are, it is doubtful, uninstructed not only in the importance, but in the very principles of any religion. The ignorance of our common people even in those religious matters which are easiest to understand, as well as to remember, I mean the historical passages of the New Testament, is hardly to be conceived by those who have not had some particular occasion of conversing with them on these subjects; much less do they know the saving truths of the gospel, and the terms of

eternal life grounded on that history; would your lordship have the instruction of this fort begin at the importance of externals in religion? These at the best are but useful or edifying as modes of expressing the faith and piety that is already in the beart: but what protestant or christian use can they make of them, to whom externals have nothing to convey worth their having, and who have nothing to express by their means? But,

- 2. It is not practicable, I imagine, to revive any greater reverence for our own externals, than they have at present, by any fort of instruction. For,
- 1:) If the stress of this instruction is to be laid on the edifying nature of the things themfelves, they have had their weight for a course of no less than two hundred years, and can naturally make no stronger impressions than they have done. Every argument has been offered in their behalf which the most ingenious and learned men in the kingdom could think of. And if it might be supposed that new arguments and topics in their favour could be found out; yet, if, as the honest gentleman above quoted has remarked, these externals are inconvenient and disgusting in the practical part, these new arguments will be so far observated in their operation, and fail in their effect.

2.) It will be remembered that there have been men in our communion of equal judgment, and, perhaps for the most part, in equal numbers, who have been differently perfuaded concerning the edification to be had from our forms: Neither will it be forget, that these very forms, comprized in the word, church, have given countenance and occasion to much disorder and ill temper, and to much faction and fury in the kingdom: and tho' this circumstance of itself should be no argument against the things themfelves, yet it will be made one, and I doubt more pains must be taken to teach people to distinguish in such cases, than the clergy well canor will be willing to fpare from other bufinefs. The intrigues of Charles the second's time, and the inconfishency of the act of uniformity with his two declarations, nothing can gloss over. A late fenfible and fufficiently cautious writer, whom I have quoted above, has indeed ventured to hint that the government at that time in making this law had some sense of inconveniences, and were directed by confiderations of propriety in the alterations they made in our fervice. His words are these: " At the time of the restora-" sion of the church and monarchy—our li-" turgy had been out of use, as well in private 36 as in public affemblies, almost twenty years. 44 Yet it is observable, that even then, the go-" vernment

" vernment was so sensible of the inconveniences of of any great alteration in forms which the people had yet some remembrance of, as to think it proper to direct the commissioners, appointed to consider of those things, to avoid, as much as may be, even all abbreviations that should be found necessary."

Here we see the establishment of so much more than some people hoped for, or, considering the declarations abovementioned, had good reason to hope for, is ascribed to sensitive and tenderness for the people; perhaps this writer may believe so, and persuade some others to be of that mind.

But however that be, the sheets of this pamphlet were scarce dry from the press when another made its appearance, in which the author gives us leave to think very differently of this matter. What he says of the act of uniformity is as follows: "How these words, to the use of, "came to be omitted out of the express form of words that are ordered to be read in church for a legal qualification, I cannot say, nor "whether they were omitted out of neglect or by design: but I own, it seems to me, when I consider the humour of the times when that

Fr. and Imp. Confid. pag. 5, 6.

" act was made, that it was done with defign;
as a snare to oblige poor confcientious men;
who did not read the act of parliament at
length, to give up their livings, rather than
declare their unfeigned affent and confent to
all and every thing contained in the book of
common-prayer.*"

Your lordship here sees two very different opinions of the men and times when the act of uniformity, which establishes our present externals, was made. If the opinion of the latter is to be regarded, all may not be right with the externals themselves in favour of which such a base and cruel artifice was projected. It is true; the other gentleman would give us a different ' idea of the disposition and councils of those times; but why should we believe the one, rather than the other? If, as common fame reports; and the gentleman himself intimates, the Confiderer published his work under the wing of authority; the other declares himself to be a elergyman of the established church. And the essay fpeaks sufficiently for his good sense and integrity. And, if he also may have the aid of com-

The author subjoins this note: "And accordingly there were 1800 persons, that were actually deprived of their livings rather than submit to the terms prescribed—" and it is worth our notice, deprived by an oppreviation.

mon fame, his station in the church is in the highest rank.

These are difficulties, my lord, which, when they fall in a clergyman's way, will greatly obfirmed his instructions in the importance of our externals. Nor,

3.) Do I apprehend he will have much better success in urging the authority, of the church. The time was indeed when the language of most of our clergy was, Stir not a step out of the direct paths of the church; and then considerable numbers of the people were inclinable enough to listen to them. But the state of matters is quite changed withus now in this respect also; and many accidents have intervened, which will prevent our retreating into this strongbold, or, however, our fortifying it into a tenable post.

The incomparable bishop Burnet in the dedication of the third volume of his history of the reformation, printed 1715, has these remarkable words. "Your majesty, we trust, is designed by God to compleat the reformation itself; to rectify what may be yet amis; and to supply what is desective among us; to oblige us to be live and to labour more suitably to our profes-

^{*} Memorial of the church of England, in Coke's detection, vol. iii. pag. 247.

[&]quot; fion;

"fion; and unite us more firmly among ourfelves, to bury, and for ever to extinguish the
fears of our relapsing again into popery; and
to establish a considence and correspondence
with the protestant and reformed churches
havead."

We have here the testimony of one bishop how little expedient it was to adhere, without deviation, to the paths of the church: About the same time more of them gave their united opinion of the consequences of this doctrine of the memorial to this effect:

"We are the more concerned, &c.—because fome who have valued themselves, and have been too much valued by others, for a pretended zeal for the church, have joined with papists in these wicked attempts †." &c.

Since this time it hath been observed that our great churchmen in general have, greatly to their honour, laid aside much of this ignorant and impatient zeal of contending to the uttermost for every appendage to the church of England; they are known to be friends to toleration, and to have more moderate and equitable sentiments concerning some particulars in our

⁺ The bishops declaration testifying their abhorrence of rebellion, 1715.

prefent ecclesiastical establishment, than their forefathers expressed.

In these circumstances it would be in vain for the inferior clergy to attempt to build any great matters in favour of external religion upon a zeal for the church; accordingly that spirit hath also greatly subsided among them, and one perhaps might go back some years without sinding any thing of that surious kind in print, which used to pester the public in the days of Sacheveres.

One thing, indeed, my lord, there is in all this, which I find amuses thinking people a good deal: Since a departure from the paths of the church is, of late days, neither so offensive to church or state, as heretofore; but on the contrary, may very well be borne with; it is won-

^{*} So. I thought, when I wrote this. But fauntering into a bookfeller's shop, not long after, the first thing I laid my hands on was a pamphlet, written, as the title-page imports, by something of pressure, which, on the first opening, exhibited a character of the petition to parliament from the city of Bristol, in favour of a bill for the naturalization of foreign protessants, in the decent terms of an attempt to fill the nation with beggars and schismaticks. I am told the supposed author is an elderly man. What a miserable time must he have had with this teizing, hungerstarved, solitary demon of Schism at his elbow for the last wenty or thirty years?--But, Quære--What is the proper religious appellation of an English protessant of our national church at Geneva?

dered what should hinder a free and imparial inquiry whether the paths of the church are really so direct as to admit of no just amendment, and especially as some suggestions to the contrary have been offered to the public, which appear to many pious and judicious members of the established church to have great weight, and will, I apprehend, be another means of rendering inessectual our instructions in the importance of external religion, as it is circumstanced in our church at this time.

For my own part, my lord, I am firmly perfuaded that if every' thing be absolutely right in the church of England, our forefathers acted not only more wifely, but more righteously than we, in compelling people to come into her, and in distressing those who would not: On this supposition, all who deviate from the church, deviate from the word of God (for that is the church's rule) and ought on no account to be tolerated. But if there is any confiderable roomfor amendment and alteration for the better, we are, upon our own principles of proving all thirgs by the word of God, evidently condemned; flirring, in fact and in practice, not a flep out of the paths of the church, even whilft the most of us perhaps are conscious that some of these paths are far from being fo direct as the application of our great rule would make them.

In the year 1718, when the bill repealing the eccasional and schism acts was in debate, bishop Kennet defined the church of England to be, A scriptural institution upon a legal establishment *: with which definition I have always been extremely pleased, and at the same time extremely desirous to have it verified.

Concerning the legality of the establishment. there is not, nor can be, any dispute: It will admit of no controverly among those who hold all their civil rights and privileges under the fame authority which establishes the church; the question upon which we are chiefly divided, has been concerning the scriptural institution. A point, which, in reverence to an higher legislature, should certainly among protestants be equally clear: If this matter is not yet sufficientby decided in our favour +, it is by no meansexpedient to-take it for granted, or to confider it in the light of a point of bonour, fince by fuch indolence, or fuch arrogance, we are losing the most valuable advantages and benefits of our establishment; the true original end of which undoubtedly is, the edification of the people of.

^{*} Tindal's Continuation, 8vo. vol. xxvii. pag. 240. † Whether it is or not, we may form fome judgment, perhaps, by the controversy between Dr. Nicola and Mr. Pierce, and more lately between Mr. White and the distanting gentleman, &c. &c.

God, worshipping him with one heart and with one mouth: nor can we ever be justly vindicated, by barely conniving at, and permitting the separation of so many of our christian brethren, upon scruples so important to them, and, as we are oftentimes driven to confess, so little important to us.

"devotion must be so too, as it were by natural consequence +:" and disregarded out of all doubt they are, whilst we suffer it to remain a question (which has some undeniable probabilities against us) whence and by whom the offence cometh. It that may not be clearly determined by the word of God, it will not be very easy to ascertain the grounds upon which so severe a WO is denounced against the offender.

So that, my lord, in whatever light we confider this subject, it is neither seasonable nor expedient, nor at all conducive to revive practical religion in the hearts of our people, to-

† I have borrowed these words from the 17th page of a sermon preached at Halifax in Yorkshire, July 1751, by John Watson A. M. sellow of Brasen Nose college in Oxford and curate of Halisax: which if any man, who has sixpence to spare, will purchase, peruse, and lay to heart, he will lay out his time and his money very well.

preach up the importance of externals in general, or of our own in particular.

The importance of external religion is the grand engine of the papists, which they play with the greatest effect upon our common people, who are always soonest taken and insured by form and shew; and, so far as we concur with them in the principle, we are doing their work, since if externals, as such, are important, the plain natural consequence is, the more of them the better.

On another hand, our advocates for the church observe and declare, "that our contro"versy with the protestant distenters is not
"about matters of faith, for they subscribe the
"same articles of faith that we do;" consequently the dispute is about externals and forms; and to instruct the people in the importance of our own peculiar modes, as distinct from, and exclusive of any other, is to widen this breach, and weaken the protestant interest this way too; and not to revive practical religion, but to soment and instance contention, and every evil work.

In the next place, the excellent author of the effay on spirit says, that "a man who sub-"feribes only for peace sake, and the preservation of the outward forms of society, may, for

" prudential reasons, honestly subscribe and subscribe and subscribe to the use of one established form, though he, in his own private opinion, may think another to be better." There is, my lord, great reason to believe, that the honest and thinking subscribers among the clergy of the church of England are, many of them, in these circumstances. With what heart and conscience can these men set about instructing the people in the importance of any thing which they believe to be not so edifying as something else in the room of it would be?

Upon the whole, that a practical fense of religion is at a very low ebb among all ranks of our people, I very readfly agree with your lordship; that this matter ought to be very feriously considered by christian ministers of all orders and degrees, none will deny; whether the method pointed out by your lordship in this part of your charge, is fo likely to revive either the credit or the influence of religion, as some other methods described and enfoined in St. Paul's charges to Timothy and Titus, or whether indeed your lordship's method is at all proper for the purpose in our present situation, --- and lastly, whether our externals in religion, and the circumstances. appendages, and conditions relating to them, do not rather obstruct, than forward true christian edification, is freely submitted to the judgment of the serious, disinterested, and impartial part of the public, and most humbly recommended to your lordship's second thoughts, by,

My Lord,

Your Lordsbip's

most respetaful Servant, &c.

POSTSCRIPT.

In the 12th page of this charge your lordship speaks of the law of virtue written upon our hearts, as a topic proper to be insisted on by the clergy from the pulpit; by which, I suppose, your lordship may mean what is commonly called the law, or the religion of nature. Now, my lord, if there is really such a law written in every man's heart, will it not clearly follow, that religion may, and indeed must be preserved among mankind, whether there is any outward form of it, or not?

I should think too, that, whatever becomes of external forms in religion, it greatly concerns your lordship, that this doctrine of a natural law should be, not only true in a philosophical theory, but fairly exemplified in a practical system, visible and intelligible to the whole world; your lordship having expressy afferted elsewhere, that "if in revelution there be found any passages, the seeming meaning of which is contrary to natural religion, we may most certainly conclude, that such seeming meaning is not the real one †." But who can possibly conclude thus, till he has a most certain system

⁺ Bp. Buthr's Analogy, pag. 160.

of natural religion to interpret these feeming meanings by?

The first time I took particular notice of this passage, was in a controversial pamphlet upon the case of subscription to the xxxix articles of our church, where it was cited, as I remember, to discredit subscription, even to the Scriptures, explained any otherwise than by the subscriber's own sense of them, without admitting any man, or any body of men, to judge of the orthodoxy, the truth, or the propriety of that sense; and I thought this authority from your lordship very full to the writer's purpose.

But how will this agree with the importance of external religion, the great support of which, among us, is subscription to human forms and compositions? Are these externals written in our hearts too, and a part of the code natural?

However, it is but justice to your lordship, to observe, that this incautious doctrine of the analogy is most effectually consuted by an observation of your lordship's in this very charge, pag. 11, viz. "The infinite greatness of God's "scheme of government, both in extent and duration, together with the wise connexion of its parts, and the impossibility of accounting for the several parts, without seeing the whole "plan"

"plan of providence to which they relate; which is beyond the utmost stretch of our under"standing."

I am very sure your lordship will not make the least difficulty in admitting the several dispensations and circumstances of revealed religion to be parts of this scheme of government, this plan of providence: As, therefore, to see the wisdom, propriety, or connexion of all these parts, or to see the whole plan of providence, is beyond the utmost stretch of human understanding, to which this great interpreter, natural religion, pretends only to be commensurate, what should hinder us from concluding, that many seeming meanings in our bibles may be real ones, any thing to the contrary in natural religion not-withstanding.

To speak my own sentiments freely, I have no better opinion of the clearness, certainty, uniformity, universality, &c. of this law of virtue written in the human heart, than I have of the importance of external religion: There is a circumstance attending this doctrine which renders the truth as well as the merits of it extremely doubtful, and that is, that in its application to practice, it is not only not useful for want of proper explanation, but, so far as it is understood, exceedingly pernicious to the prin-

principles and morals of our common people, and, to fay the truth, to the great as well as the small vulgar.

The certain consequence of referring mankind to a law of nature or virtue written upon their bearts, is, their having recourse to their own fense of things on all occasions, which being, in a great majority, no better than family superstition, party prejudice, or felf-interested artifice (perhaps a compound of all) will be too apt to over-rule the plain, generous, felf-denying and humble precepts of the gospel, after all that can be faid to diffrace them; and much more when they pals for the dicates of natural religion, and people are told into the bargain (which, I am afraid, is too often the case) that these dictates differ no otherwise from those of the gospel, than as the latter are enforced by more explicit promifes, and politive authority.

If therefore natural religion (be it what you will as to its intrinsic merit) is liable to be thus mistaken, it is high time to have done with it in the pulpit; very sew of our common people are philosophers, or can see far enough into the nature of things to analyse virtue into its component parts; and if they are once led into a mistake so favourable to their own conceits and prepossessions, no subsequent explanations will serve to set them right: For, having sent them VOL, IV.

170 The Pillars of PRIESTCRAFT to their own heads and hearts for a rule of life,

you will be greatly disappointed if you expect they will allow you to manage it for them.

Eligion proved, defended, and taught by the shristian minister from the BIBLE only; and I would have every such minister plainly and honestly tell his people that he has no other proof of its original, its truth, its obligations, its present benefits, or its future rewards, to lay before them, than what is contained in the Scriptures; which I would also have him to exhort them to search and study for themselves with the utmost diligence and application; and then he may safely let the rest be at their own peril.

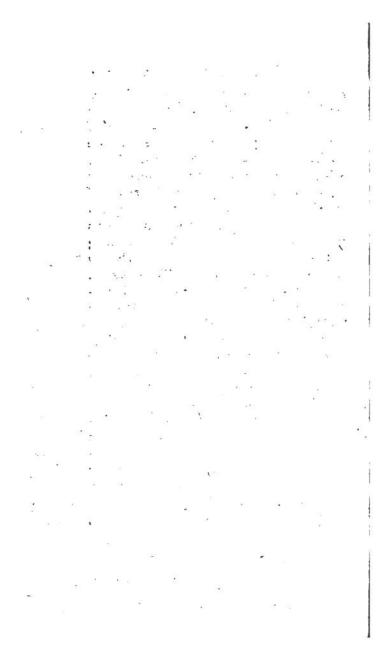
And here I cannot but take notice, before I make an end, of my fingular misfortune in differing from one of your lordship's distinguished merit, and eminent station, in two so considerable articles, as, A law of virtue written upon our hearts, and The importance of external religion, which, indeed, it is not common to find among the savourite opinions of one and the same man.

Perhaps it may be as uncommon to find them in difference with one and the fame man: But so it happens: I have had a long, and, as I amwersty persuaded, a reasonable quarrel to them

both, as well on account of the unfriendly contrast between the theories on which they are feverally supported, and the genuine grounds of the christian dispensation, as for the incredible mischief they have done to practical religion s being adopted as principles by infinite numbers of our people who neither know the meaning of the one, nor the uses of the other, and to whom . they have been, in different ways, instruments to mislead them from the wholsome and living waters of the gospel, to the broken and muddy cisterns of human sufficiency and human authority. To the first we owe the flourishing state of infidelity and its legitimate progeny, a profligate corruption of manners, among all ranks and degrees of our people; to the latter we are beholden for the progress and advancement of popery (the basest and most shameless of all superstitions) to the manifest hazard of our civil and religious liberty, which will be no longer fafe than our gracious and righteous fovereign, and his protestant descendants, are secure from the incessant and diabolical machinations of Romifb emissaries; from which may God's good providence continue to protect them; in which prayer. notwithstanding my opinion of the tendency of your lordship's doctrine, I am perfectly affured, your lordship will join with,

My Lord, (once more)

Your Lordship's, &c.



THE

COMPLAINT

OFTHE

CHILDREN of ISRAEL,

REPRESENTING

Their GRIEVANCES under the PENAL LAWS;

And praying,

That if the TESTS are repealed, the JEWS may have the benefit of this indulgence in common with all the other fubjects of England.

IN

A LETTER to a Reverend High Priest of the Church by Law established.

From the EIGHTH EDITION.

By SOLOMON ABRABANEL, of the House of DAVID.

First Printed in the Year 1736.

Mr. Arnell, author of this ingenious traft, and of the Animadversions on a certain Prolate's Remarks, &c., inserted in the 3d vol. of this work, was a man so singular and extraordinary that a short account of him will be acceptable to the reader.

The was clerk to an attorney, when being recommended to Sir Robert Walpole as a man of most ready wit and invention in writing, he took him into his service, and employed him for a course of years in writing the Free Briton, and other papers in desence of his administration, for which he assigned him a thousand pounds yearly out of the treasury: and besides those public papers, he wrote several occasional tracts in desence of his Patron, who laid the treasury open to his demands. But when Sir Robert resigned, all his supplies being stopped, and having spent his money as salvas hadreceived it, and being in debt a thousand pounds, he died of a broken heart in the 26th year of his age.

His invention was so quick, that Sir Robert used to say, no man in England could write a pemphlet in so little time as Arnall. His expences were boundless, having at one time ready furnished lodgings in three different parts of the city, and keeping a coach and fix.

He was author of the Letter to Dr. Codex on his modest instruction to the cross of the case of the Rundle, appointed bishop of Londouderry: he also wrote Opposition no proof of Pariotism; Clodius and Covera; and many other political tracks, all very ingenious and plausible apologies for the administration of that time. It is said, that he affected to be a gentleman, but behaved in all companies arran accomes selection.

THE

COMPLAINT

OFTHE

CHILDREN of ISRAEL,

Reverend SIR, F

THOUGH I am a JEW, a circumifed Jew, it will be allowed me to address myself to a christian high priest; nor will the rabbins of our religion condemn me for this application, since I come to you in behalf of a numerous innocent people, groaning under oppression, obliged to contribute to every public charge, yet excluded from every public employment; and this, on no other account than that of religion, though you know, and I doubt not, are ready to avow, that the CHRISTIAN religion was never intended, nor ought, to leave

⁺ Dr. Gibson, bishop of London.

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the RIGHTS OF MARKIND in a worfe condition
than it found them.

The truth is, that we, the Jews of this kingdom, who have always been peaceable wellmeaning men, submitted with patience to this hardfhip, because we never yet saw our christian countrymen agreed in opinion, whether christians in general are qualified by christianity itself for public employments; and we were led to believe, that if the faith of Christ admitted of so much distinction, if christians might be separated from christians, and only those of a favourite complexion entitled to offices, the Jews in this case could not hope for much indulgence from a people who have se little for one another.

But fince this fumbling block of offence is likely to be taken away, fince it is proposed that no man's RELIGIOUS OPINIONS shall be any longer his civil qualification or disqualification, we hope, that pretestant disfenters will not be the any men received within this righteous comprehension, but that you, Sir, whose equity we reverence, though we differ from your faith, will be our patron on the principle of universal charity; that as the great apostle of your revelation gloried to be stilled the apostle of the Gentiles, you will think it no dishonour to be the RISHOP OF THE JEWS, and that as your Sa-

the times we may fay of you with equal truth, Bebold an If-raelite in whom there is no guile. For,

We have an unquestionable right to work pratection, if you are unquestionable in your fincerity; (as who dare even suspect it ?) we are told by some christians who sometimes attend at church, that in your pulpis where you never deceive, and in your prayers where you never dissemble, you beseech God for Jaws, Turks, and Infidels, giving us the preference of those who believe the Arabian prophet, as you prefer Mahometans before those who believe none at all. Now, it would be unreasonable to throw us wholly on the care of heaven, without shewing fome regard to us on your own part: It would be imposing a burthen on the providence of God, and expecting him to work miracles, whilft you negleft the natural means of doing us good? If therefore you refuse our reasonable request; and favour us with unprofitable prayers, you act the part of courtiers, who profess a world of respect for their friends, whilst they avoid every opportunity of serving them, and get rid of them at last by recommending them to princes or great perfens, who have either no leifure to mind them, or no obligation to prefer them.

We hope for greater candour from you, Sir, and are therefore thus free to trouble you with

por most reasonable apprehension, that though from the rigid institutions of our religion we exery one of us mult fuffer certain mutilations of the flesh, yet we ought not from any confiderasion, either human voidivines as faffet fuch wivil cincumcificat has to be cut west of all employmente, even in our antique country; under 2 go vernment whole anthorty we have obeyed, and whole establishment we have supported with fuch: irreproachable fidelity, and fach difinierefled zent, that divers untircamafed patriots (not forgetting his Honour all particular) who on certain occasions have been favoured with the trufts and loaded with the bountles, of this royal family, would be flattered beyond what their modely can bear, were it faid in their praife, that they have not behaved to the govern ment WORSE THAN VERY JEWS.

In fact, our present usage is more grievous than what we endured, even in the land of Egypt. We were so far from being under incapacities there, that Joseph, a arranciful Yew, was king Pharabl's Prime Ministrate; under whose gentle administration we stought done by the favour of ministers, though stany have been in former times, who wanted only vivients of uncertainty and cumcifion to make them perfect Jews.

* Mr. Pultny.

This

and ORTHODOXY Shaken. 179

This exclusion from the trusts of that society which we belong to, is the more intolerable grievance, because, should you look into all the offices of business, whether civil or ecclesiastical, we may safely appeal to your candid opinion, whether you know many persons employed therein who behave themselves BETTER THAN JEWS.

Me are not to be answered, as the disenters have been, that repealing the tests would be of small advantage to us; for, God, and your whole order know, we ever had more scrupulous consciences, than to be occasional conformists. And though bread and wine are extremely proper to be eat and drank with the poschal lamb, yet we strictly adhere to our own possover, and nover in our lives made free with your sacraments.

Nor are we to be answered, as the papists very justly are, that we savour the pretender; or, that we seek to establish a foreign jurisdiction within his majesty's realms: for you, Sir, can bear uswitness, that we seek for no king but our long expected Messiah; and that we solicit no kingdom within less distance than the holy city, where we might safely be trusted, could we rescue it out of the hands of the insidels. So that as the Pope and Turk would undoubtedly be the chief enemies to our empire, we have all the merit

of protestants in opposition both to Popery and Mahometanism. And perhaps it may be said with the strictest truth, we have not contributed, like too many Protestants, to make our countrymen grosser BIGOTS than Papists, and greater SLAVES than Turks. But this is so tender a point, that we may not, without incivility, enlarge upon it in an address to you.

However, without giving offence to good protestants by unseemly reflections, we insist that the Jews are in all respects of equal merit with the French Hugonors, who shew themselves conscious of our superiority, by their continual attempts to outvy us in the frowziness of their persons, and the fallowness of their complexions, im magnifying the losses they have suffered through persecution abroad, and hoarding up the gains . they have acquired by usury at bome: nay, we are ready to acknowledge, that, as far as dirt, avarice, and extertion can make them IEWs. they might be convicted upon any statute against Judaism; and even circumcision is not wanting to most of them, though we will not say as PROSELYTES. But then you will do us the justice to own, that we were led by wife men and great captains, by Mofes and Aaron, and Tofbua, with other extraordinary personages, which will at any time fet the children of Ifrael above a rabble of ridiculous enthufialts, who

were led by flich hideling virinin as Prophet Lary, and the printer of the Old Whig, or the Comfiftant Protestant

Not that the Jews oppole any indulgence which the legislature may be disposed to grant to the feveral ficturies in religion : but we hope whatever toleration is gramed, that we shall have our share of it; that it will not be partial and unjust; or limited to a few, who complain of every church which will not receive them within the pale of its immunities; and who when they are taken in, thut the door upon all who differ from them. Such confine all charity to those who diffent from the thirty-nine articles. as if people were not as much to be pitied, that cannot believe the creed itself; and, as if more indulgence were allowable to win men over to the church, than to bring them over to the gospel.

If the rights of nature are alledged in maintel nance of this claim to public offices, wherein have the diffenters a better title to employments than the fews? Are we not MEN, because we are eircumcifed? Are we not under the protection of the law of nature, because we are under

or One W-W, a French prophet, who fet up such a weekly journal, to have the tests repealed for the benefit of his prophesying brethren.

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the dispensation of the law of Moses? If it is of justice due to them—Can it with justice be denied to us? And if an act of parliament is to pass, which shall give this capacity of executing public offices to all who live in obedience to public authority—Can such an act be consistent with itself, without comprehending the Jews?

If the natural right of the Jews to such an indulgence might need support from other con-Aderations, I could write a volume, instead of a pamphlet, to shew the bardships which we labour under. You have laid hold of the PRO-MISE which was made to our father Atrabam, and have taken the kingdim of heaven as your Inheritance, in right of the children of Ifrael; whilst you have excluded the whole twelve tribes from every privilege of the fociety in which any of them live. You have converted our MOIETY of the Bible to your own use, and have utterly prohibited us from making any advantage of the New Testament, which might satisfy us for our loss of the Old. You have violently feized upon Moses and AARON, and the TEN COM-MANDMENTS, which were our natural property, and have placed them over your commumion tables, yet make this pretence of christiancommunion a reason for excluding us from alladvantages as members of the commonwealth:

so that our law and our prophets can afford us no protection, though you have exalted them to your first places of worship. You have robbed us of our presibeed, of our Urim and Thumming, and, what siesh and blood is scarcely able to bear, you have taken from us our TYTHES; yet you have given us nothing in exchange but reprobation and domnation, if after we have lost our goods and gear, Saran can be such a driveling tool as to take us.

For God's sake therefore, look upon us Jews as a people whom you have injured, and to whom you are indebted. We are not in the case of dissenters, who are said to have injured you: We never turned you out of your churchess we never set up chapter lands to sale; nor pulled down your hierarchy; but, on the contrary, it is to us that you owe your mitres and your revenues, your privileges and pre-eminences. If any one asks, whence you derive your priesthood? You know in your consciences that Christ himfels was a layman; you fetch your pedigree from the house of March, and make more profit to your, order of the five books of Moses, than of all the four evangelists.

As you are beholden to us for the most valuable of your emoluments, you owe the most useful of your policieks to our institutions. You have, learned

learned from us, that the righteous are entitled to the whole earth; you have learned from us to how your enemies to pieces before the Lord; you have learned from us to flay man and woman, infant and fuckling, to make all your enemies God's enemies, and to defirey them with fire and fword, from pure zeal for his service.

I beg you, by the mutual civility which subfists between us, not to imagine that I lay this debt to the charge of the orthodox only: I ought to acknowledge, that the diffenters have their due share of all these gifts and graces; and I make the same use of the fact, in reasoning with either side, that since you have purloin'd your most profitable practical doctrines from the children of Israel, you are ungrateful beyond example, in debarring the few from the enjoyment of their natural rights.

This injustice is the more unprecedented, because all other seets in religion have persecuted only those who either worshipped other gods, or made innovations in the ancient and established form of worship. In the first case it hath been usual to abuse their DIVINITY himself, before it hath been held decent to punish people for adoring him. In the latter case, schismaticks have had the odium upon them of breaking in upon the property of an established religion, and

of invading privileges which the national fect had been long possessed of. But we, the Jews, are not within the description of either of these cases. You own our God to be a true one, and you know that we were in possession of him two thousand years before the name of your opinion was mentioned in the world. In this case, we are neither insidels, idolaters, nor schifmaticks; we neither disown the true God, nor adore a false one; nor have we been guilty of innovations, but are punished for adhering to our old forms, and for not receiving new.

We might nevertheless absolve you, in a great measure, of this crying injustice, could we find that your religion had imposed it upon you; whereas we are fully fatisfied, that you have impoled it upon your religion, and have taken measures against the Jews which are not to be justified by the gospel of Jesus. If the meriterious character of a Savieur might be pleaded with those who believe, or pretend that be died to fave them; is it not manifest, that HE who redeemed you was a Jew; that HE whom you preach as a light to all nations was a few; that HE whose cause hath cloathed you in purple, hath advanced you to honour, and loaded you with riches, even CHRIST HIMSELF, WAS A Jaw? And can you forget, that your religion

had wanted the evidence of a principal miracle to confirm it, had it not been from his special regard and tender affection to us Jews? For he raised up the dead, as we are told in your New Testament; and, restored a childless father to his daughter, only because it was told him, that the ENTURION loved our nation, and had built us a synagogue.

If then the founder of christianity honoured an idolater, an unconverted bacton, vio loved us, and built us a synagogue; how nucl. greater indulgence would be have expected in our behalf from christians obliging themselves to obey his precepts, and imitate his example? Would hatred, reproach, or eternal war upon his people the fews; would turning them out of their synagogues, or laying them under penallaws for resorting to them, have been more acceptable to Jesus the few, or more endearing to him in the conduct of christians, than the contrary usage was in the instance of the hospitable pagan centurion?

How opposite such proceedings are to the whole tenor of his gospel, the writers of his life, the acts of his apostles, and above all, the epistles of your great apostle PAUL, may abundantly shew. It was your Saviour himself who said, Salvation is of the Jews: And are we to have no

retribution but obloquy, hardships, and penal laws? WE, whom the plalmist and all the prophets have boasted to be the dominion, the peculiar, the inheritance of God; to whom, as PAULhimself hath testified, tertaineth the adoption, and the glory, and the covenants, and the giving of the law, and the service of God, and the promises: Whose are the fathers, and of whom, as concerning the fielh, Carrier tame, who is over all.

It is id of July, in the golpel according to Matthew, that he gave it in his charge to his twelve apostles, Go not into the way of the Gentiles, but go rather to the lost sheep of the beufe of Israel. In another place he answers to the woman of Canaan; I am not fent but unto the Loft theep of the boufe of Ifrael. And when the came and worthipped him, crying, Lord, help me, he faid, It is not meet to take the children's bread and cast it before dogs. PETER, the prince of his aposttes, speaking to our nation, says, Ye men of Ifrael, YE are the children of the prophets and of the covenant which God made with our fathers, Jaying unta Abraham, In thy feed finall all the kindreds of the earth be bleffed. PAUL proclaims his mission to be to the JEW FIRST, and also to the Gentile. To honour the Jews, he declares to the Romans, I a fo am an Ifraelite of the feed of Abraham, of the tribe of Benjamin. them.

them, he boasts to the CORINTHIANS, Are they Hebrews? so am I: Are they the seed of Abraham? so am I. And in the epistle to the Hibrews, he tells them of the COVENANT which God almighty had made with the house of Israel, that HE would be to them a God, and THEY should be to him a people.

Having all these testimonies in your own revelation to entitle us to full protection and indulgence from you, whence is it that we fuffer fuch multiplied oppressions; and, instead of God's people, are treated as the outcast of all the earth? Do you pretend that the priests in the days of our fathers destroyed Christ, and perfecuted the first christians? In truth, they behaved themselves as PRIESTS generally behave, wickedly, ambitiously, cruelly and impiously. But, are the whole people to bear the fins and impicties of their priefts on their heads, through all generations? Seeing that it was priesterast, which either destroyed the innocent, or seduced the vulgar, and that the common people had no hands in the iniquity, but through the instigation of their villainous guides, who charged it on their confciences, and exacted it of them in the name of the most high God, that they should commit barbarities shocking to buman nature. If, therefore, any zealous christian is offended at the inhumanities of the Jewish priesthood, and willing to revenge them on us Tews, let him make it his own case; let him think how hard and unjust it would be, to punish him or his family for the wickedness of any christian priest. either living or dead, especially of such as acted their injustice two thousand years before he was born. Did Calvin burn Servetus? Might not then all the followers of Servetus's opinions as justly burn all Calvin's disciples, as christians punish Jews, because the Jewish priests crucified Christ? Say then, are we more accountable for what was done in our church before we came into the world, than other churches will own themselves to be? And are we not entitled to the indulgence and toleration of thristians, by all those principles of equity and charity which they can offer to shew, that our fathers ought to have granted this indulgence and toleration to theirs ?

It is brought as a reproach upon our whole nation, that some of our ancestors put Christ to death. It is aggravated by the circumstance that he was the Messab of Salvation; but if our ancestors knew him not to be such, they had not the guilt on their consciences of putting so divine a person to death. It is not pretended that they have any such circumstance, but rather, that

their hearts were hardened, and that their eves were blinded, with other matters, which rather entitle them to pity than repreach. If then this act of cruelty and tyranny be viewed in its full horror, it was no other than an act of injuffice to an innocent or righteous person. And if all posterity are involved in guilt and punishment by the casual destruction of innocence and virtue, all nations in the world must be accursed to the end of the world, fince no age or country hath been without inflances where the greatest, and worthiest persons have been singled out for destruction by the violence of prevailing parties, frequently attended with popular acclamations,

You, Sir, who are an high-priess yourself, must own that Caiaphas was a man of more decency and temper than some of your own order; for he used no sele weighty an argument for the destruction of Jesus, than that it was better that one man should perish than an whole people. Which of you, Sir, would have scrupled a moment to concur in a sentence which was urged by this plea of necessary? Or, which of you would not have put an bundred men to death, rather than that your own hierarthy should be brought into danger?

You must hence allow, that the barbarous act of putting Christ to death, and the deceitful argu-

argument that made it popular and plaufible, was a very ordinary effect of priefly imposture, ambition and cruelty, which are prone to shed blood, and to make havock of mankind, for the gratification of revenge, or the advancement of tyranuy: And this being so common a blemish on the professors and leaders of all religions, ours, I hope, are no more to be branded with reproach, than the rest of our neighbours who have not less deserved it.

It is indeed very extraordinary, that the apofles successors, as you call yourselves, should take more liberty of abusing us Jews, than the apostles were allowed to do themselves. A great part of the EPISTLE To the ROMANS is writ exprefly to reprove the ungrateful Gentiles for despifing and reviling our nation. Your apostle Paul. loads us with no fuch unreasonable charge, as the guilt of blood which was shed before we were born, nor imputes it to the Jews even of that, time who had no hand in shedding it. On the contrary he declares, Brethren, my heart's desirest and prayer to God for Ifrael, is, that they may be faved. For, I bear them record that they have at zeal of God, though not according to knowledge; And in the next chapter he affirms prophetically, All Ifrael SHALL be faved.

Even to those who urged their unbel ef as an argument of their reprobation, he saith, Hath

Ged cast away his people? Ged forbid; for, I alfo am an Hraclite-Have they stumbled that they should FALL? God forbid, but rather through their fall falvation is come to the Gentiles -I /peak to you Gentiles; in as much at I am an apostle of the Gentiles, I magnify mine office-If the first fruit be boly, the lump is also bely; and if the rest is boly, fo are the branches : And if some of the branches be broken off, and thou being a wild olive-tree, wert grafted in amongst them, and with them partakest of the fatness of THE OLIVE-TREE, boaff not against the branches; but if then beaft, then bearest not the root, but the root thee. Then wilt fay then, the branches were broken off that I might be grafted in. cause of unbelief they were broken off, and thou standest by faith-BE NOT HIGH MINDED. but FEAR.

I cannot omit the paraphrase which a great christian philosopher, the late Mr. Locks, hath given us, because he hath opened the sense very fully; and the English reader will find it more intelligible than this passage can be, strictly adhering to the Hebrew idiom, in which the New Testament is written.

"If Abraham, Isaac, and Sacob, from whom the Sewish nation had their originals, were holy, the branches also that sprang from this "root

"root are holy. If then some of the natural branches were broken off, if some of the natural storal Jews of the stock of David were broken off and rejected, and thou an heathen of the wild Gentile race wert taken in and ingrassed into the church of God in their room, and there partakest of the blessings promised to hardam and his seed, be not so conceited of thyself as to shew any DISRESPECT TO THE JEWS. If any such vanity possess thee, remember that the privilege which thou hast in being a christian is derived to thee from the promise which was made to Abraham and his seed, but nothing accrues to Abraham or his seed from thee."

From these full and irrefragable proofs it appears, that not only the law of nature, but the LAW OF CHRIST entitles us to the protection of society; and it is a monstrous oppression of us fews, that we suffer any usage from christians which is repugnant to christianity itself. If all the evange lists and apostles prove the persecutions and penal laws which we labour under to be opposite to the intentions of fesus Christ: If all the different sets in the christian religion maintain, that persecution for religious opinions is contrary to the law of God, and to the order of nature: What argument can be offered to ex-

empt us from any indulgence which can be allowed to our brethren of the diffenting perfuations?

And yet it hath happened, as much to our amazement as to our indignation, fince the debates concerning the facramental test have been revived in this kingdom, that, having applied ourselves to certain reverend pastors of dissenting congregations offering our friendly assistance to them in the profecution of their delign, affuring them of the defire which we fincerely profess to remove these unjust restraints on the natural rights of mankind, and proposing to join with them in their petition to the king's most excellent majesty, and to both houses of parliament, they have utterly refused to countenance on to concur with us; they have found out distinctions to prove that they have rights by nature, which we have lost by unbelief; that they have a privilege by. grace, which we cannot lay hold of but by coming over to their faith : And in faort, have flatly. told us, that none but christians ought so be: capable of employments in a christian country. So little does it avail any body of men to believe. in Goo, that they are nevertheless to be perfecuted, as though they believed in none at all, unless they subscribe to all the rest of the creed.

We told them that we were the children of frail; that Moses was at least as divinely inspired as CALVIN; that we had as much respect for the TEN COMMANDMENTS, as presbyterians, independents, anabaptiffs, or French prophets; that we thought the observance of our law would make us good subjects, though we were not happy enough to be fatisfied in our consciences of the truth of the christian religion; that no society had any right to exact more of its members than we had always yielded; and, that as we had? never been wanting in dutiful submission to our superiouss, we hoped it was no immoded demand to be admitted on the same footing with other feets of diffenters; that it is true, we are charged with too violent a passion for the mainmon of unrighteousness, but that we find the most fandified christians, in respect of worldly lucte, as little fcrupulous of taking the profit to themfelves, as they are of throwing the fcandal upon. us .: That we GET what we can, and KEEP what we GET, not by any principle of religion, but of convenience; and that this principle reigns in as full perfection amongs the faints at-Hackney, as among the children of Ifrael in Bury, Arect, or Duke's place.

We cannot but admire at such uncivil usage from our brethren the dissenters, who have laid them-

themselves under so many obligations to us Tews, have turned us out of the possession of all our ancient privileges, and allow us as little right in the old Jerusalem, as we pretend to have in the new. In short, they make as free with Sion, as if they were lords of the manor; and appropriate the fongs of Sion to themfelves, as if they were bymns of their own composing. have made prize of all the pfalms of David, as if he had not been king of Ifrael; and all the bleffings of the LAW, and all the curfes in the PROPHETS are converted to their own use, as if the Israelites had no property in them. After this, it is marvelously strange, that they will hare with us none of their emcluments, and that they would debar us of all indulgences which they lay claim to themselves.

You, Sir, who are an orthodox high priest, will judge between us Jews, and the dissenters, whether we have not the same right as the best of them to employments? Or, what pretence there can be, that against the constitution of the country in which we live, we, of all other people, should have no share in enacting or executing the laws which we are bound to obey? Why might not the LAND OF CANAAN be as profitably represented in parliament as the KINGDOM OF SCOTLAND, and with as little prejudice to the church of England, from OUR

synagogue, as from their kirk? Why may we not adorn one side of St. Stephen's chapel with our flaxen wigs and fallow faces, in as becoming a manner as our northern brethren appear on the other side in their black ones?

With regard to publick employments, are there not abundance of them in this bappy island, which are fitter for Jews, than for christians, and which have infensibly transformed good christians into real Jews, by the prevalent force of example? What may you think, Sir, of us Jews, in the capacity of excise officers? Or, what think you of excise officers, as different in any thing from us Jews; but that the CIRCUMCISED are in all respects fit to be excisemen, and that the excisemen are most of them fit to be circumcised?

I could, Sir, give you many reasons to conwince you, that natural christian policy should induce you to favour us few; that you have many obligations to us as a christian; that me our religion was the parent of yours, our synagogue is the buttress of the christian CHURCH, an evidence of its extraction, an authority to prove its antiquity, a living record to testify whence you bad your revelation; and that therefore you cannot be too indulgent to a peoTol The Piliars of PRIESTCRAST
ple, whose establishment cannot be destroyed
without removing the foundation of your own.

mentioned, that divine right of TYTHES, which is the fource of all your plenty, might make the Old Testament and the Jews of favourite consideration with you; especially when you restect, that ALL the feels in your own religion stepy your title to tythes; that the QUAKERS hold it finful to pay them, and suffer all extremities rather than act against their consciences in so tender a concern; that the people of all other persuasions hold them to be of buman invention, and belonging to the cognizance of temperal power; and, that most who allow them to be lawful, do not at all believe them to be reasonable or emediant.

Your brethren of the clergy, in return for this great obligation in the article of tyches, might very gratefully and profitably appoint at James to be spont tythe gatherers; and this too, without afterning the people who pay thom, fince they can fearcely believe, that the Jean thome folies would be more rigid collectors, than the menerality of church officers.

But inhead of expressing your graduate to us, by such reasonable returns of kindness and considence as we might expect, you mad unanturally turally call upon us to serve parify effices, which you will not suffer us to discharge; yet punish us with fines and penalties, because we do not discharge them. Are you not more cruel in this respect than the task-masters of Egypt, who compelled our fore-fathers to make brick without straw? For, if they had acted by policies like yours, they would not have suffered us by any means to make the bricks which they had commanded, yet would have punished us for not making what they would not suffer us to make.

You have justified this unmerciful utage of us, my alledging, that in the fame manner you wie see amother; and I owned in the beginning, that we could not expect better of you under this circomstance. But then you have at prefent, ah opportunity to do as justice. For, fince we are under the fame hardships and incapacities With ather diffenters, you ought to declare, that you look upon the Jews with the same tenderness as you look upon other diffenters; that when the DISPUTE shall be adjusted about what time is proper, you will shew the same indulgence to the children of Ifrael, as to the disciples of Calvin; that either fect stand in the same predicament with you; and that after the example of the spoftle PAUL, you will give toleration to the JEW first, and alfo to the Gentile.

. It might be expected, confidering how . long we have suffered ill usage, that you might think it time to give us better. From a passage which I find inferted in your learned countryman CAMBDEN'S BRITANNIA, by the prefent Lord Bishop of London [vol. 1. p. 535.] it appears, that " the Jaws flourished mightily in London a little after the conquest; being enconraged particularly by William Rufus. their wealth, fays bis lordfbip, in fucceeding times did them great injury, when they were s miserably tortured by king John to discover and deliver up their hiden treasures. In the . 11th of Edward the first, their synagognes " were all pluck'd down; and in the 16th year of that king they were all banished to the s number of fifteen thousand *; but their riches " were all to be left behind, and they were not allowed to take any money or goods along with them, fave only for the necessary charges of their transportation.'

I was exceedingly glad of this impartial testimony from a christian bishop of so great credit and authority; because a learned English lawyer,

^{*} Lord Chief Justice Coke, who speaks of their expulsion from the view of records, numbers the Jews who went away at fifteen thousand and threescore 2 Cok. Infl. Statut. de Judaismo.

the Lord Chief Justice COKE, hath adhered to the letter of the law against us, as the truth of our case; he hath assigned our expulsion to no other cause than our usury, and relates it to have been effected by no other means than putting a stop to our usury; whereas the said lard bistop imputes it truly and candidly to the oppression and avarice of the times, rather than to the visibehaviour of our people.

The laborious amiquary STOWE, in his Survey of London, relates, [B. 3. p. 54.] ' That king John, in the 11th year of his reign, commanded all Yews, both men and women, to be imprisoned and grievously punished, because be would have all their money. Some of them, fays he, gave all they had, and promised more, to escape so many kinds of torment; for every one of them had at the least their eyes pluck'd out. Amongst whom there was one, who beo ing tormented many ways, would not ranfom himfelf till the king had caused (every day) one of bis great tee:b to be pluck'd out by the space . of feven days; and then he gave to the king ten thousand marks of silver, to the end they fhould pull out no more. The faid king at that time spoiled the Yews of faxty-fix thousand a marks of filver.

The same author mentions, that in the premeding raign of Richard the first, the Jews at
Menwich, Burn, St. Edmunds, Lincoln, Stamfords,
and Lyan, were rebbed, and spoiled; and at
Monte to the number of the hundred, basides
twomen and children, entered a tower of the
tealth, professing maney to be in surely of
their lives, but the christian would not take
it; whereupon they cut the throats of their
own wives and children, and cast them over
the walls on the christian heads, and then entering the hing's ladging, they burned both
the bouse and themselves.

In the 26th of Henry the third, the Yews were constrained to pay to the king twenty thousand marks at two terms in the year, or also to remain in perpetual prison.

In his 35th year he exacted inclimable foms of all rich men, namely, of AARON'S Few born as York, fourteen thouland marks for the for himself, and ten thouland marks for the queen. And before that time he had taken to the same Yew as much as amounted in all to thirty thousand marks of silver, and two hunds red marks of gold for the queen.

In the 16th of Edward the first all the Jours in England were (in one day) apprehended by precept

* precept from the king, but they redeemed themselves for twelve thousand pounds of silver: Notwithstanding which, in the 10th of his reign he banished them all, as is aforementioned, giving them only to bear their charge till they were out of the realm. He made a mighty most of money of their houses, which he fold, yet the commons had paid him. * 2 ff with of all their goods to compensate his "loss in banishing them." For Lord Chief Justice Coke takes notice, 'That from the 17th of December, in the 50th year of Henry the third, until Sbrove-Tuesday in the second of · Edward the first, (being about the space of fiven years) the crown bad received four hundred and twenty thousand pounds, fifteen shillings, and four pence, de ex tibus fudaismi; at which time the ounce of fiver was but twenty fences, and now it is more than treble fo much."

From this period, anno 1291, we had no re-admission into England till 1655, being kept in banishment three hundred and fixty sour years. It was then the wisdom of Oliver. Cromwell that brought us into this country again, by a treaty with Manasseh Bon Israel, wherein the Jewis nation were restored to the exercise of their trade and worship in England.

. Asit is but four score years since our re-admission, our fathers, for the most part, were aliens by birth, and could not claim a natural right to the privileges of the community. They could only be received as foreigners, with proper encouragement to trust their families and effects under the public protection. But in this course of time the Jews of Cromwell's days are dead, and we their children are natural-born subjects of Britain; so that what incapacity or disability may remain upon us, is entirely to be laid to the charge of religion, and is an hardship. upon us for dissenting from the national establishment. This is our grievance, and this we hope will at length have redress; that the war which hath been carried on against us almost ever fince the Norman conquest, may now be brought to a conclusion, and that we may not be oppressed any longer for no other reason, than that after the way which men eall herefy we werhip the God of our fathers.

We ought not to impute any cruel disposition to the good people of England, but to the prejudices against us, which were somented by the arts of bigotry and priestcrast, or encouraged by the private views of princes: Insomuch that it was our missortune to be banished from Rome by Tiberius, for the fraud of a few of our religion, in feducing a Roman lady: We were for no better reason banished out of France in 1253st and the catholick king John the fecond forced THREE HUNDRED THOUSAND JEWS in one day out of the dominions of Spain.

I have already faid, and I cannot but infift with humble submission, that it is time we should be differently treated by the christian world; and that as you have taken the covenant of grace entirely from us, you ought in common justice to leave us in quiet possession of the rights of nature.

In what manner, or to what degree the legiflature ought to indulge us, must be submitted
to their consideration, and must be determined
from a variety of circumstances: but whatever
they grant to other distenters will by undeniable
parity of reason be due to us, unless it could appear that we are not distenters, because we are
fews; whereas there is not a more common
case in this great city, than to see the Jew and
the dissenter blended together in one and the
same person.

It were needless to name a great number of persons in this predicament, when there are two of such notoriety as the venerable P - r.

W-t-r, Esq; and the worshipful Sir G - t.

Knight. The former is so extremely sensible

of Ifrael in this emergent affair, we will promile you, whenever you come amongst us, the first cut of the paschal lamb, and the chief feat in the synagogue.

I am, with all respect to your person and character,

Your most devoted,

Humble servant,

From the place of my fojournment in Synagogue lane, Bury fireet, the 10th day of the 12th month called Adar.

Solomon Abrabanel

ENQUIRY

INTOTHE

B E H A V I O U R

Great Churchmen

SINCE THE

REFORMATION,

INTHE

Enacting and Executing

O F

PENALLAWS

AGAINST

Papists and Protestant Diffenters.

Faithful are the words of a friend. Prov. xxvii. 6.

Am I therefore become your enemy because I tell you the
truth? Gal. iv. 16.

The time cometh that whe seever killeth you, will think that he doth God service. Joh. xvi. 2.

Aspicimus populos, quorum non sufficit ira, Occidisse aliquem, sed pectora, brachia, vultum Crediderint genus esso cibi. Juv. Sat. 16. l. 169.

1 7 * ... *

AN

ENQUIRY

INTO THE

BEHAVIOUR

OF OUR

Great Churchmen

SINCE THE

REFORMATION, &.

effectually weakened the arength and numbers of protestant distenters, than harm and severe mensiones: On the contrary, the papils have ever abused patience and forbearance, by corrupting great numbers, both in their seligion and loyalty. What account them can be given of one generation of bishaps, being farward and zealous, in enacting and executing that and oppositive laws against distenters, and

and of the present race refusing to appear in any manner against the papists: Or, is there truth in this prevailing opinion? Let us attend to facts.

In part of queen ELIZABETH's reign, many of them owed their promotions to fuch as were favourers of popery. In the four following ones, the populb interest generally prevailed When our princes and ministers have been bad, they have constantly and easily had their resemblance in their prelates: but the connection has not been fo fure and true, when we have had fuch rulers, as have been tolerably This may eafily be accounted for ; there is a full uniformity in iniquity, not fo in goodnels. Belides, fpecious appearances and declarations impose on the best, and the most wary are often mistaken in selecting what is good; but evil agents every where abound, and the Acady in their ways.

Hierarchical powers and prerogatives have given our prelates connections with popery. The principles of all other diffenters are regarded as unfriendly, and opposite to their high claims. Usage and construction of laws have been in favour of papists; especially with regard to the act of uniformity, there hath been notorious partiality-

partiality. According to this act no form of giving orders, excepting what is contained in the book of common-proyer, is legal and valid; therefore our bishops are obliged to re-ordain papists, as well as presbyterians. However, the law has been dispensed with, in favour of popish orders. Is not this an high contempt of law in the ruling clergy; and mean and low submission in the laity and lawyers? But to proceed.

In the : 35th of queen Esizabeth, a law, was enacted of the utmost harshness and feverity, purely, and merely for feparating from the service of the church. On refusing to fign an acknowledgment of their forrow for fepara-s tion, and to promise conformity for the future. they were obliged within three months to abiure the realm, and fuffered as felons, if they ventured to return: but there was a clause to except popifb recufants. Receiving and retaining into any family, a fervant or visitor for more than one month, who did not go to church, incorred a forfeiture of 12%. By another act immediately following, papifts had the much gentler usage of being only confined not to travel above five miles from their usual places of abode without licence. Such were the proceedings, when the cause of the church was principal, and the archbishops and bishops directed

the queen's refeatments. To them the above laws are folely to be afcribed. From unantiwerable reasonings in the house of commons it is notorious, how great the aversion there was to this bill. But they dust not venture on a refusal, having so often felt the severemed speedy effects of the sovereign's displeasure; whop when this was incurred, shewed so regard to their persons, properties, not privileges. The high offences and provocations, which produced such revible effects, asolo from the behaviour of some puritous and separately, who were naturally mad, and of others, who were made to by oppression.

Rude and indecent behaviour and language to Superiours, ever since the revolution, has been a prevailing fashion with those, who have assumed to themselves the distinction of being the anly true churchmen. This manner grew in the late. reign; has been greatly improved in the prefent; and is now advanced to a height far beyond what was then practifed by these people. In our time, government has been reviled and despised, because mild and merciful. great then would be the clamour; how infufferable the outrage did these men endure a tenth part of what had been inflicted on the puritans, previous to this oppressive law. Their loyalty and affection to the queen, were real and

and undoubted. In the act there are no colours nor fuggestions to the contrary. The punishments which were the consequence of this act. and all the hardships with which they were attended, do not appear to have given the queen much concern, though by this means deprived of many useful subjects. All the imputations to their prejudice confifted in rude complaints of hardships and fufferings, and in disowning the quoen's fupremacy in matters purely ecclefia-This they thought inconfisent with Rical. CHRIST's being bead over all things to his church. But if this was a falle and enthufiaftic conceit. with regard to the state, it was harmless, compared with the opinion of the pape's supremacy And was the danger of their and infallibility. bitter words in any degree equal to the treasonable and mischievous practices of the papists, who were restless in their endeavours against the government, attended with the utmost bigotry to the Spaniard, the queen's most malignant enemies, and the most cruel oppressors of the protestants, and had been guilty of plots, conspiracies, and open rebellions. And yet, fuch was the policy of the great churchmen, as to contrive the keeping the one at home, and fending the other abroad.

When the solemn dying speeches of Penry and others, were reported, the queen is said to have

regretted the death of such good subjects. The archbishops and bishops were chiefs in all these prosecutions, and penalties. Sometimes they were convicted, as obtlinate and incorrigible, and, after the manner of the inquisition, delivered to the civil magistrate: but at other times pursued to death; for the archbishop was the first who signed the warrant for Panry's execution.

They seem to have reason and truth on their ·fide, who ascribe the queen's renouncing of topery, not to averfion, but necessity: For her legitimacy and right to the crown, the must have been wholly indebted to Rome. Many previous conditions burthensome and inconvenient to regal power, would have been Ripulated; and in these circumstances, the subjecting herself and kingdom to Spain, by accepting for a husband, the fevere and unrelenting Phil p, would have been unavoidable. The title of head of the church, is supposed to have been the great endearing and engaging particular in her protestant profession. Under such a ruler, how naturally and readily were they promoted and encouraged, who entered into all the pride and oppression of popery? The courts ecclefiastical with great rigour punished dissenters, but favoured and avoided as much as possible the notice of papists.

King JAMES I. feared only the power and policy of Rome; but he liked many particulars in their religion, and had made great profesfions of regard to that court. He hated puritanifm, on the account of the rigour and rudenels of their kirk. In our churchmen he found a full compliance and countenance, in all his pretensions to absolute power. He readily placed fuch at the bead of the church, who were barfher in their feverities than their predecessors. Doctrinal errors, and fome gross and rude contradictions of established orthodoxy, were crimes punished with fire and fagot. In the several instances of burning hereticks, which happened in this, and the former reign, in feveral parts of the kingdom, the church begun and denounced the crime, and the flate concluded with execu-The dominion and power of mean and worthless favourites in this reign, who were the authors of nothing great or good, either at home or abroad, and who procured large grants of the royal revenue, naturally diminished the reverence and influence of the crown.

The temper, principles, and opinions of K. Charles the Ist, disposed him to exercise the prerogative in a more ungracious manner than any of his predecessors. In order to promote

his defigns, he supported and encouraged the most severe and oppressive measures of churchmen. They were the chiefs in those courts, where power and prerogative, in opposition to law and equity, prevailed. The vigour of church discipline, was not applied to encourage fobriety and decency, but to inforce disfoluteness and disorder. Dispensations and deprivafions were the fure confequences of refusing to publish the book of Sports. Royal and ecclefiafical ordinances, defeated the obligations of revealed and natural religion. Was not all this in compliance with the manners of papery, which was in every respect favoured and encouraged? How much this was the case at court is evident. from the concurrent testimony of all forts of historians. Sidney's Letters afford several important additional informations; many other letters and informations have been destroyed by the bigotry and partiality of the fuccessors in other great families; but if what yet remains in private hands becometh public, many more affecting particulars, will be exposed. Scrupulous protestants, were distressed and persecuted with all possible heat, while immunities and favours were every where bestowed on papists. language, in which the church of Rome had been treated, received then a great alteration. latry and the pope, being antichrift, were the COM- common imputations of our first reformers. The deformities, the detestable ways and qualities of this false church, are without any reserve set forth in our homilies. But the reviving and repeating these appellatives then became matter of great offence; soft and honourable colours were only in fashion. The books of zealous protestants were prohibited, while those of zealous papists were either licensed or indulged.

The fon, who was his immediate fuccessor. did not give the proofs of his adhering to the Ramish religion, for which his brother was distinguished; but we have no reason to doubt of his inclinations. No religious considerations could much affect the mind of fo profligate and careless a creature while in health, but when the approaches of death forced him into fobriety, then he wholly submitted to the rule and discipline of this church. In his reign, laws of the hardest and most unreasonable kind, with regard to the liberty and property of protestant diffenters, were enacted and executed with the utmost strictness and rigour. While the church was thus avenging itself on its enemies, the papiffs pursued their measures without much distugbance in a private and public way. Far from being diffurbed, the principal posts in the government were possessed by such as were well

known or justly suspected. The principal were the duke of York, lord treasurer Clifford, Arlington, and others; yet, no instances occur of the rulers of the church expressing, in those days, any concern for the power and grouth of popery; but they earnestly contended for the inforcing of inflaming and enfoaring oaths: This was done by Ward, Morley, and others, in feveral fessions of parliament, and they treated non-compliers with all imaginable passoral severity. The bishops and popish party readily concurred in these cruel and oppressive laws. Revenge and the profpect of subjecting every thing to their power. was a motive with the one, and the prospect of producing lasting hatred and aversion among protestants, directed the other.

Though this was evidently the case, it had no effect in abating the progress of our churchmen's surious zeal. Destruction of dissenters was the savourite point; therefore, during the influence of French or popish councils, by large grants of supplies they purchased new laws of greater severity, and vigorous revival of prosecutions; and towards the conclusion of this reign, when arbitrary and popish measures returned with sull power, the bishops and their adherents were eagerly employed in compleating the ruin of non-conformists. Lamplugh, of Execter, in 1684, commanded his clergy to publish in their

During the dominion of the tories, in the reign of his brother, it was highly criminal to call the duke of York, a papist; though this was notorious, and it became his public profession immediately after his accession to the throne. But this gave no apparent concern to the leaders of high church. They begun with gratifying the king in the affair of his revenue; and, immediately after this grant, defired him to isfue forth his royal proclamation to cause the penallaws, to be put in execution against diffenters from the church of England. All the celebrated names of the party were every where buly incausing the proclamation to have its full effect. Had the king gone on in humouring their infolent and oppressive temper, and been contented with the fure and flower methods of promoting his own religion, he would have met with no interruption and have been attended with full fuccess. But the court schemes were for liberty and toleration; they required the compliance and affishance of the clergy, attempted to punish them for their non-compliance, and disturbed them in their rights and properties. Then

[•] Neal's Hist. of Puritans, p. 526. vol. 4.

K 3 their

their practice fully confuted all their forema professions of absolute and unlimited passive pirdience and n:n-resistance. They, who had treated, as perverseness and unreasonable obstinacy in others, the thas of conscience, and pleas for liberty, rights and privileges, felt for themfelves what they would not fee before in the case of their neighbours. How fully then were their eyes opened; how strong were their declarations of forrow and concern for what was past; and how obliging and many were their vows! When our wonderful deliverance was accomplished, the toleration att could not be refused, after the many solemn promises in the days of peril and terror. But several reasonable attempts to end our religious differences were disappointed by those, whose pre-eminence and principles give them an aversion to all compliance and moderation. When the convocation met, all abatement in point of ceremony and ritual, all proposals for the smallest reformation and alteration were absolutely rejected. mus leges Anglia mutare, was the popular, but a very unfair plea. Might not this with equal truth have been urged against the reformation, and for the continuance of the fanguinary laws of popery? For the same reason the penal laws of the church, which, with so much mischief, and in so anti-christian a manner, had been exe-

cuted

repealed by the toleration act. The contrivets and abettors of perfecating measures have confiantly had the distinction of being for the church; and the friends of civil and religious liberty, of being its enemies. All opportunities fince the revolution have been improved to revive distresses and perfecution. The bishops, who have been active on these occasions, have been venerated as true fathers, while they who have been influenced by due regard to the obligations of natural and revealed religion, which inforce mercy and charity, have been treated with all forts of reproaches.

In the last 60 years the immunities of confeience, and the full rights of all quiet and good Subjects, have been flated and explained, in the most satisfactory manner. A general toleration, which in the days of our forefathers was treated as impious and abominable, has been fince fully justified. They, whose practices, when they have had the fullness of power, have constantly contradicted every principle of this kind; have lately assumed the character of being the most zealous advocates for an unbounded liberty. How great is their truth and modesty! For, have not they, who glory in being the only true: fons of the church, when they have had full power so purfue their own devices, proceeded from fmaller

smaller to the highest oppressions? Such was the schiss aft, the last legacy of their glorious queen Ann. Archbishop DAWES took the chair in order to model and finish that iniquitous bill.

Bromley, the trusty agent for Oxford, at the same time published the church's design of excluding, in another sessions, ALL forts of dissenters, from their rights of voting in elections for members of parliament, and of being magistrates of corporations. All these great things were done for the church in order to have its zealous and active assistance in undoing the state.

On good affurances of being thus rewarded, the pulpit and press recommended the giving up the fruits of all our victories, of all our blood and treasures. They applauded the scheme for leaving the bouse of Bourbon in posfession of wealth and power, terrible and dangerous to the liberties of Europe. The delivering us to the dominion of a popish pretender, was the notorious purpose of the principal ma-Far from conceiving any fense of danger from such a prospect, this was the general hope and expectation of the greatest churchmen. Peace became chiefly defirable, as preparing the way for the fuccess of hereditary right. for the church doth not import doing any thing for the promotion of picty and virtue, and for the the restraint of profaneness and immorality. Doing something by way of grievance and distress to protestant dissenters, is the meaning of the word, when used by those, who call themselves the ONL * good churchmen.

But has doing for the church had as usual application to the affair of popery? This is reprefented as wholly appertaining to the state. But is not the gaining profelytes to an idolatrous fuperstitious religion, and whose doctrines inculcate perfidy and cruelty, a matter of religious concern? Have not the number of dissenters, for many years past, decreased, both in the capital, and throughout the kingdom? When the fathere have acquired considerable fortunes, do not the fons think it below gentlemen to go to a meeting? When people of any condition of. either fex marry into the establishment, they gonerally foon cease to be dissenters. But the case is quite different with regard to papific; the protestant is too commonly lost in alliances of: this kind ..

Popery for many years has decayed very inconsiderably in great families. If it has been deserted by some, others have returned to that communion: Strong and very undeserved supports have been procured to this wicked cause, by its interests and alliances at home. It has

ratio had the aid and countenance of all the thighty powers abroad. Far from diminishing, the number of papists is justly supposed to have greatly increased in this century. They are wise in their arts and schemes of government. It is known in fact, that additions are continually making to their religious funds. These must be very considerable by virtue of their faith and policy. Nothing can be more properly adapted to make impressions on persons of all ranks and characters. How great is the security promised by infallibility! How comfortable and pleasing are the doctrines of absolution, of dispensations and indulgencies! both to saints and sindulgencies!

From these and many other considerations, the danger of the prevelancy of popery is too evident; but this cannot be pretended of any of our sells; no, not on the impossible supposition of their entire union. Nothing is more common in the mouths of many zealous churchmen, than declaring they would much rather be papiles than presbyterians. But he must be a blind and perverse zealot indeed, who can pretend to dispute from which quarter we have most to fear. Can any thing be more clear and convincing from just experiments at home, and from what is practised among papists and Calvinists abroad? As they would be good men and good subjects, it becomes churchmen equally with statesmen to

contribute the utmost to our deliverance from this adhering plague and mischief. Papery, wherever it has a full influence, is the author of confusion, and every evil work, and discourageth the most amiable and valuable virtues in society. It is an impossible and vain pretence, that a real papist should really be a good subject: If there is any necessity for producing preofs of this, we have much reason to complain of a careless and unrestecting race of protestants.

The papers of Sheldon, Superiour of the Jefuits, seized in November 1745, afford many instences of the absolute subjection of the popils clergy and laity, and the uncontroulable authority of their directors. For the superiors of other orders may justly be presumed to be equally arbitrary in their influence. We have in these papers proofs of commands being obey-.ed, when gentlemen of the first rank and their . chaplains have been both averse to a separation. None are allowed to chuse their own priests, nor to retain them any longer than is agreeable to the pleafure of the superior. How dangerous must fuch bigotry and inflaved disposition be to the government, for there can be no doubt of sheir ready obedience in all other infrances?

mind, are disposed to become converts to our church, how unhappy and difmal are their circumstances; they are sure of feeling all possible effects of the malice and revenge of the party they defert, and have the discouraging prospect of neglect, coldness, and suspicion with which wE have thought fit to treat fueh converts. With a very few exceptions this has generally been the case, ever fince the revolution. Some of our gentlemen, to their great dishonour, have countenanced mean and profligate characters, and worthy perfons have been imposed upon, which are sufficient motives for the utmost care . and caution: but do not justify the prudence and piety of a total neglect, and an absolute discouragement.

Nothing inconfishent with humanity and chriftianity is required from the leaders of our church: Their predecessors, in the case of protestant disficutors, have been proved to be concerned in pursuing them to death, in signing warrants for their execution. They were the absolute directors of arbitrary and unequitable courts. They were the chief promoters of laws, which subjected every thing valuable to vile informers and viler justices, armed with absolute power. And, since the full light and establishment of liberty, they have bestirred themselves in distressing those, who, as protestants, should be regarded as brethren. Is it not very inexcusable,

that

that their zeal for the protestant succession has been the great offence and provocation! This will appear from a careful review of the known temper and defigns of the generality of their disturbers.

Precautions against the papists are needful, as they are, and must ever remain, enemies to the government. Their impudent pretences to infallibility; the absurd and impious powers annexed to their confecrations; the dishonour done to christianity by many idolatrous and superstitious practices, are what they are accountable for only to the governor of the universe. But as their casuistry and destrines corrupt all true goodness and morality, the governors of our church for this reason seem to have as proper and necessary a concern as the governors of the state.

The clergy have complained, and too often with great reason, of the total neglect of the civil magistrate; for, without proceeding to extremities, many things might have been done to discourage the impudence of these enemies of religion and government, and their unsair methods of making proselytes. But the truth is, the many laws, now existing, cannot be put in execution. Besides, such pecuniary and sanguinary penalties as they enact, are quite disagreeable to our mild government, and inconsistent with the manners.

of the age. Attempts to execute them have been rare and uncommon, and only in times of great danger, and upon great provocations. They were chiefly made in terrorem. Most of them were extorted from those princes under whom they not only enjoyed many immunities, but places and power. The repealing all thefe and substituting in their room ONE easy and practicable law, of the defensive and preservative kind, is what our times and circumstances abfolutely require. These laws have afforded . matter for clamour and fcandal; comparisons from hence have been made betwixt popish and ! protestant severities. But in this the clamorous . have been equally impudent and ungrateful. Have they not generally been a dead letter, and a mere name without effect? Can any thing. then more become the honour of our religion, and nation, than effectually to remove this reproach? Laws hard and fevere, and which eannot, or are not, to be executed, procure hatred' and contempt; than which, nothing worse canhappen to any government. The suspicions entertained of our bishops must be groundless. They were promoted on affarances given of their tempers and deligns, being quite opposite to their predeceffors under Charles the Ild. whohave the lasting reproach of being unanimous in their voting against the repeal of the statute Dr

De Heretico Comburendo (1677.) We cannot imagine the majority of this ben h are for the continuance of such severities, and averse to-provide for our security, by one sober and reasonable LAW.

In order to the framing fuch a law, the utmost fagacity and prudence, and all affiftances are requisite. And nothing can better deserve the utmost care and consideration. What wehave feen and felt, should make us fensible of the true spirit of popery. But as there are too. many fymptoms of the prevalency of infenfibility and inattention, let us recollect what an enemy we really have. There are some considerations of a general nature, and fome in which we are more peculiarly concerned. The policy and deligns of Rome are still the same. None of their antient claims and practices have been renounced. Nor can they be given up, though circumstances oblige them to suspension and for bearance: No intervention of time and aceidents can weaken, much less destroy what is founded on divine and infallible right. Those powers, who have been fo mean and femelefs, as to continue in their devotion to the infullible head, have received great benefit from the veformation. The boundless power of diffesing of crowns and dominions, and diffur bing flates by excommunications and interdicts, are now forborn

232 The Pillars of PRIESTCRAFT forborn on the account of their hazard and danger.

As the power and practices of the successors of St. Peter are little regarded and remembered, it will be proper to produce a few instances in the very words of the PAPAL bull. The Bullarium Magnum, printed at Luxemburgh 1727. vol. I. at pag. 27. Anne 1073. Greg. Pap. affords an account of the excommunication of Henry, fon of the emperor of the fame name: of his being deposed from royal dignity; and of his subjects being ab olved from their oaths of allegiance, pag. 28. The prayers, tears, the misferable and humble submissions of this prince procured him absolution. But for subsequent offences, the excommunication was repeated. and his deposition we have in the following terms, pag. 29. Omnem potestatem et dignitatem illi regiam TOLLO, et ut nullus Christianorum ei, ficut REGI, obediat INTERDICO; omnesque, qui ei juraverunt vel jurabunt de regni dominatione à iuramenti promissione ABSOLVO.

The excommunication of our Henry VIII. was in 1535. We have the particulars, p. 710. Among many which might be mentioned, I only recite—Ipfafque confederationes et obligationes, tam factas quam in posterum faciendas—Nullius roboris vel momenti nullasque, irritas, cassa—ac

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pro infectis bakendas fero DESCERNIMUS of DE-ELARAMUS. As his holiness thus declared, a'l agreements, promises, and alliances, utterly void; so in what followeth, all the possessions of his subjects and favourers by sea and land, are declared the lawful prizes of pirates and robbers, bona mercantia, pecunias, navigia, res et animalia, auctoritate, scientia et potestatis plenitudine—captoribus concedimus.

In vol. II. 1570, pag. 324-5. In the excommunication of queen ELIZABETH, he pronounceth—Quin etiam ipsam pretenso regni prædicti jure necnon omni et quocunque dominio, dignitate, privilegioque privatam. It afterwards dischargeth all from their oaths—Proceres, subditos et populos dicta regina, & cæteros omnes qui illi quomodocunque juraverunt bujusmodi, &c.

But the feason of zealous and general obedience to all the dictates of Rome, was now over, and the effect was not answerable to what was designed. Such fulminations against particular princes have since ceased. The Roman pontiff contenteth himself with annual denunciations against bereticks in the Cæna Domini bulk. This is indeed very full and significant, and has from time to time received additions and improvements, All, who have separated from the

thurch of Rome, of whatever denomination, are:

From whence it plainly followeth, that becoming good and obedient subjects to pratestant
princes is inconsistent with the faith and religious duty of a papist. Necessity and fear aweth
them into a quiet behaviour; but whenever
they have any prospect of success every evil effect of bigotry and wicked zeal is to be expected.

The common plea, of men's being little influenced by religious principles in temperal affairs, must not be here allowed. To our great shame how few are there among us, who have any principles: and therefore no effect can be expected, where there is no caufe. But periffs. who live among protestants, are well seasoned with the fundamentals of their perfuation. what great and good things are they hereby effured, in this and the world to come? They are confident of having on their fide infallibility, and fafety of being fecured from all forts of evils: fuch a rivetted opinion must produce whatever can be defired. The decrees of the infallible head, or what their priests assure them. are fuch, are heard with the fame veneration by the generality of papifis, as an immediate voice from . from heaven. The plainest proofs of the fall-hood and vanity of their high and wicked presentions are infiguificant. Groundless and consident conceits are more firmly retained, and operate with greater strength than any reasonable persuasion. Delusion is infinite, and will not suffer us to give any attention to the most mischievous consequences. How else could man, who is a sociable being, receive, without abhorrence, dispensations for taking of oaths, and absolutions from their observance, after they are taken?

These are the known doctrines and practices of papery; though they have been often difowned with their usual modesty and veracity. According to their lyftam the whole affair of fwearing on any occasion before beretical magistrates must be a nullity. They are, as hereticks, incompetent judges, and are all by virtue of the: Coma Domini bull, in a state of excommunication; and as fuch can have no privileges and powers; all their doings must be illicit and of no effect. They can have no fense of any obligations; and therefore must ever be ready totake any oaths of allegiance and fidelity. our oaths, as now formed, cannot be swallowed: becanfe, by fo doing, they would renounce fome of the principal points of their religion. Yet for.

for great and weighty purposes even fuch fore of swearing is allowed; but such permissions are only granted to particular and select perfors. This can never be general, because it would be a public and repeated disowning their profession.

The pope's power to grant any fort of leave is readily believed. Far from being confined to things lawful and honest, he can bestow what characters and colours he pleafeth, on perfors and things, in contradiction to nature and truth. Dispensations for taking unlawful oaths, were they generally known and owned, would be an intolerable dishonour and discredit to this communion. This is what no government should endure. However, there is no doubt of this having been a common practice whenever judged expedient and necessary. A proof of this appeared fo late as 1678. Printed journal 8ve. 1680, in page 152, is an account of a faculty under the feal of cardinal Barberini for dispensing with the taking the eaths, and other things.

This faculty was entered into the Journal of the House of Commons, and probably into that of the Lords. 'If this entry was not destroyed in the following years wherein popish councils and power prevailed, a present publication would

be very seasonable. These permits are for those whose religion has not yet made them insensible of honour and honesty in the most solemn transactions with protestants. Hereby what they scruple, as unlawful, is not only satisfied, but it becomes a laudable performance. The great end and purpose of serving the catholick cause consecrateth every means, especially when directed by such authority.

When oaths have been taken with, or without a dispensation, in compliance with beretical laws, all their concern must be how to evade or break them with fafety. Thus they pay a duuful regard to their supreme directors. They have frequently renewed constitutions and decrees against those who swear or oblige others to fwear (what they call) unlawful, impossible and damnable oaths, and which contradict the rights and liberties of the church, and the decrees of the council of Trent (fee Bullarium Magnum, vol. II. 1584. pag. 513.) Invocatio constitutionis Nic. 3i. et aliorum sanctionum, contra jurantes et jurare facientes, illicita, impossibilia. damnosa et ecclesiasticæ libertati, ac decretis concilii Tridentini adversantia.

This has been the constant and continued language of their fovereign pontiffs; all oaths and contracts made in the most folemn and bind-

binding manner, are declared Nullities by Clem. the XIth, when they contradict what he electors prior and superior obligations. This is properly applied by the bishop of Oxford, in his sermon on the rebellion, preached October 1745, to vain dependences on the words and affurances of the presender.

What has been produced, sufficiently proves the points we have under confideration. Multiplying authorities would be needlefs. ever it would be a useful performance to make an entire collection of whatever is to be found on this subject. The decrees of councils, whatever has been published by papes in all forms; the occasion and consequences of all these determinations and ordinances, should be explained by short historical narratives. This would expose in full colours and proportions the man of fin, the fon of perdition; who has long appeared in our world, not for the quiet and welfare, but the disturbance and misery of human societies, and whose true devotees can never cease to do evil. As they are not their own masters, but must obey their directors, they cannot be treated with any fort of confidence and truft.

From what has been faid, it plainly followeth, there can be no entire dependance on the

evidence

Pag. 16. The most formal declaration he can make, &c. See archbishop Secker's first volume of S. rmons.

criminal cases. The penalties of perjury, and the inconveniencies which attend the infamy of being a falle witness, are their only restraints. The sense and importance of an oath, because taken before an anathematized, and consequently incompetent judge, cannot be duly regarded. When the controversy is betwixt one of their own communion, and a beretic, what arts of falshood and prevarication may not be expected?

The revival of learning in the two last centuries, and the freedom of enquiry, introduced by the reformation, should naturally have produced the disgrace and diminution of popery. For no canfe can be incumbred with groffer abfurdities and more offensive fooleries. But art and policy, great and growing wealth and power, have given it effectual supports, and have caused it to grow and increase both at home and abroad. To the Jesuits belong the chief praise of this wonderful management. They have depreffed and almost totally extinguished the long boasted rights of the Gallican church. All the brave and repeated efforts of parliaments and lawyers have been ineffectual, and have only discovered the power of their adversaries to be great beyoud imagination. Nor have they only got the better of law and argument, but have subdued

a spirit of enthusiasm, which was raised to their prejudice. Thus the court of France, after so many high contests, has been, for some years, entirely devoted to Rome. The head of the beast, which seemed wounded to death, has been healed, and all that part of the world wondereth after the beast and worshippeth his image *.

Some plaufible and fuperficial observers among protestants, have propagated a groundless conceit, of the abatement of popish cruelty. Because the punishments by fire and faggot have ceased; therefore mildness prevaileth. But do not the burnings in Spain and Portugal, and the difmal apparitions produced to light from the dungeons of the inquisition, afford the most joyous spectacle to a multitude of all ranks, which is constantly assembled on these-occafions? In Italy they have great advantages from travellers, and from none fo confiderable as the expensive English. These refined politicians wifely avoid offending their visitors with such thews. Amongst them, all is performed within the impenetrable precincts of their horrid tribunal.

^{*} Since this tract was written, there has been a change in France for the better, by the expulsion of the Jesuits; which we hope will be productive of greater good in time.

Amazing is the supposition of an abatement of the worst kind of persecution, while the inquisition subsistest in its full force, and with all its arbitrary, secret, and most inhuman practices. As protestantism has in a great measure been totally extirpated where it prevails; the subjects of its vengeance are greatly diminished; but there is no diminution of its vigour and diligence.

In France, when ministers are discovered, the painful death of breaking on the wheel is commonly inflicted; as for others, they are become sensible of the evil policy of losing useful hands; and therefore they are confined to the perpetual slavery of the gallies, which, all things considered, of the two evils, is less eligible than the short, the more shocking punishment of perishing in the slames. How gladly would the other sex change their dismal consinements for martyrdom? As these things are certainly so, how affected must the ignorance be, how great the insensibility of the real strength and true spirit of popery, which for many years hath been so common.

They, of this communion, who live amongst us, have had the impudence to discount this as much as possible; and for the rest, they have VOL. IV.

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many

many disguises. This is one of the many inflances of their assurance and salshood. As their whole foundation is salse, so every part of the superstructure has been carried on by lying, and by all deceivableness of unrighteousness. Their ecclosiassical schemes and orders in Great Britain and Ireland are known; so are the large sums which are expended on this account both at home and abroad. The many affecting and dangerous proofs we had of their enmity to every thing valuable in our constitution, have been so often, and so lately repeated, as to render all remarks of this kind useless.

Just intimations have been given, how a religion, unsupported by all true reason, and void of every good quality, has been maintained and increased. As it is not absolutely necessary, we will not attempt to open and explain some of them, for fear of giving high offence to the great people of both fexes. One thing only should not be omitted. Since the marriage of Charles the Ist, the devout and hely wemen of this communion have been its most useful advocates and supports. They have been, and are eminently fo in our days. When the husband has been well disposed, the teizing and importunity of the wife has obliged him to defift from his good designs. And when they have had the resolution to carry them into execution, domestic 1ife

life has generally proved difagreeable. In perfons of rank and circumstances, there are few! instances, if any, of regard being paid to the better judgment of the man. The endearing benefit of absolution, and a perfect deliverance from frights and fears of the most affecting kinds, must be very engaging arguments with the weaker fex. Strong and confident affertions, high and mighty promifes, with which the agents of Rome abound, are to them far more affecting and convincing, than the utmost clearness and strength of argument. I will not proceed to many other confiderations, but conclude. with a very interesting particular, which seems not to have been commonly known. have been of great and comfortable importance, in fixing the adherence of the ladies to fuch faculties and privileges.

In the collection of letters and other writings relating to the popish plot, in the hands of G. Treby, Esq. and published by order of the House of Common, 1680, at pag. 122 and 123, we have the Latin criginal, attended with a translation, faculties and privileges granted to the right r.v. father in God, John Laker, an English priest; to be by him extended unto and executed, in the kingdoms of England and Scotland, and all other the dominions of the king of Great Britain,

excepting Ireland. The 4th, which is to our present purpose, is as followeth, Of granting a liberty and allowing a right to all from whom due benevolence hath been with-held, or to whom upon any pretence it hath been refused, of demanding and claiming the duties of the marriage bed.—The Latin is much shorter.—Restituendi jus petendi debitum amissum.

MACHIAVEL's

VINDICATION

OF

HIMSELF and his WRITINGS,

AGAINST

The Imputation of Implety, Atheism, and other High Crimes:

EXTRACTED FROM'

His LETTER to his FRIEND ZENOBIUS;

And TRANSLATED into ENGLISH,

By MR. NEVILLES.

[•] See the Life of Mr. Neville, prefixed to the last edition of his Dialogues on Government, printed for Mr. Millar, in the Strand.

MACHIAVEL'S

VINDICATION

OF

Himself and his Writings,

he discourse we had lately (dear Zenobio) and the pressing importunity of
Guilio Salviati, that I would use some
means to wipe off the many aspersions cast upon
my writings, gives you the present trouble of
reading this letter, and me the pleasure of
writing it.—

I have yielded, you see, to the entreaty of Guilio, and the rest of that company, for that I esteem it a duty to clear that excellent society from the scandal of having so dangerous and pernicious a person to be a member of their conversation: For by reason of my age, and since the loss of my liberty, and my sufferings under that monster of lust and cruelty, Alexander de L 4 Medici.

Medici, fet over us by the divine vengeance for our fins, I can be capable of no other design or enjoyment, than to delight and be delighted in the company of fo many choice and virtuous perfons, who now affemble themselves with all security, under the happy and hopeful reign of our new prince Cosimo; and we may say that tho' our commonwealth be not restored, our slavery is at an end, and that he coming in ly our own choice, may prove, if I have as good skill in prophefying as I have had formerly, ancestor to many renowned princes, who will govern this flate in great quietness, and with great clemency; fo that our posterity is like to enjoy ease and security, tho' not that greatness, wealth and glory by which our city hath for some years past, even in the most factious and tumultuous times of our democracy, given law to Italy, and bridled the ambition of foreign princes. But that I may avoid the loquacity incident to old men, I will come to the bufiness. If I remember well, the exceptions that are taken to those poor things I have published, are reducible to three.

First, That in all my writings I infinuate my great affections to the democratical government, even so much as to undervalue that of monarchy in respect of it, which last I do not obscurely in m ny possuges teach, and as it were, persuade the people to throw off.

Next,

Next, That in some places I vent very great impaction, stighting and willfying the church as author of all the misgovernment in the world, and by such contempt make way for atheilm and profanenels.

And lastly, That in my book of the prince, I teach monarchs all the execrable villanies that can be invented, and instruct them how to break faith, and to oppress and to enslave their subjects.

I shall answer something to every one of these; and that I may observe a right method, will begin with the first.——

I shall speak to that which is indeed sit to be wiped off, and which, if it were true, would not only justly expose me to the hatred and vengeance of God and all good men, but even destroy the design and purpose of all my writings; which is to treat in some fort, as well as one of my small parts can hope to do, of the politicks: And how can any man pretend to write concerning policy, who destroys the most essential part of it, which is obedience to all governments? It will be very easy then for Guilio Salviati, or any other member of our society, to believe the protestation I make, That the animating of private men, either directly or indirectly, to dispasse, much less to shake off any government, how

despatical sover, was never in my thoughts or writings. Those who are unwilling to believe this, may take the pains to affign in any of my books, the passages they imagine to tend that way, (for I can think of none myself) that so I may give such person more particular satisfaction.

I must confess I have a discourse in one of my books to encourage the Italian nation, to assume their antient valour, and to expel the Barbasians, meaning, as the antient Romans use the word, all strangers from among us: but that was before the kings of Spain had quiet possession of the kingdom of Naples, or the emperor of the dutchy of Milan; fo that I could not be interpreted to mean that the people of those two dominions should be sirred up to shake off their princes because they were foreigners, fince at that time Ludovic Sfor za was in possession of the one, and king Frederick restored to the other, both natives of Italy. But my design was to exhort our countrymen not to fuffer this province to be the scene of the arms and ambition of Charles VIII, or K. Lewis his successor, who when they had a mind to renew the old title of the house of Anjou to the kingdom of Naples, came with such force into Italy, that not only our goods were plundered, and our lands wasted. but even the liberty of our cities and government

endangered; but to unite and oppose them. and to keep this province in the hands of princes of our own nation, this my intention is so visible in the chapter itself, that I need but refer you to it. Yet, that I may not answer this imputation barely by denying, I shall affert in this place what my principles are in that which the world calls REBELLION; which I believe to be not only a rifing in arms against any government we live under, but acknowledge that word to extend to all clandestine conspiracies too, by which the peace and quiet of any country may be interrupted, and by confequence the lives and estates of innocent persons endangered. REBELLION then fo described, I held to bethe greatest coime that can be committed among men, both against policy, moralit, and in foro cinfcienthat; but notwithstanding all this, it is an offence which will be committed whilft the world lafts, as often as princes tyrannize, and by enflaving and depressing their subjects, make magistracy, which was intended for the benefit of mankind, prove a plague and destruction to it: for les the terror and the guilt be never so great, it is impossible that human nature, which confifts in passion as well as virtue, can support with patience and fubmission the greatest cruelty and injustice, whenever either the weakness of their princes. the unanimity of the people, or any other fa-

vourable accident, shall give them reasonable hopes to mend their condition, and provide better for their own interest by insurrection. So that princes and states ought in the conduct. of their affairs not only to confider what their people are bound to submit to, if they were inspired from heaven, or were all moral philosophers; but to weigh likewise what is probable de facto to fall out in this corrupt ageof the world, and to reflect upon those dange- .. rous tumults which have happened frequently, not only upon oppression, but even by reason of malversation, and how some monarchies have been wholly subverted and changed into democracies by the tyrann; of their princes; as we fee. to fay nothing of Rome, the powerful cantons of Switzerland brought by that means, a little before the last age, to a considerable commonwealth, courted and fought to by all the potentates in Christendom. If princes will feriously confider this matter, I make no question but they will rule with clemency and moderation, and return to that excellent maxim of the antients, almost exploded in this age, That the interest of kings and of their people is the same: Which truth has been the whole defign of my writings to convince them of.

Now having gone thus far in the description of REBELLION, I think my elf obiged to tell you what

what I conceive not to be rebellion. Whofoever then takes arms to maintain the politic constitution or government of his country in the condition it then ii, I mean, to defend it from being changed or invaded by the craft or force of any man (although it be the PRINCE or chief magistrate himself) provided, that such taking up of arms be commanded or authorized by those, who are by the order of that government legally entrusted with the custody of the liberty of the people and foundation of the government: this I hold to be so far from rebellion, that I believe it laudable; nay, the duty of every member of fuch commonwealth; for that he who fights to fupport and difend the government he was born and lives under, cannot deserve the edique name of RE-BEL, but he suho endeavours to destroy it. If this be not granted, it will be in vain to frame any mixed government in the world: Yet fuch is at this day the happy form under which almost all Europe lives, as the people of France, Spain, Germany, Poland, Swedeland, Denmark, &c. wherein the prince hath his share, and the people theirs: Which last, if they have no means of recovering their right, if taken away from them, or defending them if invaded, would be in the same estate, as if they had no title to them, but lived under the empire of Turky or Mufcony: and fince they have no other remedy

birt by arms, and that it would be of ill confequence to make every private man judge when she rights of the people are invaded (to which they have as lawful a claim as a prince to his :) which would be apt to produce frequent, and sometimes causeless tumults, therefore it hath: been the great wildom of the founders of fuch monarchies, to appoint guardians to their libertus which if it be not otherwise exprest, is and sught to be understood, to reside in the estates . of the country; which for that reason (as also. to exercise their theres in the sovereignty, as making laws, levying money) are to be frequently affembled in all the regions of Europe before mentioned : Thefe are to affert and maintain the orders of the government and the laws established, and (if it cannot be done otherwife) to arm the people to defend and repel the force that is upon them: Nay, the government of Arragon goes further, and because in the intervals of the effates or courts, many accidents. may intervene to the prejudice of their rights. or Jures, as they call them, they have during the intermission appointed a magistrate called El Justicia, which is by the law and constitution of that kingdom, to affemble the whole people to his banner, whenever fuch rights are encroached upon; who are not only justified by ... the laws, for fuch coming together, but are feverely

worely punishable in case of refusal: so that there is no question, but that if the kings of Arragon, at this day very powerful by the addition. of the kingdom of Naples, and of Sicily, and the: union with Gaffele, should in time to come invade their kingdom of Arragon, with the forces of their new dominions, and endeavour to take . from them the rights and privileges they enjoy lawfully by their constitution; there is no queftion, I fay, but they may (the' their king be there in person against them), assemble under Justicia. and defend their liberties with as much justice as if they were invaded by the French or by: the Turk. For it were abfurd to think, fince the people may be legally affembled to apprehend robbirs;. nay, to deliver possession forcibly detained against the fentence of some inferior court, that they may andt ought not to bestir themselves, to-keep in being, and preserve that government which maintains them in. toffestion of their liberties and properties, and defends their lives too from being arbitrarily taken away. But I know this clear truth receivesopposition in this unreasonable and corrupt age, when men are more prone to flatter the luft of princes than formerly, and the favourites are more impatient to bear the impartiality of laws than the fons of Brutus were, who complained leges effe furdas; that is, tho' they were fine gentlemen, in favour with the ladies and mini-

sters of kings pleasure, yet they could not oppress, drink, whore, nor kill the officers of justice in the streets, returning from their nightrevels; but the execution of the laws would reach them as well as others, who in the time of Tarquin it seems found the prince more exorable. Nay, the divines themselves help with their fallacies to oppugn this doctrine by making us believe, as I faid before, that it's God's will all princes should be absolute; and are so far in conspira y against all mankind, that they affert, that in the text, this shall be the manner of your kings; God was giving that people the Jus Divinum of government, when in truth he was threatning them with the plagues of tyrants. But I spare the divines here, fince I shall have occasion in difcourling of my next acculation, to shew how that fort of people have dealt with God's truth, and with the interest of men; and to be as good as my word, I shall prefently fall upon that point. having been tedious already in the former.

I am charged then in the second place with impiety, in vilifying the church, and so to make way
for atheism. I do not deny but I have very frequently in my writings laid the blame upon the
church of Rome, not only for all the misgovernment of Christendom, but even for the depravation, and almost total destruction of christian
religion itself in this province; but that this
discourse

discourse of mine doth or can tend to teach men impiety, or to make way for atheifm, I peremptorily deny: And although for proof of my innocence herein, I need but refer you and all others to my papers themselves as they are now published, where you will find all my reasons drawn from experience, and frequent examples cited, which is ever my way of arguing.; yet fince I am put upon it, I shall in a few lines make that matter possibly a little clearer, and shall first make protestation, that as I do undoubtedly boje by the merits of Christ, and by faith in bim, to attain eternal salvation, so I do firmly believe the christian profession to be the only true religion now in the world. Next I am fully perfuaded that all divine virtues, which God then designed to teach the world, are contained in the books of the holy Scriptures, as they are now extant and received among us. From them I understand, that God created man in purity and innocence, and that the first of that species by their frail y lost at once their integrity and their paradife, and entailed fin and mifery upon their py-Sterity: That almighty God, to repair this lofs, did out of his infinite mercy, and with unparalleled grace and goodness, send his only bezotten son inter the world to teach us new truths, to be a perfect example of virtue, goodness and obedience, to restore true religion, degenerated among the Jews into fuperstition, formality and hypocrify, to die for the fal-

passion of mankind, and in fine, to give to us the boly spirit to regenerate our bearts, support our saits, and lead us into all truth.

Now if it shall appear, that as the lust of our first parents did at that time disappoint the good intention of God in making a pure world. and brought in by their disobedience the corruptions that are now in it; fo that fince likewife. the bishops of Rome by their unsatiable ambition and avarice, have designedly, as much as: in them lies, frustrated the merciful purpose he had in the happy restauration he intended the world by his Son, and in the renewing and reforming of human nature, and have wholly defaced and spoiled christian religion, and made it a worldly and heathenish thing, and altogether uncapable, as it is practifed among them. either of directing the ways of its professors to virtue and a good life, or of faving their fouls bereafter; if I say this do appear, I know no reason why I, for detecting thus much and for giving-warning to the world to take heed of their ways, should be accused of impiery, oratheifm; or why his HOLINESS should be fo inraged against the poor inhabitants of the vallies in. Savoy, and against the Albigenses for calling bim antichrift. But to find that this is an undoubted: truth, I mean that the popes have corrupted; christian

christian religion, we need but read the New-Testament, acknowledged by themselves to be of infallible truth, and there we shall see that the faith and religion preached by Christ, and fettled afterwards by his apostles, and cultivated by their facred epiftles, is fo different a thing from the christianity that is now professed and taught at Rome, that we should be convinced that if those boly men should be sent by God again into the world, they would take more pains to confute this Gallimaufiy, than ever they did to preach down the tradition of the Pharifees, or the fables and idolatry of the Gentiles, and would in all probability fuffer a new martyrdom in that city under the vicar of Christ, for the fame doctrine which once animated the heathen tynants against them. Nay we have something more to fay against these SACRILEGIOUS: PRETENDERS to God's power; for whereas all other falle worships have been fet up byfome politic legislators, for the support and prefervation of government, this false, this spurious religion brought in upon the ruins of christianity by the popes, hath deformed the face of government in Europe, destroyed all the good principles and morality left us by the heathens. them elses, and introduced instead thereof fordid cawardly, impolitic notions, whereby theyhave subjected mankind, and even great princes.

and states to their own empire, and never suffered any orders or maxims to take place where they bave had power, that might make a nation wife, bonest, great or wealthy. This I have fet down so plainly in those passages of my book which are complained of, that I shall say nothing at all for the proof of it in this place, but refer you thither; and come to speak a little more particularly of my first affertion, That the pope and his clergy have depraved christian religion: Upon this fubject, I could infinitely wish, now letters begin to revive again, that some learned pen would employ itself, and that some person versed in the chronology of the church, as they call it, would deduce out of the ecclefiastical writers, the time and manner how these abuses crept in, and by what arts and steps this Babel that reaches at heaven, was built by these sons of the earth. But this matter, as unfuitable to the brevity of a letter, and indeed more to my fmall parts and learning, I shall not pretend to. being one who never hitherto fludied or writ of theology, further than it did naturally concorn the politicks; therefore I shall not deal by the New Testament, as I have done formerly by Titus Livias, that is, make observations or reflections upon it, and leave you and Mr. Guilio and the rest of our society to make their judgment, not citing, like preachers, the chapter or verse, because the reading the holy Scriptuse is little used, and indeed hardly permitted atmong us.

To begin at the top, I would have any reafonable man to tell me whence this unmeasurable power, long claim'd, and now possessed by the bishop of Rome is derived; First, of being Christ's vicar, and by that, as I may so fay, pretending to a monopoly of the holy spirit, which was promised and given to the whole church, that is, to the elect or faints, as is plain by a clause in St. Peter's fermon, made in the very fame time that the miraculous gifts of the spirit of God were first given to the apostles, who fays to the Tews and Gentiles, Repent and be baptized every one of you, in the name of Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins, and you shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost; for this promise is to you and your children, and to all that are afar off, even as many as the Lord our God Shall call.

Next, to judge infallibly of divine truth, and to forgive fins as Christ did, then to be the head of all ecclesiastical persons and causes in the world, to be so far above kings and princes, as to judge, depose and deprive them, and to have an absolute jurisdiction over all the affairs in Christendom, in ordine ad spiritualia; yet all this the canonists allow him, and he makes no

fcruple to assume, whilst it is plain, that in the whole New Testament there is no description made of such an officer to be at any time in the church, except it be in the prophecy of the Apocalypse, or in one of St. Paul's epistles, where he says, Who it is that shall sit in the temple of God, shewing himself that he is God. Christ tells us, his kingdom is not of this world, and if any will be the greatest among his disciples, that he must be servant to the rest; which shews, that his followers must be great in sanctity and humility, and not in worldly power.

The apostle Paul writing to the christians of these times, almost in every epistle commands. them to be obedient to the higher powers or magistrates set over them: And St. Peter himfelf (from whom this extravagant empire is pretended to be derived) in his first epistle bids As submit ourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's fake, whether it be to the king, or, &c. . And this is enjoined, although it is plain that. they who governed the world in those days. were both heathens, tyrants and usurpers : and in this fubmission, there is no exception or proviso for ecclesiastical immunity. The practice as well as precepts of these holy men, shews plainly, that they had no intention to leave succesfors, who should deprive hereditary princes from

their right of reigning, for differing in religion, who without all doubt are by the appointment of the applicand by the principles of christianity, to be obeyed and fubmitted to in things wherein the fundamental laws of the government give them power, though they were Jews on Centiles. .. If I should tell you by what texts in Stripture, the popes claim the powers before mentioned, it would fir up your laughter, and prosectoo light for fo ferious a matter; yet, because possibly you may never have heard so much of this subject before, I shall instance in a few : they toll you therefore, that the jurisdiction they pretend over the church, and the power of pardoning fins comes from Christ, to St. Peter, and from him to them. Thou art Peter, and up:n this rock I will build my hurch; I will give the keys of the kingdom of heaven, what foever thou shalt. bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatfoever thou shalt loofe on earth, &c. From these two texts, ridiculously applied, comes this great eree, which hath with its branches overspread the whole earth, and killed all the good and wholesome plants growing upon it : The first text will never by any man of fense be understood to say more than that the preachings, sufferings and ministry of Peter was like to be a great foundation and pillar of the doctrines of Christ: the other text, as also another spoken by our

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Saviour to his apostles, Whose fins ye remit they are remitted, and whose fins ye retain they are retained, are by all primitive fathers interpreted in this manner, Whereforever ye shall effectually preach the gofpel, you shall carry with you grace and remission of fins to them which shall fallows your instructions : But the people wbo shall not have these joyful tidings communicated by you to them, shall remain in darkness and in their fins. any will contest, that by some of these last texts. that evangelical excommunication, which was afterwards brought into the church by the apostles, was here prefignified by our great master; How unlike were those censures, to those now thundered out, as he calls it, by the pope? thefe were for edification and not destruction, to afflict the flesh for the falvation of the foul; that appstolical ordinance was pronounced for some notorious scandal or apostacy from the faith, and first decreed by the church, that is, the whole congregation present, and then denounced by the pafter, and reached only to debar fuch person from partaking of the communion of fellowship of that church till repentance should re-admit him, but was followed by no other profecution or chastisement, as is now practised. pose all these texts had been as they would have them; how does this make for the successors of St. Peter, or the rest? Or how can this prove

the history of Rame to have right to such sucaction ? But I make halte from this subject, and shall urge but one text more, which is, The fpiritual man judgeth all men, but is bimfelf judged of . some: from whence it is inferred by the canowaids, that first, the pope is the Spiritual man; and shen that he is to be judge of all the world; and Last, that he is never to be liable to any judgment .. himfelf: whereas it is obvious to the meanest understanding, that St. Paul in this text means to distinguish between a person inspired with the spirit of God, and one remaining in the state of nature; which latter, he fays, cannot judge of those heavenly gifts and graces, as he explains himself, when he says, The natural man . cannot discern the things of the spirit, because they are foolishness unto him.

To take my leave of this matter, wholly out of the way of my studies, I beg of you, Zenobio, and of Guilio, and the rest of our society, to read over carefully the New Testament, and then to see what ground there is for purgatory, by which all the wealth and greatness hath accru'd to these men; what colour for their idolatrosu worship of saints and their images, and particularly for speaking in their hymns and prayers to a piece of wood, the cross I mean, Salve Lignum, &c. And then fac nos dignosbenessiorum Christia.

as you may read in that office; what colour, or rather what excuse for that horrid unchristian and barbarous engine, called the inquisition, brought in by command and authority of the pope; the inventor of which Peter, a Dominican friar, having been slain among the Albigenses, as he well deserved, is now canonized for a faint, and filled San Pietro Martine.

In the dreadful prisons of this inquisition, many faithful and pious christians, to say nothing of honest moral Moors or Mahometans, are tormented and familhed, or if they out-live their sufferings, burnt publickly to death, and that only for differing in religion from the pope, without having any crime or the least misdemeanor proved or alledged against them; and this is inflicted upon these poor creatures, by those who profess to believe the Scripture. which tells us, that faith is the gift of God, without whose special illumination no man can obtain it, and therefore is not in reason or humanity to be punished for wanting it. Christ himself hath so clearly decided that point in bidding us let the tares and the wheat grow together till the harvest, that I shall never make any difficulty to call bim ANTICHRIST, who fall use the least persecution whatsever against any differing in matters of faith from himself, whether

the person so diffenting, be heretic, Jew, Gentile or Mahometan.

Next I befeech you to observe in reading that hely book, though christian fasts are doubtless of divine right, what ground there is for enjoining fish to be eaten, at least flesh to be abstained from for one third part of the year, by which they put the poor to great hardship, who not having purses to buy wholfome fish, are subjected to all the miseries and diseases incident to a bad and unhealthful diet: whilft the rich, and chiefly themselves and their cardinals, exceed Lucullus in their luxury of oysters, turbats, tender crabs and carpioni, brought some hundreds of miles to feed their gluttony upon these penitential days of abstinence from beef and perk. It may be it will lie in the way of those who observe this, to enquire what St. Paul means, when he fays, that in the latter days some shall depart from the faith, forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats, which God bath created to be received with thank seiving : but all these things, and many other abuses brought in by these perverters of christianity, will I hope ere long be enquired into by some of the disciples of that bold friar *, who the very same year which I prophefied, that the fcourge of the church was not far off, began to thunder against their indul-

^{*} Martin Luther.

gences, and fince hath questioned many tenets long received and imposed upon the world. 'F shall conclude this discourse, after I have said a sword of the most bellish of all the innovations brought in by the popes, subich is, the CLERGY: thefe are a fort of men, under pretence of ministring to the people in holy things, fet apart and feparated from the rest of mankind, from subom they have a very distinct and a very opposite interest by a human ceremony, called by a divine name, viz. OR-DINATION; these, wherever they are found with the whole body of the monks and friars, who are called the regular clergy, make a band which may be called the JANIZARIES of the papacy; these bave been the causes of all the soloecisms and immoralities in government, and of all the impieties and abominations in religion, and by.confequence of all the diforder, villany and corruption seve suffer under in this detestable age; these men, by the bishop of Rome's help, bave crept into all the governments of Christendom, where there is any .mixture of monarchy, and made themselves a third eflate, that is, have by their temporalities which are almost a third part of all the lands in Europe, given them by the blind zeal, or rather folly of the northern people, who over-ran this part of the world, flept into the throne, and what they cannot perform by these secular helps, and by the dependency their vassals have upon them, · .they

they fail not to claim and to usurp by the power they pretend to have from God and his vicegerent at Rome. They exempt themselves, their lands, and goods, from all fecular jurisdiction, that is, from all courts of justice and magistracy, and will be judges in their own causes, as in matters of tythe, &c. and not content with this, will appoint courts of their own to decide foveraignty in testamentary matters and many other causes, and take upon them to be the sole punishers of many great crimes, as witchcraft, forcery, adultery, and all uncleannels. To fay nothing of the afore-mentioned judicatory of the inquisition; in these last cases, they turn the offenders . over to be punished (when they have given sentence) by the fecular arm, fo they call the magistrate, who is blindly to execute their decrees under pain of hell-fire, as if christian princes and governors were appointed by God only to be their brave's or hangmen: they give protection and fanctuary to all execrable offenders, even to murderers themfelves, whom God commanded to be indispensably punished with death, if they come within. their churches, cloysters, or any other place which they will please to call holy ground; and if the ordinary justice, nay, the sovereign power do proceed against such offenders, they thunder out their excommunication, that is, cut off from the body of Christ not the prince only,

but the whole nation and people, shutting the church-doors, and commanding divine offices to cease, and sometimes even authorizing the people to rife up in arms, and confrain their governors to submission, as happened to this poor city in the time of our ancestors, when for but forbidding the fervant of a poor Carmelite friar who had yowed poverty, and should: have kept none, to go armed, and punishing his disobedience with imprisonment, our whole fenate with their Gonfalonier were constrained to go to Avignon for absolution, and in case of refusal had been massacred by the people. It would almost astonish a wife man to imagine how thefe folks should acquire an empire so destructive to. christian religion, and so pernicious to the interest of men: but it will not feem fo miraculous to. them who shall seriously consider, that the clergy bath been for more than this theusand years. upon the catch, and a formed united corporation against the purity of religion and the interest of mankind, and have not only wrested the holy. Scriptures to their own advantage, which they have kept from the laity in unknown languages, and by prohibiting the reading thereof; but made use likewise, first, of the blind devotion and ignorance of the Goths, Vandals, Huns, &c. and fince of the ambition and avarice of christian

christian princes, stirring them up one against another, and fending them upon foolish ermands to the holy land, to lose their lives, and to leave their dominions in the mean time exposed. to themselves and their accomplices. have besides, kept learning and knowledge among themselves, stifling the light of the gofpel, crying down moral wirtues as splendid fins, defacing human policy, destroying the purity of the christian faith and profession, and all that was virtuous, prudent, regular and orderly upon earth: so that whoever would do God and good men service, get himself immortal bonour in this life, and eternal glory in the next, would restore the good policy (I had almost faid with my author Livy, the fanctity too) of the beathens, with all their valour and other glorious endowments; I fay, whoever would do this, must make himfelf powerful enough to extirpate this curfed and apostate race out of the world. And that you may fee this is lawful as well as necesfary, I shall fay but one word of their calling and original, and then leave the subject. The word CLERGY is a term wholly unknown to the Scriptures, otherwise than in this fense, a peculiar people, or God's lot, used often for the whole Jewish nation, who are likewise called a kingdom of priests in some places. in the New Testament, the word Cleros is M 4 taken:

taken for the true believers, who are also called the elect, and often the church, which is the affembly of the faithful met together, as is eafily feen by reading the beginning of most of St. Paul's epiftles, where writing to the church or churches, he usually explains himfelf, To all the faints in Christ, sometimes, To all who have obtained like faith with us, fometimes. To all who in all places call upon the name of the Lord Jesus, &c. by which it appears, that neither the word CHURCH nor CLER-GY, was in those days ever appropriated to the pastors or elders, of the flock, but did fignify indifferently all the people affembled together; which is likewife the literal construction of the word Ecclesia, which is an affembly or meeting. In those congregations or churches was performed their ordination, which properly fignifies no more than a decree of fuch affembly, but is particularly used for an election of any into the ministry; the manner was this: fometimes the apostles themselves in their peregrinations, and fametimes any other eminent member of the church did propose to the society, (upon vacancy or other necessity of a pastor, elder or deacon) some good hely man to be elected, which person if he had parts or gifts, such as the church could edify by,

was chosen by the lifting up of hands, that is, by fuffrage; and oftentimes hands were laid upon him, and prayer made for him: these men so fet apart' did not pretend to any confecration or facredness more than they had before, much less to become a distinct thing from the rest of mankind as if they had been metamorphofed, but did attend to perform the several functions of their calling, as prophefying, that is, preaching the gospel, visiting the sick, &c. and never intermisted the ordinary business of their trade or profession, unless their church or congregation wasvery numerous, in which case they were maintained by alms or contributions, which was laid afide by every member, and collected the first day of the week by the deacon; this was faid to . be given to the church, and was employed by fuffrage of the whole collective body to the poor and to other incidencies: fo far was it from facrilege in those days to employ churchgoods to lay-uses. From these words, Church, . Clergy, Ordination, Pastor, (whith last hath . been translated of late years Bishop) you fee what conclusions these man have daduced, and how immonse . a structure they bave raised upon so little a foundation; and how easily it will fall to the ground, when God shall inspire christian princes and M 5 flates ..

states to redeem his truths and his poor enflaved members out of their clutches, and to bring back again into the world the true original christian Faith with the apostolical churches, pastors and ordination, so consistent with moral virtue and integrity, so helpful and conducing to the best and most prudent policy, so sitted for obedience to magistracy and government; all which the world hath for many years been deprived of by the execrable and innate ill quality which is inseparable from priest-crast, and the conjuration or spell of their new invented ordination, by which they cry with the poet,

Jam furor bumanum nostro de pectore sensum Expulit, & tetum spirant pracordia Phæbum.

Which makes them so facred and bely, that they have nothing of integrity, ar indeed of humanity lest in them. I hope I shall not be thought impious any longer upon this point, I mean for vindicating christian religion from the assaults of these men; who having the considence to believe, or at least profess themselves the only instruments which God hath chosen, or can choose to teach and reform the world, though they have neither moral virtues nor natural

parts equal to other men, for the most part, have by this pretence prevailed fo far upon the common fort of people, and upon some too of a better quality, that they are perfuaded their falvation or eternal damnation depends upon believing or not believing of what they fay. I would not be understood to disswade any from honouring the true apostolick teachers when they shall be re-established among us, or from allowing them (even of right, and not of alms or courtefy) fuch emoluments as may enable them cheerfully to perform the duties of their charge, to provide for their children, and even to use bospitality, as they are commanded ? by St. Paul. But this I will praphely before I conclude, that if princes shall perform this busis mess by halves and leave any root, of this clargy or prieft-croft as it now is in the ground; or if that . RAMOUS REFORMER*, fled forme years fince out of Piccardy to Geneva, who is of fo > sucest renown for learning and parts, and whe premifer us se perfect a reformation, Salt not in his model whelly exterpate this fort of men; then I' pay, I must foretal shat as well the magistrate, as .. this workman, will find themfelves deceived in their

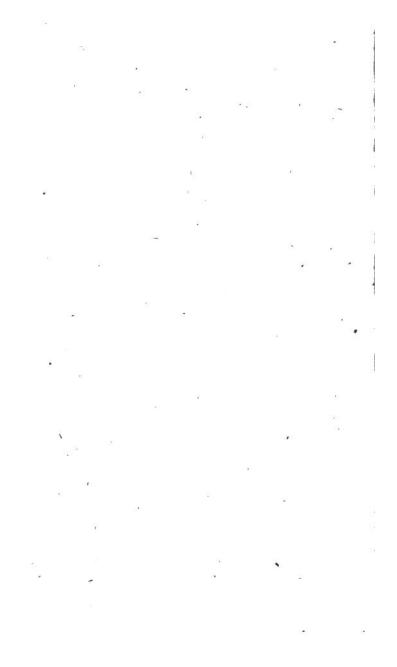
Calvin.

expellation, and that the least sibra of this plant will ever-run again the whole vineyard of the Lord, and turn to a diffusive papacy in every diocese, perhaps in every parish: So that God in his mercy inspire them to cut out the core of the ulcer, and the bag of this impossibume, that it may never rankle or fester any more, nor break out hereafter to diffuse new corruption and putrefaction through the body of Christ, which is his holy church, to vitiate and infest the good order and true policy of government.

I come now to the last branch of my charge; which is, That I teach princes villany, and how to enflave and oppress their subjects. If any man will read over my book of the Prince with impartiality and ordinary charity, he will easily perceive that it is not my intention therein to recommend that government, or those men there described to the world; much less to reach men to trample upon good men, and all that is facred and venerable upon earth, laws, If I have religion, honesty, and what not. been a little too punctual in describing these monsters, and drawn them to the life in all their lineaments and colours, I hope mankind will know them the better, to avoid them, my treatife being both a fatire against them and a true character of th' m .-

Whoever in his empire is tied to no other rules than those of his own will and lust, must either be a saint or else a very devil incarnate; or if he be neither of these, both his life and his reign are like to be very short: for whosever takes upon him so execrable an employment as to rule men against the laws of nature and reason, must turn all topsic turvy, and never stick at any thing; for if once he halt he will fall and never rise again, &c. And so I bid you farewell.

(1 April 1537).



REASONS

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AGAINST

RESTRAINING

THE

P R E S S.

The Author Dr. TYNDAL.

First Printed in the Year 1704.



REASONS

AGAINST

RESTRAINING.

THE

PRESS*

F any restraint is to be put upon the press, it must be either on a RELIGIOUS OF CIVIL account.

All that can be pleaded for it on the score of religion, is, that 'tis necessary to prevent mens being led into error; and as a consequence of that, nothing is to be printed that may tempt them to question the truth of any part or point of the established religion.

^{*} I have a copy of this tract, which belonged to Anthony Collins, E(q; wherein it is ascribed to Dr. Tyndal, and therefore there can be no doubt that he was the real author.

In order to answer this, I must beg leave to observe, that nothing is more certain than that God does not require of men impossibilities, as a means to obtain their future happiness; and consequently all that he desires of them, is to use their rational faculties after the best manner they can, for the discovery of his will: He therefore that does this, the never so much mistaken, is as acceptable to God, who is no respecter of persons, as he that's not mistaken, since he has done all that God requires of him, and the other could do no more.

To affirm his mistakes are sinful, is to make God the author of sin, in so framing his understanding, that after he had done all he could to avoid error, he necessarily sell into it. And if it be the height of impiety to condemn one of sin for obeying God's commands in impartially examining, it can be no less impious to affirm the opinion unavoidably caused by so doing to be a sin.

How happy would men then be, if, notwithstanding their difference of opinion, they would allow on all sides, that impartiality and fincerity were sufficient to recommend them to-God, and by consequence to one another? Going a step further than this, justifies the severest method of the inquisition: for if men can be guilty of impiety, blasphemy, and other damnable opinions, tho' on the strictest examination they judge them agreeable to the will of God; and if it be the duty of those that are in power in every nation to prevent this, they are bound to restrain not only the liberty of printing, but of preaching; and to use the severest methods they can, to hinder the spreading of whatever they apprehend to be such opinions. But,

If God will judge men as they are accountable, that is, rational creatures; their rewards, whether they hit or miss of truth, will be in an exact proportion to the use they make of their reason: and consequently no opinion can be as sin, but for want of an impartial examination; and according as that has been more or less omitted, so one is more or less accountable.

If this, how paradoxical foever at first lightit may appear to some, is upon examination demonstratively true; What can be more unreasonable, than on pretence of preventing the growth of dangerous errors, to restrain the press, and thereby hinder men from seeing, and

consequently from examining the reasons that make against the established religion? when without an impartial examination, let our religion be never so true, we hold it guiltily, and with it, though never so false, ianocently. But,

What can be more inconsistent with this grand duty of examination, than a restraint on the press, since there can be no other cause assigned why 'tis unlawful to publish arguments against the state religion, but because 'tis unlawful to read them, that being the sole reason of forbidding the publishing of them? And if it be once supposed unlawful to read, it must be as unlawful to hear or think any thing, that inclines one to question the truth of any part or point of the national religion: and consequently it makes it every one's duty, in all countries whatever, to profess that without the least examination. But,

If one has no reason to expect a heaven, who will not be at the pains to examine what 'tis God requires of him, in order to his coming there; what a condition must be be in, who not only neglects this himself, but labours

and ORTHODOXY Spaken. 285

The examining the reasons on all sides (for prevention of which the press is to be restrained) not only makes the mistaken acceptable to God, but is the only method that can be taken to prevent mistakes; for which end God has commanded every one to judge of bimself, to try the spirits, to prove all things, &c. And therefore those divines that are for mens trying nothing, or knowing nothing, but what pleases the licensed guides in every country, give God himself the lie, after the worst manner that can be. And

The more people are subject to mistake, the less reason there is to rely on any one side, but with care and diligence to examine the reasons of all, and consequently the pressonght to be open to all. And when a discourse is printed, men by viewing and reviewing it, may form a better judgment, than when this only spoken.

In answer to this, 'tis said, and alike said every where, that men may have an impartial 286 The Pillars of PRIESTCRAFT information from the clergy of the established church. But

Are not they under a greater restraint than others, being obliged to profess those opinions to which their preferments are annexed, or elfe to starve? fo that in this case, 'tis not the man, but the bishoprick, the deanery, the prebend, the rectory that preaches and prints nemine contradicente, popery in one place, Lutheranism in another, Calvinism in a thirdand they possibly may think it but fair to maintain fuch opinions as maintain them; though to fpeak the truth, the opinions generally maintain the priests, better than the priests maintain the opinions. Are men, fo bound and shackled, likely to give a fair representation of what can be faid against them, when the only cause they can alledge for restraining the prefs, is to hinder people from knowing it? Do not the blind lead the blind, when the guides on which others are wholly to depend, are not trusted to guide themselves?

In a word, all other methods but this of examining, will equally ferve to promote any religion, though never to fulfe, and confequently quently cannot be the way to distinguish the true from the many false ones; but are the pious frauds and holy cheats, of not very pious and very holy men, to keep the people in a blind obedience.

As this method is the only way to discover ernth, fo 'tis this that makes it most effectual's where men without examination entertain a religion, it will have but little influence on their practice. What does not convince the understanding, can have but a small effect on the will: And as far as the reasonableness of an opinion is feen, so far only can it operate on a rational creature; and the more examination renders it so, the more force it will have on the affections, which are not moved without some sensible connexion between the cause and the effect. For this reason thinking men, truth being endeared to them as the discovery of their own industry, are for the most part very conscientious; while those that owe their religion to the chance of education, have generally no more regard to it, than if they owed it to the chance of a die, If then the freedom of the prefs contributes not only to endear truth

arnth when discovered, but to the discovery of it; and if that fails, to make even error itself innocent, all the arguments on the account of religion do most religiously contend for its entire liberty. To which let me add, that

The noble art of printing, that by divine providence was discovered to free men from the tyranny of the clergy they then groaned under, and without which the protestant religion must have proved abortive, ought not to be made a means to reduce us again under sacerdotal stavery. And

If our ancestors could not secure themselves from more than Egyptian bondage, which the pulpits brought on them, without the affistance of the press: What hopes have we to defend ourselves against both, when by the means of the latter, the clergy have much greater opportunities, as well as abilities, to accomplish their designs?

The restraint of the press is consistent enough with popery; but for protestants to attempt it, is striking at the foundation of their religion, which is built on the natural right every every one has of judging for himself in matters of religion. But what can favour more of a . blind popish compliance, than so entirely to give up the conduct of religion to a few licenfing priests, as that nothing shall be published but what they think fit? The learned Dr. Clagget saith, (and after the same manner do all our clergy write when they have to do with the papifts) " They that have a good cause, " will not fright men from confidering what es their adversaries say by their books, but er rather encourage them fo to do, that " they may fee the difference between truth " and error, reason and falshood, with their " own eyes. This is the effect of a wellse grounded confidence in truth, and there is 46 the fign of a good cause apparently discern-44 able, in the application of the clergy of the se church of England, both to their friends They defire the one and « and enemies. " t'other, to consider impartially what is said of for us, as well as against us; and whensoever se guides of a party do otherwise, they give 44 inst cause to examine their doctrines more 66 carefully, by how much they are unwilling

Persuasive to an ingenuous trial, p. 28.

to have them examined. This a bad fight, when men are loth to have their opinions feen in the day, but love darkness more than ight."

Every one thinks he has a natural right in all matters of learning and knowledge, except what relates to religion and government, to fee what can be faid on all fides, in order to form his judgment aright; and there can be no reason why these should be excepted, since to have a right understanding in them, is what is most worthy a rational being.

The more useful any science is to mankind, the greater will its abuses be: Divinity, law, physick are sad instances of this. But how can these abuses be discovered, if the press be in their hands that gain by them? What can be more useful than history, especially of one's own country? and can we expect a true information, when only one side is to print? And there are few persons, especially at a distance from London, but would think it a hard-ship to be deprived even of such trisses as the common news-papers, which would not be allowed under a restraint of the press. Nay,

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we could not then hope for an impartial account even in natural things, since an evident truth in philosophy, has been thought a monfrous error in divinity; and a rational discourse on any subject may be hindred from being printed, lest, as the late bishop of Worcester faid of the most rational that ever was writ +, it might be applied to other uses than what the author designed.

Nothing can more discourage men of abilities from writing, than to subject their dismonste to the mercy of an ignorant, or at least an unleisured licenser: such a hardship on the commonwealth of learning, will be apt to make an imprimatur signify no more, than that the book is soolish enough to be printed.

As the people retain a right to offer their advice to their representatives, so there cannot but happen several things, wherein they may receive satisfaction from what is published by those without doors (as happened in the case of the standing army, and several other matters) which may in a great measure be hindered, by the licensers of the press being in-

⁺ The Essay on Human Understanding, by Mr-

292 The Pillars of PRIESTCRAFT fluenced by those, who have an interest to stifle truth.

In a word, as many things as are worth understanding aright, so many arguments are there for the liberty of the press; though the only reason that is pleaded for its restraint upon a civil account, is to prevent false representations of peoples designs and actions, especially of such as are dignished with a publick character. But

Though this may be done by speaking, who ever thought it reasonable, that all but one party of men should have a padlock on their lips? And yet this is all that's meant by a reftraint on the press, since what is to be printed, is left to the arbitrary will of men of this or that party. And there can be no manner of reason, why writing and talking should not be on the same foot, since what's contrary to law is in both cases equally punishable; and a restraint of the press cannot hinder books from coming out by stealth.

What can be more unconscionable, considering how the nation is divided, than to have all but one party restrained from writing in their own defence, whilst that is at liberty to use them as barbarously as they please? With what unchristian temper and inhumane infolence will partymen treat those they are employed to write against? and what misrepresentations, lies and calumnies will they not then be guisty of? 'Tis the danger of being detected and exposed, that makes men write with more temper, as well as more regard to truth.

If the honourable house of commons have,, upon a solemn debate, thought sit to publish their proceedings to prevent being misrepresented, why should they deny those they represent the same liberty? And when both houses have thought it necessary to print, (and one may venture to add, that neither house, without this liberty, would have thought their reputations safe) it cannot be presumed that either house will be putting such a hardship on the nation.

As honour and reputation secure their votaries from committing ill and base actions, so they incite them to all good ones; but if the press be in the hands of designing people, it

may have a quite different effect, and be wholly employed to traduce, as it was is former reigns, the best men both in church and state. And

It will be a great encouragement for men above the ordinary reach of the law, to crush those beneath them, when the press shall speak only in their favour, and the injured are deprived of the last satisfaction that opprest virtue has, of appealing to the people, and justifying their innocence to the world. therefore I cannot fee how one, that has any value for his reputation, will be content to run the hazard of having it put out of his power, to justify himself as publickly as he is Whether what is faid of truth. that none is against truth but where that is first against them, may be applied to the press, I will not determine; but those whose actions cannot bear examination, will, no doubt, be glad of its reftraint, and possibly may add iniquity to iniquity, by pretending they defire it out of affection to the government, or zeal to the church.

The restraining the press may not be so much for the interest of any party, as some fondly imagine; because their being for it, will be apt to make men believe the very worst things their enemies say to be true; and that tis the sear of having their pernicious designs discovered, which makes them take a method, that till now they themselves opposed, and which in former reigns was made use of to advance slavery and popery. But

If this be of no weight, let it be confidered, that the press, jackanapes like (as a scats gentleman said of their king) may be made to bite whomsoever they, in whose custody it chances to be, think sit; and a restraining law no sooner made, but the scene of affairs may so alter, that the party which promoted it, may be scourged with rods of their own providing, and be themselves debarred of that liberty they designed to exclude others from. And possibly some may be glad of such a bill, the better to deprive them of those advantages, which without it they would not think prudent to attempt. But though this might not be the sonsequence at present, who can be

296 The Pillars of PRIESTORAFT fure in what hands the press hereafter may be placed?

As the chief happiness as well as dignity of rational creatures, confifts in having the liberty of thinking on what subject they please, and of as freely communicating their thoughts # fo all good governments that have allowed this freedom, were so far from suffering by it, that it wonderfully endeared them to their people. And no ministry can be hurt by the liberty of the profs, fince they have a number of dependents, ready upon all occasions to write ininflification of their conduct; nay, to gild overthe worst of their actions, and give a fair colour to their most pernicious defigns; and at the same time so to misrepresent the true patriots of their country, that the people, their real friends, being deprived of the liberty of publickly justifying themselves, may mistake them for their enemies, and carefs those that are truly fo.

The liberty of the press must keep a ministry within some tolerable bounds, by exposing their ill designs to the people, with whom if they

they once lose their credit, they will be very unfit tools for a court to work with. But

The arts of state in most places being to enslave, or keep the people in slavery, it became a crime to talk, much more to write about state-matters. And the press in most countries of Europe speaking nothing but court-language; the people, who till the invention of printing had tolerably well preserved their liberty, were by degrees gulled and cheated out of those inestimable blessings. And there's nothing, either with respect to religion or politicks, so destructive to mankind, but may be made, where the pulpit and press conspire together, to pass for divine truths.

The slavish condition the most part of mankind in all ages have been in, shews how much they have been wanting to themselves in not taking alarm soon enough at the chains that were preparing for them. And as there are sew, very sew instances of people's having perceived the intended slavery, soon enough to prevent it; so there are sewer instances of their having taken arms, but upon very just occasion,

In a word, as there is no freedom either civit or ecclesiaftical, but where the liberty of the press is maintained; so where that is secured, all others are fafe. That, like a faithful centinel, prevents all furprize, and gives timely warning of any approaching danger. therefore 'tis to be hoped, that the trustees of the people's liberties will preserve its freedom entire; for if its facred liberty is but once affected, though by never fo gentle a law, 'tis to be feared that this will be used. as an argument to restrain it as much as ever a for then 'twill be easy to engraft a new law, on pretence that the old did not answer the end, as we see 'twas urged in the case of the conformity bill.

As to the obliging authors to fet their names to their works, that can only serve to hinder the publishing the most useful books, viz. those designed to rectify abuses. Besides, this prejudices people for or against a book, and serves as a handle for sulfome stateries, or gross abuses; and we have too frequent instances of mens thinking to attone, for not answer.

and ORTHODOXY shaken. 299 answering the arguments, by railing at the authors. And therefore those writers, such is the author of the Whole Duty of Man, St. that design the utmost good, have industriously concealed their names.

The END.

BOOKS lately published by RICHARD BARON, viz.

- 1. A CORDIAL for Low Spirits, in three Volumes. The third Edition, with great Improvements.
- 2. Milton's Answer to Charles I. The second Edition, with many Passages unknown to all former Editors.





