### THE

## SECOND PART

OF THE

# State Anatomy, &c.

CONTAINING

A short VINDICATION of the former Part, against the MISREPRESENTATIONS of the Ignorant or the Malicious, especially relating to our MINISTERS OF STATE and to FOREIGNERS; with some Reslections on the design'd Clamor against the ARMY, and on the SUEDISH CONSPIRACY.

### The List of white lot a the world

LETTERS to his Grace, the late ARCHEISHOP OF CANTERBURY, and to the DISSENTING MINISTERS of all denominations, in the year 1705-6, about a GENERAL TOLERATION, with some of their Answers to the AUTHOR:

#### WHO

Now offers to Publick Consideration, what was then transacted for Private Satisfaction; together with a Letter from their High-Mightinesses the States-General of the United Provinces, on the same Subject.

To every thing there is a Season, and a Time to every purpose under the Sun\_\_\_a Time to keep Silence, and a Time to speak.

Eccles. 3. 1, 7.

Magna est Veritas, & prævalebit. Ecclus. 4. 41.

The SECOND EDITION.

### LONDON:

Printed for John Phillips; and Sold by J. Brotherton, and P. Meadows, at the Black Bull in Cernbill, and J. Roberts in Warwick-Lane. MDCCXVII. [Price One Shilling.]

## ERRATA.

P. 43e, 11, line 24, belivers read believers. P. 33, in the margin, 38 r. 59. P. 38, h. 13, answer r. answers. P. 45, l. 32, or r. and. P. 48, l. 2 in the mote, theequity r. the equity. P. 52, l. 10, of r. of his. P. 57, l. 14, bette r. better. P. 58, l. 21, followship r. fellowship. P. 65, l. ult. Gazettee r. Gazette. P. 74, l. 5, 1716 r. 1710.

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KINGSTON ONTARIO CANADA



### PREFACE.

O prevent any future Antagonist from encreasing the bulk or price of his elaborate lucubrations, by a curious and very important Disquisition, whether this Preface be written by my self or a friend (as the author of the late Remarks against me has

been at those pains, because I thought fit to speak in the third person) 1. shall now, to gratify such studious enquivers, bespeak my Readers in the first person: assuring them it was out of pure Variety, authorized by frequent custom, I did otherwise in the Preface of the other part; but not as to any the least apprehension I cou'd have, either with relation to the affairs whereof I treated, or the persons which I had occasion to mention. I desire the same may be understood, of my not putting my name to this book, no more than to that: for did the Remarker or his fellow-fervant know any thing of the several reasons, besides caution, that writers may have sometimes not to express their Names, they might have fav'd themselves the labour of telling mine. It was sufficiently publish'd, and by my own friends too, before their libels appear'd. Nor had I been a whit more shy, were I certain beforehand of being attack'd by a thousand answers: for as Error and Falshood may as well be confuted by one man, as by one thousand; so Reason and Truth have no more to fear from one thoufand, than from one man.

WIT H regard to my present task, I have onely two or three things to premise; to make what I have said in some places better understood, or to save it from being misunderstood, at least from being industriously perplex'd and perverted. Upon occasion of what I have written about FOREIGNERS in the following sheets, I shall here acquaint the Reader with one remarkable artifice, among many millions, that were practis'd by the enemies of the present Government, in order to alienate the minds of the people from it, a little before the late Rebellion broke out. The Conspirators observing that by the increase of our Trade, there grew of consequence a greater intercourse of

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strangers, perpetually passing and repassing (most about their affairs, tho many out of curiofity ) they presently published a quarter of a sheet, which was slipt into people's hands as they went along, the most dangerous Quack-bill they ever receiv'd; and vast quantities of them were thrown into houses, or dropt in the streets. The Title of it was, Advice from the Custom-house about the importation of Foreigners to starve our own poor, and devour the fat of the land. The Gentlemen of the Mob were invited to see those strangers come a-shore, but not to see any of them go aboard again for their own Countries. All the Roterdam floops, with some more, were nam'd, and insimuated to have been appointed for this very purpose; that, as other libels affirm'd, we might insensibly have a Hanoverian army brought over. As the party derives its original from the father of lies, and that nothing but lies can support it: so they gave out in this same quarter of a sheet, that the sloops which brought Passengers only, never reported the vessels, and deliver'd the passenger's baggage (which was never fearch'd) by sufferance; as likewise that no Land-waiters were appointed for hips not reported, with the like palpable untruths, reflecting upon some worthy officers of the Custom-house by name. They perform their voyage, fars the Traytor, from the river to Roterdam, and back again in less than three weeks: fo that we are like to be foon flock'd with Foreigners\_\_\_\_ German Foreigners, an excellent commodity to discharge the debts of the nation. He adds, that floops are employ'd, on the like account, in other parts of the kingdom; and concludes, that the whole nation is in danger of being over-run with this fort of vermin, unless timely prevented. Thus simple ignorant people going down to the Customhouse, and seeing great numbers of passengers daily arriving, with their numerous goods and baggage (which is no less the glory than the profit of a trading nation) they were by crafty villains made to believe, that these were comeing to eat the bread out of their mouths, instead of the bread they brought; that all their luggage were knaplacks, tho we cou'd never after let eyes on any of those soldiers, no not to suppress their tumults: and therefore timely to prevent poverty and conquest, they did, as in this libel exhorted, rife in actual rebellion against the mildest

of Kings, who is himself the greatest admirer of our Confitution, and a stricter observer of the Laws than any of his Subjects.

Nunc BRUTUS amaret

Vivere sub Regno tali.

It is a thing therefore most plain and notorious, that the invidious cry about foreigners is directly aim'd at the ROYAL FAMILY: nor needs there a more certain mark of any man's disaffection, than railing in general against the Dutch and the Germans; as of late against the French, since the REGENT has wifely shown himself such a friend to his Country, as to become a friend to

King GEORGE.

OUT of sincere love to his Majesty, I pass over those, at least for this time, who are displeas d with me for letting the world know in several parts of the State-Anatomy (what the event has demonstrably provid to be true) that the King understands the nature and extent of Trade and Credit, as well as any of his Merchants or Bankers; that he's as farr from discharging his Engagements by a Spunge, as he's from thinking the best way of paying national Debts, is to ruin national Credit; that he's able to give lessons to the Officers of his Exchequer, and will be his own High Treasurer, as he's his own first Minister; that he's never to be frighted or forc'd out of his Measures, nor to be long impos'd upon in the choice of his Tervants: and that the old way of combineing into factions. of enrolling into squadrons and phalanxes, will never do with him, who won't fail to examine into the bottom of every thing himself. The men I mean, cannot endure to hear of any King who's a perfect man of business, who will not be govern'd by favorites, and whose favorites they are not to be themselves. But here I leave 'em to grow wifer by my advice, and to share the benefits of that Credit they wou'd destroy, while I proceed to our MINISTERS OF STATE: who, as I hope of them in the 43d page of the following book, and as Count Gyllenborg fays of them in his Letter of November the 4th, W'ONT DO THINGS BY HALVES. Let me add, with all possible respect for their persons as well as their characters, that they'll meet with no more obstruction in doing any thing partly, than in doing it entirely; that they'll be as much malign'd and envy'd envy'd for the half as for the whole; and that the Clamor against them will be equally loud, for an Inch as for an EU. Wise Ministers therefore are arm'd beforehand against all Obstructions, and value no Clamor (which is but a short flurry that spends it self) provided the thing to be done is just, or that it be likewise feasible: and if it be both just and feasible, they'll never think it unseasonable, merely because they are to be envy'd or malign'd for it; since they are sure sure sure fure to be so for willing, no less than for doing; but with this difference, that if they go through with it, they make more friends, whereas if they do not, they add those

friends to their enemies.

I SHALL not at this time enquire, how farr these maxims are applicable in particular to the case of the PROTESTANT DISSENTERS, as to removing the Incapacities under which they ly from serving their King and Country, or even preferving their lives and properties. 1 have amply spoken to this point in the former part, as also in this part, where I push the same argument still further: and not only show in both their just title to any favor, the Parliament will please to show them in this respect; but also the confisency of the same, with the happiness and Safety of the national Church. This I take to be so certain, that were I in a station to draw up the preamble to fuch an Ast, one consideration shou'd be, for the further honour and advantage of the Church of England, and for the better strengthning and securing the same, with the whole Protestant Interest. I have been to'd, its true, by some, who highly profess to think the propo al most reasonable and just, that nevertheless it is not seasonable at this time: but in the light that I view things, I cannot, I confels, think any time, more secsonable, than (first) when very late experience may convince us, that both of us together, Churchmen and Diffenters, are not by much over Brong for the artifices of the Papilts and their accomplices; that (secondly) the Dissenters dureing the last Rebellion, and upon all other occasions, have appear'd to a man most zealous for the King, the Government, and the Reformation; and that (third'y) we cannot, in the prefent conjun-Eture, have too many hearts engaged for the common Caufe. nor too many hands arm'd for the defence of all that's dear and valuable us. As to the thing's being feafible, when tis

To underiably feafonable and equitable, they who are at the head of affairs know best. But if they judgett not yet to be so, it wou'd prove of infinite service to the publick, fince they are innicent themselves, to let us know who they are (befides profest Papists and protestant Nonjurors) that abstruct a matter of this high importance, so neces-Cary for the preservation of the Succession, and so expedient for the UNION of his Majestie's Protestant Subjects. From the grave Sage who fanctify dly deceives every body, to the Milkfop, that like one of Busty's schollars, is afraid of the lash, even after he's transformed into a States-man: they are all without excuse, or plainly have no good meaning, who let flip any favourable opportunity in their power, of serving their country, especially in healing its divisions. This I say in general. So long indeed as any Laws, the ever so burdensom, remain in force, tis the duty of all subjects to bear them with patience; tho it is likewife no lefs their duty than their right, modestly to show the inconvenience, or to defire the repeal of them; and therefore I hope that no DEAD WEIGHT will have upon this desireable UNION; nor that any pettish felf-carvers will make the cementing of Britons and Protestants, a handle to CLOG THE WHEEL'S of the administration. The consequence may convince em too late of their mistake.

BY UNION in this sense I only mean a mutual good understanding, and Christian Charity, among those of the Same Religion, those that profess the same Doctrines; tho differing about Ceremonies, and in some points of Discipline: which ought not to hinder them, as they are all Countrymen, and equally zealous for the Government, to be indifferently employ d in CIVIL AFFAIRS; while the national Church Rands secure in the possession of its dignities and emoluments, and the Dissenters from it continue as secure in the enjoyment of their religious Toleration. How this may be done, I gave a demonstration in the 30th \* page of the State-Anatomy; and, in the next page, declar'd, that a stricter unity in the nature of things cannot be obtain'd, as in the effects it is equal to perfect unity, any other Comprehension being impracticable. Tis certain, that by degrees, this will bring over a world of Diffenters to the established Church; especially if the notion and office of a Bishop be settl'd, as hereafter explain'd. But there can

<sup>\*</sup> Part I. chap, VI.

never be any Comprehension of all the Selfs at once with the Church, as some have vainly fancy'd; or if the Deputies of any one of them, will come to an amicable conference with it, and that they shou'd happen in the end to agree, these can onely promise for themselves: nay if the whole party shou'd come over, tis but as every individual of them (without having any right to conclude for others) is convinced by the arguments offered on both sides. All this is commendable, as are all other ways by reasonable overtures; and the UNION propos'd will ferve all the ends and purposes of Government. or well as the firidest UNIFORMITY, which nothing can procure but an Inquisition. But the State ought to take great care that Churchmen (of any fort) be not left to reform themselves, which they never yet did in any part of the world; eternally wrangling and difputing about trifles, without comeing to any conclusion about material abuses: wherefore the State, as I said, without any regard to their clamors, must set things to rights by its own authority, after the Example of Henry VIII; opportunely discountenancing, and, when there's occasion, effectually chastiseing the troublesome or contumacious.

I SHALL premise nothing in this Preface concerning the other heads of the following Discourse, which I take to be plain enough als ready. I only (ay upon the whole with Pliny +, that tis a very unjust. tho a very ordinary custom, for good or bad Counsels to be either approv'd or condemn'd, merely according as they succeed well or ill: whence it happens for the most part, that the very fame actions are at one time attributed to diligence, at another to vanity; at this time call'd liberty, and at that time madness. Nor is it only the event, but sometimes the person that is excepted against: as some of my adversaries have broadly infinuated, that certain advices I give might come with a better grace from other people, meaning no doubt themselves, cou'd they but have thought of those things: but as in this Discourse I do more than justify my self with respect to their mifrepresentations of my Religion; so were their charge as true. as tis most false, yet those concern'd wou'd not the less hearken to good advice from any hand. Dicearchus | notwithstanding be maintain'd the mortality of the Soul, and consequently deny'd all future rewards (which is an opinion I think inconsistent with society) yet wrote so excellent a Treatise on the government of the Spartans, that a Law was enacted at Lacedemon, which continued a long time in force, enjoining the publick reading of this book once a year in the Court of the Ephori, where all the youth were to attend as Auditors, and confequently as Learners.

<sup>†</sup> Est omnino iniquum sed usu receptum, quòd honesta Confilia vel turpia, prout malè aut prospere cedunt, ita vel probantur vel reprehenduntur: inde plerumq; eadem sacta modò diligentiæ, modò vanitatis, modò libertatis, modo suroris nomen accipiunt. Lib. 5. Es. ult. || Suidas in the word Dicearchus.



### A SECOND

## MEMORIAL,

SEN T

By an intimate Friend to a Foreign Minister, lately nominated to come for the Brittish Court.

**李婷·李婷·李婷·李婷·李婷·李婷·李婷·李婷·李** 

### SECTION I.



HE reasons (My Lord) which you are pleas'd to communicate to me, for your not setting out for this country so suddenly as you once expected, being of such weight with relation to the publick good, I shall the easyer bear my own

disappointment, and labor to moderate the impatience of your other friends. We must, in a word,

make

make a vertue of Necessity. But having told your Lordship in my last Memorial, that your loclinetion had gain'd upon your judgement in pitching upon me for your Correspondent, I am now the more confirm'd in the truth of this; by reason of the undeserv'd commendations you bestow on that same paper, which is become valueable onely by your approbation of it. Since the liberty you gave me of publishing it in print, it has met with more impartial judges, whose exceptions in certain places to the turn and manner of expression, wherein I feem to be fomwhat too positive, I receiv'd with no less docility on my part, than they were by them candidly intended. But it has also met with other Readers very partial and indeed unjust; who at tribute views to me the farthelt in nature from my thoughts, nay directly contrary to my judgement of things, and to the express words of the Memorial it self. Had they censur'd me for want of wit, or language, or method, or address (as angry folks inconsiderately bolt out whatever comes uppermost) I had filently submitted to the Judgment of the Publick, without takeing any more notice of the ignorance or injudiciousness of any particular persons, than I am in the least concern'd at their envy or malice, at their narrowness of soul or prejudices of Education. The World in such cases decides for it self, without being sway'd by the self-love of an Author, or the ill-will of his Antagonists. But when I am not onery charg d with Deligns I never entertained, or ever hard as much as propos'd: but that other persons likewife are taxt as accessory to such Designs, or rather as the principal authors of them, who yet knew no more of my Memorial than the Emperor of China, till they fay it in print; I conceive I amoblig'd oblig'd in justice to them and my self, to undeceive fuch as may have been surpriz'd into a belief of those wicked calumnies and falsehoods, tho otherwise perhaps well-meaning people.

IN doing this, I shall at the same time (to avoid giveing a double trouble to your Lordship) insert in their proper places those further notices you defire, as a Supplement to the State-Anatomy; and which are both fo confiderable and fo many, as to require this Memorial (fince you give me permission to publish it) to be entitul'd a Second Part of the same Work. The first thing that created uneasyness to some of my Readers, was, whether your Lordship be a Lord or no, or indeed whether you have a being: but when these had perfuaded themselves of such important points, as that you were a man and a Lord, then their next enquiry was, which of our Lords? tho I had in capital Letters call'd vou a Forfign Minister. which is to say none of our Lords, and said that you were comeing from another King to wait on our Soveraign King GEORGE. Others wou'd needs still have you to be an imaginary person, and were not a little follicitous to discover from what excellent original I had drawn my Copy. My answer to both these was onely this, that they might e'en fancy what they pleas'd; fince it was all the same thing to the plan of my book, upon which the stile of it wholly turns.

WHEREFORE I told them, in a short Letter which has been likewise made publick, that I cou'd not but be surpriz'd at the weakness of those men, who cavill'd at the Assurances I gave to my Correspondent about several matters, as if I cou'd

have

have talk'd otherwise in the personage I had assum'd of a Memorialist. Besides that if these very As-SUREANCES were not in other places couch'd under the expressions of HOPES and EXPECTATIONS; vet no fair reader wou'd otherwise interpret them. than as my firm belief that such Reformations as I propos'd, and which I still think absolutely necessary, wou'd be made by this excellent Parliament. Thus, in reality, I have been understood by every body, except a few persons; who are so penetrateing and so wise, that is, so suspicious and over-curious in their natures, as to find a mystery in every thing. The reason of this temper of mind is evident. Because they are double in their own dealings, they think every one else is so in his speech; and knowing nothing themselves but as they lick the spittle of others (pardon the expresfion tho proper to the persons) they imagine every man must have his prompters, who writes or speaks beyond the narrow sphere of their comprehension. Nor, in their sage opinion, had I less illustrious prompters for my share, than some of our Ministers of State, and those believe me not the least capable. But after thanking them for the honor of a confidence I was farr from receiving, I desire the favor of them in return to be satisfy'd, if any thing can fatisfy fuch untoward dispositions, that no Minister or Ministers what sever are at the bottom, to use their own words; that neither any Minister, nor any other Person, native or stranger, had the least concern in my book besides my felf. And now I hope they'll commend my felf-denyal for the facrifice I make of their notion of me, which wou'd render some others very vain, but most of all some of these very sagacious Gentlemen. Nevertheless, tho the Ministers (whose apology

apology I shall have a better occasion of makeing lower) were not even privy to the book; yet, such is my good opinion of them, that I despair not of seeing many of those glorious things accomplish'd by their means: which, in my humble judgement, is not onely the most certain way to secure to them the after-same of the Burleighs and the Walsinghams; but likewise to secure themselyes in their posts, in the love of the best people at home, and in the esteem of all people abroad.

IN the same paper I acquainted those niblers at Letters and cavillers at Syllables, that what I had been faying with respect to the Ministry, might ferve for an answer to those wonderfully wise politicians, who gave out that I dictated to the Par-liament: and they must be mad themselves, who cou'd think any man else mad enough, to prescribe to any publick assembly, much less to the Legislative body of the nation; tho every man may lawfully propose to them, what he thinks either expedient or necessary. Surely these men have not learnt to read, or they must have known, that fcarce any thing is ever debated in Parliament, that is not first canvass'd without doors: yet they who either talk or write best on such matters, are neither taken for the authors of them when past into laws, nor faid to have blindly led the Members. Are not a thousand Proposals in a thousand shapes daily offer'd them? and was this ever deem'd a leading them, or a dictateing to them? Is it not an essential Liberty that every subject may take, that has ever been and ever will be taken, without the offence of any, but of those who are against the things proposed? as no body complains of my dictateing (forfooth) to the Parliament, but such

as are heartily displeas'd and vext at the measures I presume to offer, tho with as much dutifulness and deference as can be reasonably desir'd. These people, however, want not a precedent for their grievance: for I remember very well, when the ABJURATION-OATH was first debated in the house of Commons, that a certain member now of the upper house, and who voted against that Oath (which he has since so often taken) said, he lik'd it the worse; because every word which was offer'd in behalf of it, was taken out of a book, entitul'd, Reasons for ABTUREING and ATTAINTING the Pretended PRINCE OF WALES, &c. This occasion'd a loud laughter (as I found a speedy opportunity to be even with that eloquent Gentleman) so farr was the house from thinking I dictated to them by those REASON'S, which nevertheless preceded any mention of the thing within their doors, and which furnisht those without doors with arguments to justify their proceedings. It was with the very same intention, and not without suteable success. that I have been preparing the minds of those without doors now: and if I am over-confident that fome things will be done by those within, according to what is my opinion of their Integrity and their Interest, and yet that these things shou'd not be done; this is but my mistake, for which I shall be glad or forry, as the Event happens to prove. The Parliament is no more infallible than my felf, the the probability of being in the right preponderates infinitely on their side,

AS for the designs of my book, they are very intelligible, and laid down without the least art or disguise in every chapter of it. Some people think I am too plain: but, as I shall never write what.

I wou'd not have understood; so I had no reason, I hope, to be shy of desending the King and his glorious Administration, of setting the strength of his friends and the weakness of his enemies in their clearest light, as well as to show who those friends and enemies were. It was my duty to demonstrate (according to the best of my knowledge) from what fallacies and mistakes, from what wrong principles and peftilent projects, proceeded all the opposition to his Majesty and his illustrious fami-193 which was with the utmost industry represented to the people as inconfiderable, if not obscure. Wherefore, without infifting on the most ancient stem of Wittikind or the Royal blood of the Plantugenets. I gave (what firikes the people more fenfibly) a minute account of the prefent state of this potent house; and particularly how two of the three Empresses now alive are of it, being the King's near relations: that he himself is the father in Law and uncle of a King, the father of one Queen, and the brother of another, with the like happy circumstances; for,

\*Crowns to each fex the house of Brunswick brings,
And stocks the world with matchless Queens and Kings.

In the catalogue of those Princes and States, on whose alliances or friendship the King might depend, it appears since, that I had my reasons for leaving out the K of Same. Besides the just characters of the several branches of the Royal samily, I mention'd many of the numberless benefits the nation

Nam domus hæc utroque petit Diademata sexu; Reginasque parit, Reginarumque maritos.

nation had already receiv'd, and was still like to reap above its neighbors, from the PROTESTANT Succession; which in fo little a time had fignally distinguisht us by an unhop'd for encrease of honor, wealth, and power. And not to enumerate all that you know already, I pointed to fuch ways and means, enforceing them with cogent reasons, as I think are the most likely to secure to us those unvaluable bleffings : desireing you (from time to time) not to doubt of their accomplishment, by reason of the successful choice of our Parliament; with the zeal and ability of his Majestie's Ministers, of whose great Loyalty and other conspicuous merits I gave you exact information. To these general heads may be reduc'd all the particular heads of the State-Anatomy; which some others, I confess, might have done to more advantage, but none with more fincerity or a better intention.

BUT, besides the attacks of Coffeehouse-Politicians, there appear'd a couple of Adventurers against me in Print, the one a Clergyman, the other a Layman: and I do assure your Lord hip, that I won'd never have enter'd the lifts with either of them, did what they say entirely regard my felf; or that innocent persons were not to be wounded through my sides, and a slurr endeavor'd to be cast on a good Cause. It has been my constant practice never to answer Personalities, wherein the reasonable part of the world never concern themselves: but onely then to reply, when an Adversary starts a new subject for me, either serving to illustrate my former argument, or as being it felf of no less importance. This is the case now in more than one respect. Tis true, my Adversaries are not aagreed among themselves about the Performance. One of them says its dull and jejune, without connection and sometimes without sense: the other, that it is written with all possible art, and drest up in the most polish'd garb. But as neither of 'em, nor any fuch as they, can ever help to mortify or exalt me; fo I am perfectly well fatisfy'd with the judgment the Publick is pleas'd to make of my manner of writeing, wherein it has been always one of my principal rules, so to express my self, as to make it impossible I shou'd not be understood. If I am not intelligible accordingly in the State-Anatomy, it was abuseing his time for the Author of the Remarks upon it to write against me; since Nonsense or Obscurity wou'd sufficiently obviate all the ill designs, and expose the false reasonings of it, to do which he professes was his end in writeing: nor wou'd so contemptible a piece deserve to be consuted by an eminent hand, as my Antagonist was modestly proclaim'd beforehand to be; much less, that all the true friends of the Church and Constitution shou'd be fo often call'd upon, in the News-papers, to encourage an antidote against it. Upon these considerations, he might have likewise spar'd his indignation against that great number of persons, who, the showing themselves capable on other occasions of making a reasonable judgment; have

other occasions of making a reasonable judgment; have yet conspir'd to recommend and speak advantageously of a performance, which, even in the most material parts of it, is written without either reason or tolerable sense. Whether this be a greater complement upon those Gentlemen's Understanding, or a demonstration of his own Abilities, the sequel may per-

haps convince you.

I AM inform'd that Dr. F--dd--s, Chaplain to the Earl of Oxford, is the Author of those Remarks, whereof you shou'd never have heard the Contents, if I had not given you this notice my self; for not-withstanding the many advertisements in the Newspapers, I have a very good reason furnisht me by Martial, that no such book appear'd against me at all. Hear and judge.

† F--dd--s to write against my book is said: But he writes not, whose Works are never read.

Whatever the Parent may have suffer'd in the throws, tis certain the Remarks were still-born or overlaid at nurse, for which I shall never quarrel

with him: and yet he's unreasonably anp. 5, 23. gry that the State-Anatomy had receiv'd a
fourth Impression before he made his Answer; as by the five other Editions it has receiv'd
since the makeing of his Answer, he may see how little
capable he was to obviate the further publication, any more than the designs or reasonings of it. He lets
us knows he was but three days about his book, and
to convince us of this, puts not onely a date at the
beginning, Jan. 25, but another at the end of it,
Jan. 28; in order, no doubt, to show us how much
he cou'd do in so little a time: whereas every body
wonders on the contrary, how he cou'd be so long
about so little, or rather about nothing, I mean nothing to the purpose. This is the opinion of the
Publick, and the practice of it too, as his bookseller
can tell. But alass! how can we help the corruption

<sup>†</sup> Versiculos in me narratur scribere Cinna: Nonscribit, cujus carmina nemo legit.

of the times? The same fate with the Remarks will probably befall a System of Divinity the Doctor has been long prepareing; and which, if we may judge of it by the genius of the book before us, is never like to occasion any Schisms or Heresies in the Church. Tho the Author is farr from being of a pacifick spirit, we are notwithstanding pritty secure never to be disturbed by the Fiddesies; so that if this System shou'd not do as much good as others, yet it will do less huit than any System ever did in the world.

NOW to give your Lordship a few specimens, how little capable the Doctor was to take me, or how very willing he was to mistake me (let him chuse which side he pleases) in that shortest chapter of my book that he only attacks, he wonders I shou'd assert it to be impossible for reasonable Men, not to differ about the meaning of ancient books or intricate doctrines; when he cannot produce, as I defy him to do, that one old book in the world (without excepting even the Old Testament or the New) about whose meaning fuch as make use of their reason, are not widely divided: while implicite belivers, and fuch as make no use of their reason, swallow all books alike, without examining into their original or meaning; and consequently, not otherwise differing about them, than as they are taught to prate by rote. The same holds as true of Intricate Doctrines (as of the Trinity or Predestination) which occasions them to be so differently explain'd by reasonable men; whereas there is no disagreement about them among those, who never enquire into their meaning, nor reason a moment about them. The fophistry of this wretched cavil lies in his

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confounding pure and original Reason, with the limited and imperfect exercise of it in mortal men, who have different capacities and apprehensions, no less than different views of things, and different opportunities to examine them.

THUS he uses me throughout. When I say that the differences between those of the national Church and the Dissenters wou'd be of little moment, or easily compos'd, were the notion of a Bishop here once acknowledg'd the same with that of a Bishop in other Protestant Countries; he does, besides abundance of long-winded absurdatics of his own growth (and never was there ranker soil for

fuch than his imagination) challenge me
p. 37. to instance any abroad, who holds that
there is in reality no difference or none of any

moment, between the Episcopal ministers and those of the Independents and Anabaptists. Pray who is there abroad or at home that does not, were there nothing else but Election to be consider'd? And if there were not a difference, why shou'd I wish the notion of a Bishop here and among the Protestants abroad to be declar'd the fame, that the notion of their ministers might likewise become the same? Is not the Notion of a Presbyterian Minister also, tho not in all things as the others, different from that of an Episcopal Minister? else why shou'd the Reordination of the former be no less rigidly infisted on, than of the Independent and Anabaptist Ministers, who onely circumstantially differ from the Presbyterians in Ordination? The case is quite alter'd from the days of yore, did but our Dr. know what belongs to his Profession. But if instead of understanding the Elders (who are further call'd Overseers or Bishops in the 20th of the Acts) to

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be superior Bishops, of a distinct Order in power and jurisdiction from Presbyters, who can onely be regularly ordain'd to any spiritual purpose by such Bishops, and which Bishops themselves must derive an uninterrupted Succession from the Apostles: if instead of this jure divino notion, I fay, Bishops and Elders be understood as different names of the same Order, or that there is an identity of name and office between Bithops and Presbyters, without the necessity of any other Succession but that of the Christian Doctrine, nor of any different power of ordaining the one more than the other; then I doubt not, but the Presbyterians will be content to have persons, duely qualify'd, appointed jure humano' out of the Body of the Presbyters, Superintendents for Life, or Bishops, over all the Pastors and Churches of certain districts (call 'em Dioceses or what other name you will) provided they be still accountable to the whole body, which is the notion of a foreign Protestant Bishop. I say the same thing of the Independents and the Anabaptists, in case Synods be declar'd to be onely for mutual help and advice; but not having power, no more than the Bishops or Superintendents, finally to determine matters of faith, nor to lord it over men's consciences. I repeat therefore once more, what I faid with fo much truth in the State-Anatomy, that an accommodation will be very much facilitated between the National Church and the Dissenters, if the notion of a Bishop here, be happily acknowledg'd the same with that of a Bishop in other Protestant Countries: to which I now add, if they be declar'd to be the same with Usher's primitive Bishop, with Cranmer's Bishop before him, with Ma-Son's Bishop (whereby hangs a story that may be told another time) and with the Bishop of all those English

English Divines, who hold the Episcopate, as superior to Presbyters, to be a dignity of great convenience and antiquity, but not an Order of divine appointment, without which no Presbyters can be ordain'd.

THIS, I said, wou'd nothing diminish an English Bishop's rank or revenue, these being the pure gift of the State, be the notion of a Bishop P137--- 41. what it will. Upon this he runs vain and most childish divisions, about what I mean by the rank and revenue of a Bishop, whatever be the notion of his spiritual order or power? when tis felf-evident to all ingenuous readers, that I mean no other rank than the priviledges of Bishops as temporal Lords, and the incomes of their several Bishopricks, which are indisputably the gift of the State. Much good may it do p. 40. him, with that divine right to a temporal revenue suteable to the character of a Bishop, which he supposes, and which is not matter of grace but of debt in the State : and I further congratulate him on his hopes, that one standing and primary branch of the Constitution may not p. 38. be Legally, at Pleasure, taken away. I thought till now, that to do a thing at PLEASURE, was the contrary of doing it LEGALry, and that therefore the doing a thing LEGALLY, was not doing it at PLEASURE. But thus it is, and ever will be, when certain Animals mumble a thiftle. Another of his quibbles is about the word Communion, as when I say that the Low-Churchmen have a brotherly Charity and Communion with all the Reform'd Churches abroad, which p. 47, 48. he makes to be takeing the Sacrament in the Dissenting Meetings at home; whereas I faid no fuch thing about the latter, but that

that the Low-Churchmen were neither for unchristianing nor for perfecuteing them. But since he gives me this occasion to speak my mind, I wish with all my heart I cou'd say what I did not in that respect, as well for the common interest of the Protestant Religion, as for the particular honor of the Church of England's Charity, and for the lasting peace of these nations.

WITH the same candor he denyes that the High-Churchmen (of whose number he owns himfelf more than once to be) do unchristian the foreign Protestants and our Dissenters p. 53. at home. Unchurching and declaring them not to be of the body of Christ, as the p. 54. Doctor do's, is questionless unchristianing them: and their baptism is declar'd invalid by this very man in formal words, as all Ordinances administr'd by them ineffectual by others, who put them consequentially, and feveral of them expresly, into the same state with Heathens and Infidels; that is, leaving them (as the Divines (peak) to God's uncovenanted mercy, but allowing them no benefit from their sacraments or their faith. To those of the National Church it self, notwithstanding the Christian Ordinances be Episcopally convey'd to them, the Nonjurant part of High-Church allow no better a character, if they approve of Lay-deprivation or pray for King GEORGE, than that of Schismatiok's and Hereticks, of men cut off from the communion of Christ's church, and all the hopes of salvation, as we are assur'd by the Bishops and Clergy in Convocation. But to go on. When I charge the High-Churchmen with being for the uncontroulable power of the Prince, he fays I charge them falsely; they haveing always declar'd that the

the Prince cou'd not lawfully, or with a good p. 55. conscience, exercise such a power. If this be not a Jesuitical evasion, I know not what is; unless deny'd to be so, for the sillyness of it. I was talking of Laws, and he talks of Conscience: which, how much foever it ought to influence all Princes, and does some, yet will it not be left by Low-Churchmen, or other good Englishmen, as a sufficient restraint upon any Princes. King James pretended Conscience for all his breaches on the Laws. The High-Churchmen, on the contrary, have ten thousand times declar'd the Prince to be above all humane Restraints, putting the most odious cases, as the supporting of the Laws, the preservation of our country, wives, or children, nay procureing the falvation of the whole world, as things not to be attempted against the commands of the Prince; for the truth of which and the like numberless examples, I referr your Lordship to the History of Pal-Gve Obedience, which I know you have in your Library among the rest of your English books. As for the question he puts, whether by an unconp. 56. troulable power I mean, that the Prince upon every act of Maleadministration ought to be coerc'd, restrain'd, or depos'd? I auswer, after telling him I never had any fuch meaning, that this wou'd be uncontroulable power in the People but not in the Prince; and such a Power as no Whig, whether Low-Churchman or Dissenter, ever claim'd or approv'd. Yet according to his own perplext way of expression, it is the Principle of the High-Churchmen: but I charitably suppose there must have been some omission of the Printer. Take it which way you will, tis like the legally and at pleasure of our most accurate Aristarchus, tis like his p. 11. directly designing a side-blow. But I despise

spise such poor advantages, as wholly unnecessar to my pen and my Cause.

NOT to tire you, my Lord, with too many fuch examples of stupid ignorance or wilful pre-varication (rare qualifications in the writer of a System) I shall alledge but one more, and it is this. When I say that the Dissenters cou'd have weather'd the Storm of the Schism-Att, if they had been less stanch for the Hanover-Succession, he no less untruely than ridiculously answers; that

they cou'd not have weather'd it, for all they p. 59. cou'd possibly do to weather it was done. For

in the first place, they did not promise to vote for those recommended by the Ministry, nor did they fall in with what were call'd the Queen's measures; neither did they abandon the Interest of the present Royal Family, nor that of the Low-Churchmen. I shall not, as I promis'd you, infift upon any more of his gross and impertinent Sophistry; nor give him any sensible interruption, he needs not fear it, to any other business of more importance. He means, I suppose, the finishing of his System: but I may safely venture to prophefy, that Mr. Lintot will not find his account by half so much in the Doctor's High-Church Divinity, as in Mr. Pope's Heathen Divinity: A fine System-wright indeed, that cannot or will not state any one question fairly; as no question in his whole book is better stated than the following one, and how justly that is done, I leave you to judge: One question, he says, between those of the National Church and the Dissenters, is, whether those,

who have a right to minister in things sacred, p.34,35°s derive their commission from God to that end,

or are only of humane appointment or election? Now to return him a little of his own language, to fee how well this meek Divine likes it upon a review, I affirm that a man must have an overgrown stock of patience

to bear with so base and unjust a representation of things; or be ridiculously ignorant of the first principles of Theology, be blind and thoughtless, to state a question so absurdly; or be supremely impudent, to think of imposeing such an egregious lye upon the world: for all the Dissenters maintain, as well as the Churchmen, that their Ministers must and do derive their commission from God, that they are appointed by the holy Ghost, that none ought to go but those that are sent; and they onely dispute which way of ordaining or sending is the Divine Commission, or the manner appointed by God, as most agreeable to his will and design. That Election, which the Doctor calls humane, they believe to be of divine appointment and example.

THESE are some of the fruits of High-Church Divinity, this is the man that is to give us a System of it; and yet who cannot rightly distinguish between nominal and real Christians, or rather plays fast and

loose with the word Christian in general.

7. The Dissenters are not validly baptized, and

yet they are Christians; that is, they are p. 54. call'd so. They are not regularly or truely in-

corporated into the Church, THE BODY OF CHRIST: and yet they are not in the same Sate with

Heathens, tho all that be not of the body are aliens. O, but we treat them with the greater love and affection, as they PROFESS

the Christian faith; and are for that reason better qualify'd, whenever it shall please God to Open Their Eyes, to communicate with us in all Christian ordinances. Poor people! they have a good disposition towards Christianity: nay they profess to be Christians, tho they are not of the Body of Christ: but tis hop'd in time their eyes may be open'd. Thus speaks the charitable Christianity of High-Church, that consines the Gospel within such narrow bounds, that

bottoms men's peace of mind and their eternal salvation upon niceties, uncertainties, intricate questions, and inextricable difficulties; such as is their uninterrupted Succession with the like chimerical riddles, for rejecting whereof they invalidate the Ministry of most Protestants in the world, and render it inessectual as to all spiritual purposes.

THAT this New CHRISTIANITY is not of the growth of the New Testament, not only feveral learned Members of our Church have unanswerably made out; but has been frankly avow'd by the late Dr. Hickes himself, the great promoter, or rather founder of it, for Mr. Dodwel never went quite the Doctor's length. Here I beg your Lordship's attention to a story, which was more than once told me by the reverend and learned Mr. Dubourdien, one of the Ministers of the French church in the Savoy, and which he gave me free leave to tell again in the publickest manner I pleas'd. I think it was about fix and thirty years ago, that Sir George Whee-ler Bart, one of the Canons of the Cathedral Church of Durham, and Dr. Younger, Dean of Salisbury (both which reverend persons are still alive) with the deceas'd Dr. Hickes, came to Montpellier from their travels in Italy, where you may imagine they had no opportunity of frequenting Protestant Churches. It happen'd to be a little before Easter, and haveing heard Monsieur Isaac du Bourdieu (the father of John) preach, they fignify'd their defire of taking the Communion in his Church, especially at that usual season; provided they might be allow'd to do it kneeling. according to the rites of the Church of England. To this Monfieur Dubourdieu readily confented, telling 'em no Englishmen were ever deny'd that liberty in the Reform'd Churches of France, which did not look upon indifferent Ceremonies to make different RELIGIONS. Communicate therefore they actually D 2 did.

did. Now, Mr. John Dubour dieu meeting, about 3 or four years fince, in Westminster-Hall with Sir George Wheeler (who told him that he came last from Oxford, and that he had seen his old acquaintance Dr. Hickes in this journey) is it not a fad thing, says Mr. Dubourdien, that so learned a Man shou'd run into fuch wild notions about Church, Priesthood, SCHISM, and the like? notions so destructive of Protestancy, if not of Christianity; and directly unchristianing most of the foreign Churches, with a vast number of Protestants at home Pray (continu'd he) if you had any discourse with him upon this subject, did you put him in mind of his haveing communicated formerly himself in our Church at Montpellier? 1 did, reply'd Sir George: and his anfwer to me was, that till then he had onely study'd Divinity in the SCRIPTURES, but that he had since read the FATHERS. Your Lordship may now perceive from what poylonous fountains those of the Nontu-RING-ENGLISH-CATHOLICK CHURCH (as they love to call themselves) have drawn their uncharitable and rebellious Divinity; as there is indeed no extravagancy but may be found in the Fathers, yet nothing more extravagant than Hickesianism. But whether It be in the Fathers or not (for I know the scraps, bad as the Fathers are from which it is tortur'd) we may in time expect to fee a hopeful System of it from Dr. F-dd-s, tho he has thought convenient for certain reasons to take the Oaths.

ISHALL now rid your hands of the Doctor, My Lord; onely takeing notice to you, that he tickles himself extremely with the slings he has had, in so many places of his paltry Remarks, at my Religion, or rather at my Irreligion according to his infinuations. And tis very true, that I have, with many of my betters, suffer'd in my good name on this account from certain men, who have a compendious way

way of circulateing throughout the nation, what character they chuse to fix upon any person, that does not please them in every thing. But they commonly so overcharge their pieces, as to recoil upon themselves. To differ from them in Politicks, as I have ever done, is an irremissible crime: but their principal artifice lyes in decrying all men as irreligious, who do not worship them instead of God. In all the books I ever wrote, there's not one word against Religion; but, on the contrary, several vindications of its purity and excellency from the superstitious practices and the worldly usurpations with which it has been often deform'd, but chiefly by Priests. Yet what by mangling and distorting some passages, and what by confidently reporting to such as have never feen my books, other passages that were never in them, many people have been misled into the most unjust and falsest notions conceiveable. Thus if I write a book to show the Christian Religion to be highly rational and intelligible, and neither contradictory nor obscure: on outcry is straight made, and I am proclaim'd every where not to believe the mysteries of it; which one wou'd think, ought rather to hold true of those, who profess not to understand them at all, or but very imperfectly. If I am provok'd by a grave Divine to write a book, to inform him of several things relateing to the Canon of the New Testament, of which he was till then ignorant: 1 must, without more ado, deny this Canon; especially when I desire the difficulties about it to be more accurately confider'd by those, who feem not willing to be at fuch pains, and are therefore angry to be minded of their business. In fine, if I write a critical or historical account of the Immortality of the foul among the Heathens, I shall pass my felf for one that calls this same Immortality in doubt : as if the more people believ'd it, the less it were to be believ'd; or that the reasons of Christians for believing it, were no better than those of the Heathens. Is it a sign of Religion, or rather is it not of downright Atheism, to use any man thus, to make impressions so much to his disadvantage, out of mere pique and party? Your Lordship knows better things of me; and that as none is more averse to Superstition, so none is more persuaded of Religion. But I hate Priest-craft, and that's my crime. I shall however communicate to your Lordship, lower in this Memorial, some Letters that will argue me not to be so indifferent in matters of Religion, as many of my Pharisaical accusers are themselves.

SUCH, on the other hand, as allow me a Religion, will needs have it to be Socinianism; tho I have always declar'd my felf as little dispos'd to Socinianism (abstracted from the rest of Christianity) as to Muggletonianism; and that in all my Writeings I have never treated of the Trinity, or Christ's Satisfaction, or any other Doctrine whereby this Socinianism shou'd appear, That ever I declar'd my felf a Socinian in conversation, I defy that credible man on earth to be produc'd, who will affirm it : and if they conclude it from my acquaintance with some of that sect, they may as well conclude me a Quaker, or a Jew, or any thing else; since I am acquainted with men of all persuasions, and very well pleas'd to be so with many, that differ the widest from me in Religion. The Socinians however have been juster to me than my pretended Orthodox asperfers. The late Bishop of Worcester having hook'd me into his book against the Socinians, the author of the Agreement of the Unitarians with the Catholick Church asks thereupon, Do we offer this book against the

p. 55. Trinity of the Realists? Was it written with intention to serve us? Does it contain any of our Allegations from reason against the Trinity of Philoponus, Joachim, and Gentilis? We desire him to answer

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the reasons in our own books against the Trinity of the Tritheists: but to these he says not a word, but onely falls upon Mr. T ---- d's book, in which or for which we are not in the least concern'd. Nor do I think the learned and ingenious author will hold himself to be interested to defend that Christianity not Mysterious, which his Lordship presents us with. I am no Socinian then, if either the Socinians or my felf know any thing of the matter. But since, in the first place, my very orthodox Ill-willers have made the world to trouble it felf so much about my Religion, when I thought every one might safely enjoy his own, whatever mine be: and that, in the second place, I am often told by persons, whose authority has extraordinary weight with me. that I am oblig'd as well to give fatisfaction in this point to the inquisitive, as to do justice to my self: and that, in the third place, I have in effect several notions of Religion, not onely differing from some that are commonly received, but in certain things abfolutely contrary to them (tho none of those with which I have been ever hitherto charg'd) I shall in convenient time, my life and health continuing, publish a distinct account of my Religion in a work that's now near finisht. Then friends, and foes, and indifferent people, will have a fair field and welcome: for Truth and Happiness are my only aim. Yet none of the articles of my Creed are of that nature, as to hinder me from readily profelling my felf a member of the National Church, as I also firmly hold the Protestant Dissenters to have a valid Ministry and Ordinances: for the I believe Government and Order to be of divine appointment in the Church, yet do I not believe any one particular form exclusive of all the rest, to be of divine right. They are more or less perfect with respect to their common end, the purity and propagation of Religion: but the proof of these assertions I shall more properly give elsewhere.

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### SECT. II.

OU'LL not wonder (my Lord) that Papifts for-Iwearing and nonfwearing High-Churchmen, with Tories of all forts, shou'd loudly baul against most parts of the State-Anatomy, which was principally written against themselves; but I acquaint you further, that even feveral Whigs, tho more confiderable for their noise than their number, found fault with my proposing, first, to distinguish some foreign Noblemen, who had fignally merited of the nation in the grand affair of the Succession: and, secondly, to ease the Dissenters of all the hardships under which they labor, partly proceeding from Laws intended against the Papists, but turn'd against them in Charles the 2d's reign; and partly from Laws made in the last reign to destroy their influence in Corporations. and wherever besides they might be serviceable to the Protestant Succession. These Whigs I have compar'd to the Samaritans, who profest to worship the true God, and yet worshipt their Idols too; as our Samaritan Whigs (for so they are now nicknam'd) join to their love of King George the Tory hatred of Dissenters and Foreigners. How to reconcile their love and their hatred, they'll find a hard task. But your Lordship knows, that I never fancy'd all Whigs to be equally wife or equally honest, meaning always the generality in the characters of bodies or parties of men. I never wrote for Persons who are variable, but for Principles which are immutable: and therefore as I never chang'd my Principles of civil and religious LIBERTY, no not for an hour, fince I first imbib'd them in the 15th year of my Age; so I was never attach'd to persons further than they

prov'd constant to their principles, which when they manifestly deserted. I deserted them as manifestly, fairly giveing themselves my reasons for so doing under my hand. I pritty well know the leaders of those Samaritan Whigs and am forry, but not surprized, to find 7 or 8 Dissenters at most, prejudic'd by them against Foreigners: but these are some of that narrow-soul'd generation, great strangers to the world the great lovers of it, whom the old Lord Shaftsbury, to distinguish them from the fair more numerous and understanding Diffenters, us'd to call God Almighty's silly people; and silly they are indeed, who join in this thing with those, who join in every thing against them. What I propos'd in my other book, and shall further urge in this, of UNION among all Protestants, union among themselves, union in the service of the publick, and union against the common enemy (without the least diminution of the Dignities or Emoluments of the National Church) I am farr from repenting or retracting. I am on the contrary (as I said in my Letter several times quoted before) thoroughly convinc'd, whatever may be the issue of the thing it felf, that it is not onely an honest and equitable proposal; but the most serviceable to the King and Kingdom, that can ever be made.

AS to the two foreign noblemen of your acquaintance, inconsideration of whose services I propos'd a legal dispensation with the fifth limitation of the Ast of Succession, an outcry was immediately rais'd, as if all the Foreigners in Christendom were to be preferr'd here; whereas I expressly consin'd my proposal to those two persons, who have neither of them any male issue, no more than any to be compar'd to 'em in the points I mention'd. I cannot help, my Lord, being of the same opinion still, whatever the Gentlemen themselves (with out whose privity I made the proposal) or any others may think of the matter; always submitting my judgment

ment to the wisdom of the Parliament, which knows best, what ought or ought not to be done in cases of publick concern. In the mean time my proposal contain'd nothing new or strange, with respect either to the dispensation or to the persons. The third limitation about the King's not going out of the nation without consent of Parliament, is very justly repeal'd: so is part of the fourth, relateing to the proceedings of the Privy Council: and a dispensation is allow'd in the fixth, as to the number of those who shall be capable of serving Members of the house of Commons, notwithstanding their bearing Offices, or haveing places of Trust, or receiving Pensions from the Crown. Pray why may not the fifth be dispens'd with as well? As for the Persons: those people must be very ignorant, who think the Duke of Marlborough is the only foreigner the Emperor has made a Feer of the Empire, if I may use that phrase, or of his own hereditary dominions. In one word, there's not a Court in Europethat has not at all times done the like, or they had been very deservedly depriv'd of all fervice, civil as well as military, from Foreigners. With respect to our own country, where it has been a constant practice from the beginning of the Monarchy, I wou'd onely ask over again a few questions of our Samaritan Politicians; as whether King WILLIAM, whose hands were not ty'd up, did croud for all that the upper house with Foreign Peers? and whether those he made, and their descendants, have not prov'd the bravest, the stanchest champions, for our Liberties and Constitution? whether all the Whigs did not thank God, for the assistance of those foreign Peers in the latter end of the last reign, when several of their own party recreantly deferted? and whether, confidering the present behavior of some among 'em, they may not another time stand in the like need? Upon the whole, having advanc'd nothing unprecedented or unlawful, and having the satisfaction of my own grateful sense of what those two Gentlemen did for our service, no less what

than of what the Earl of Portland and others did before them: I am onely forry that I must correct one passage of my book, and but that one passage, which is; not to assert any longer, that they are the Tories and High-Churchmen alone, who bear an aversion to Foreigners.

UPON the noise that was made by a few thoughtless discontented Whigs (for the Tories, to do 'em juflice, were wife enough to be filent) about making those Noblemen British Peers, out comes a miserable declamation by a man, who, as the author of the Political State fays, is famous for writeing upon, for, and against, all manner of subjects, persons, and parties. But that Gentleman is over-liberal to him by two letters, when he calls him a Scribbler trium literarum; fince, about the latter end of the last reign he was like to be reduc'd to a long J, for writeing a treasonable pamphlet against the HANOVER - SUCCESSION, for which a pardon was procur'd to him before the first of August 1714, by those that set him to work. But as in my own nature I scorn to infult any man upon his miscarriages or his misfortunes, and that such things make nothing to the argument; so he must blame himself for any freedom I must use, in refelling his notorious falshoods, and most precarious suppositions. The topick of the foreigners is what he chiefly infifts upon, the employing of whom (for noble enough they were before) he calls, among other fenfeless things in his Title-Page, a Treasonable conspiracy against the Constitution, and dishonourable to the Peerage of Britain. In the body of his book he calls the makeing 'em Lords, \* prostituteing the illustrious blood of our Nobility to Foreigners, enobling mercenary men, with the like goal-bird scurrility. Nor, according to the temper I charg'd upon some people in the State-Anatomy, can any fort of foreigners escape his Invecrives when his hand is in; as | a covetous Dutchman, a mercenary Frenchman, a haughty insolent Spaniard, and

<sup>\*</sup> P. 5, 25, 69, 98. | P. 21.

a lewd affaffinating Italian. All foreign nations in general, and the Germans in particular, fince this is the nation concern'd, he calls (out of complement and kindness no doubt to the Royal family) nations less \* polite, less humane, less acquainted with Liberty than Britons are. Tho as to Liberty I am glad, my Lord, it is generally so; yet I wish with all my heart, we were but as humane and polite as some of our neighbors. I am sure none of 'em ever use us in this manner. To day we are offer'd two || Germans (says he) to morrow we may be offer'd two Dutchmen, another time two Frenchmen, and so forward, till at length our Posterity may be offer'd two Turks, the venom of which last words sufficiently discovers it self, for all the salvo of the word Posterity.

AND now what's pleasant enough, the author of this foul and rascally stuff, is the very man (my Lord) who wrote the True-born Englishman, a Satyr against the whole English nation for their contempt of Foreigners. This is the man, who, in the Explanatory Preface to that Satyr, fays he's of opinion, that had we been an unmixt nation, it would be to our disadvantage; adding, that he cou'd prove those nations, who are most mixt, to be the best, and to have the least of barbarism and brutality among them: In this I entirely agree with him. An Englishman of all men, fays he in the same Preface, ought not to despise Foreigners as such; since what they are to day we were yesterday, and to morrow they will be like us. Had not Mr. Boyer reason, think you, to say that this wight had written for and against every thing? of which Assertion innumerable instances cou'd be brought, were it worth the pains. Tis remarkable that no fort of men in the nation, are more vilify'd by him, in that hobling rhyming libel, than the Nobility, which he now affects to extol so much, in his insipid prose bombast. Nor can he forbear most impudently abusing them even in this his pretended Panegyrick. How have if you too often already

ready, says he, been invaded, under the pretence of rewarding merit, and exalting men of fame? how have your ancient ensigns of honor been prostituted to the favourites of your Oppressors? how has your dignity been depreciated, and the honor of your antiquity too much abated; by the creation of infants, and by blending your ancient titles with the spurious race of luxurious and unthinking monarchs? how have your magnificent Dyets been unhappily throng'd, not with the favourite's of princes onely, but even with the favourites of favourites? This, with the like fulfom ribaldry, he stiles a fine complement, tho without repeating it, in the Mercurius Politicus, a monthly pamphlet wherein he has the chief hand; and which frequently reflects upon the proceedings of the Government, under pretence of telling what people say pro and con upon whatever passes, to the makeing of malicious and sometimes very dangerous infinuations. His account of the English Original is of a piece with the rest. Trueborn Englishman, part 1.

These are the Heroes that despise the Dutch,
And rail at new-come foreigners so much;
Forgetting that themselves are all deriv'd
From the most scoundrel race that ever liv'd.
A horrid croud of rambling thieves and drones,
Who ransackt Kingdoms and dispeopl'd towns;
The Pict and painted Briton, treach'rous Scot,
By hunger, thest, and rapine hither brought:
Norwegian pirates, buccaneering Danes,
Whose red-hair'd offspring e'ery where remains;
Who, join'd with Norman-French, compound the breed
From whence your Trueborn Englishmen proceed.

This person, you see, who, to serve a turn, made it a crime in Englishmen some years ago to despise newcome Foreigners, new-made Peers (as he stil'd the Duke of Schomberg and the Earl of Portland) since most

of our own Nobility and Gentry value themselves on their Foreign Descent: now to serve another turn, rails against all Foreigners indiscriminately, values the stors for being TUNMIXT whom he undervalu'd for it then, tho the thing be likewise salse in sact, and writes at such a rate as to make no body regard what he says.

IT is incumbent upon me, however, to clear those persons, who are wrongfully accus'd and traduc'd upon the occasion of my book; as a piece of justice that I owe them, and also lest any shou'd be so insuperably stupid, as to be impos'd upon by a man, who by our laws has no right to be an evidence even for truth. As I told your Lordship above, there's not a grosser falshood in nature, than that any person in the world either directed me to write the State-Anatomy, or dictated any part of it to me, whether as to the words or the matter. There never came any pieces of it abroad before hand (as he politively averrs) much less were there any parts of it rehearst among any sort of people, on any account: and he's defy'd to produce the least proof of person, or place, or time, before I gave my copy to the bookfeller to be immediately printed, as it was in 3 presses with all possible expedition. I never knew or heard of any fuch defign, as he affirms there was, to introduce those two noblemen or any other foreigners into the House of Peers, nor do I know of any party that must be undone without it, neither of any fett of men that had resolv'd it, nor of any of the ancient Nobility that fear'd it: fo that till he brings better vouchers than he's ever like to do, this whole defign must solely centre in me; and, fince he fays, that he needs not prove these things because I propose them, I alone must of course be that party, that fett of men, that ancient Nobility. Tis plain the people he aims at is a part of his Majesty's Ministry, whom he calls a \* feet of men, who are for engroffing

grossing to themselves power and wealth, who are for preserving power in their hands; and whom elsewhere, less the shou'd be misunderstood, he calls States-men and Politicians. He represents these as haveing different views from some \* honest and loyal Patriots, who yet remain in the Administration, thereby endeavoring to heighten and enslame the misunderstanding which was then commonly believ'd to reign among some of our Ministers. Wou'd I take the liberty to say, that he was directed to spread those notions among the people, on such an occasion and at such a juncture, I needed not be at the trouble of naming or characterizing any one. Every body wou'd think of a certain Some-body; and the learned wou'd cry out;

Doctus! & unanimes odiis turbare Sodales!

But farr be it from me to do so without better evia dence, let the presumptions be ever so strong: for presumptions I have, and some of em from unsuspected hands.

IN the mean time your Lordship ought to know, that this business of the Foreigners is nothing new, or particularly calculated for the present time: for I made this very proposal with relation to the Count de Bothmer by name, before any of the present Ministers were in their posts, in the dedication of my Charasters of the Royal family, dated Sep. 8. 1714, being the interval between the Queen's death and the King's happy comeing over. No creature pretended to find fault with it then, all true Whigs outvying each other in their applauses of the Count's services, which were then fresh, in behalf of the PROTESTANT SUCCESSION; the only security to their Religion, Liberty, Lives, and Estates. Neither is the sense of his, or the Earon

de Bernsdorf's merit, since lessen'd in the esteem of any (as I have heard hundreds declare the justice of my proposal, since the publication of the State-Anatomy) excepting onely a few Samaritans, of whom that is true in particular, which D. F. himself gives us as the character of the whole nation in general.

Wise men affirm it is the English way,

Never to grumble till they come to pay,

And then they always think (their temper's such)

The Work too little, and the Pay too much.

What he objects about the Scottish Nobility, and calls in the Mercurius Politicus an argument perfectly new. is perfect nonsense: for it was not as foreigners, which they ceas'd to be by the Union, that they were restrain'd from coming all into the house of Lords; but to affort their number, as well as the number of the Scots members for the house of Commons, to the proportion Scotland bears to England in value, and especially in the publick charge. His raveing about the \* names of men in Scotland, more ancient than the countries they are born in, and of Records in some families beyond the reach of Tradition, shows him to be an illiterate blunderer, that knows no more of the force of words than of the truth of History, or how to speak any truth at all. Most unhappy is he likewise in the instance he brings of the Cardinal Primate's opposeing the advancement of General Fleming in | Paland: for supposeing it true, as things must be receiv'd very cautiously from such a dealer in Secret History, yet it makes entirely against him; since it is not better known to all Europe that the Cardinal Primate was in the French Interest, than that the Polish Parliament, to speak in our dialect, naturaliz'd Count Fleming, and he was advanc'd in that country accordingly.

THE next thing that with unparallel'd effrontery he lays to the charge of the Ministry, is a defign of keeping up a Standing Army in time of Peace. To this he makes me not only privy. but to be the instrument of a wicked party of men (as he calls them) who are for preserving power in their own bands, to try how it will relish with the People: tho I declar'd as expressy as words can declare any thing; what likewife appears to be unexceptionably true by the whole tenor of my Chapter of Peace and War, that I am by principle and inclination against a standing Army; as likewife throughly convincid, that it was most remote from the King's intentions, or the defires of his Ministers \* I shall not trouble your Lordship with any of the lophistical Artifices, to force out of my words what was never in my thoughts! us'd by this slanderer; but referr all the world for my justification to the book he attacks, and particularly to the paffage quoted by himfelf. Tis observable, that for fix months past the Tol ries talkt of nothing fo much, as beginning the Seffion with disbanding of the Army. A book, printed in King W I I L I Aum's time against a standing Army, was now reprinted, and newvampt (not by the author I am perfuaded) fuit able to the present juncture; under the Title of Reasons against a standing Army; and D. F. in several places of his libel, pretendedly written against me, but in reality against the Ministry, owns that he had not only digested all the fifth he has dilgorg d against Foreigners, long the before ever my book appear d; but that he was like wife prepa-ring materials to write against keeping up the Army

+ 4, 5, 9,

my, which he affirms was defign'd by those, who wou'd keep down the fincere lovers of their Country from enquiring too strictly into their conduct +. For what end and purpose a clamour was to be rais'd against the Army, that had so lately sav'd us, and to be feconded by Petitions from Oxford and other disaffected places, is now made evident to all the earth by Count Gyllenborg's Letters. One half of 'em was to be disbanded, and they hop'd that the half at least of the other half, seeing themselves reduc'd to so weak a condition, wou'd defert to the enemy. The fame Conspirators were to use all their endeavours to keep back our naval Armament till the middle of May, that we might be unprovided in every respect by land and sea, against the foreign enemy they have unnaturally invited to invade their native countrey.

If AM only forry, my Lord, that a few Whigs, and very few God be thanked, who cannot different the times and the seasons, shou'd, partly out of a mistaken notion of Popularity, and partly out of private pique to some in the Ministry, be rashly deluded into those measures. But I wholly acquit 'em from being conscious of the design'd Invasion, as I attribute to their ignorance both of that, and of the real interest of some German Princes, their intended kindness to the K—g of S—n with regard to the Dutchies of Bremen and Verden, sairly comquer'd and as fairly purchas'd. I wish I cou'd as easily excuse those, who exclaim'd against the Traple Alliance while in agiration; starting all the objections and obstructions in their power,

to prevent the conclusion of it. Tis a sad refle-Gion, that out of envy to the reputation of the makers of it, any shou'd envy so much glory to their Country: for no less glorious than advantageous it is to Britain, in fecuring the Succesfion, in encreasing our Trade, and in every other Article; but in none more than that of demolishing Mardyke, for, as the Commons say most truly in their Address, we are at a loss to determine, whether, in future ages, the suffering the demolition of Dunkirk to be scandalously evaded, will be a greater reproach, or the procuring the destruction of the Sluices of Mardyke, a greater bonour to the British Nation. Nor ought it ever to be forgotten, that this Treaty which renders the Peace Safe and lasting, was chiefly manag'd by two Generals, Mr. Secretary Stanhope and the Lord Cadogan, Patriots that in the last reign, together with the Duke of Marlborough, were expos'd to the fury of the rabble, under the odious designation of men delighting in War. Now when I confider that these very men, while they are extirpating all Seeds of Warr with our nearest and most potent neighbors, are scandalously accus'd of designing to keep up a standing Army in time of Peace, I cannot but cry out with one, who had receiv'd fuch ungrateful usage himself from pretended friends: How unhappy sometimes are those Gentle-men, who \* deserve best of their Country? and whose most glorious actions are not only often forgot, but very wicked designs laid to their charge! But tis best drawing a veil over the weakness of mistaken F 2 friends.

<sup>\*</sup> Miseros interdum Cives optime de Republica meritos! in quibus homines, non modo res præclarissimas obliviscuntur, sed etiam nesarias suspicantur. Cic.

friends, as I hope the persons concern'd will reflect upon the advantage, that Count Gillenborg was taking of the milunderstanding said to have been in our Ministry; and how D. F. or the Lord of Oxford knows who besides, was insidiously diffinguishing some of 'em, as above-cited's by the Character of \* some banest and loyal Patriots: pubo yet remain in the Administration. This caution I give out of perfect good-will to the one fide as well as the other, if any fuch fides there are Upon this occasion, I am confident your Lord-Thip will abhorr with me, Count Gyllenborg's fuggestion of what he calls THE PRINCE'S BARTWS fince you know fo well, that the execrable defign of forming any party for him diftinct from his father, would be the most infallible way of ruining any man with his Royal Highness. In the mean time, it were well worth the pains to detect those party-men, who, the Count says in his Letter of the 15th of January, are so well in-

SINCE I mention those Letters, which must have reach'd your Lordship long since, you'll see therein what a dangerous and wicked Conspiracy was form'd against our happy settlement; how restless and implacable, even to ruin, are the Papists and Jacobites here; how insensible of past, and how undeserving of suture mercy; how a constant correspondence is kept up with the Pretender, expresses passing continually between him and his adherents; what sums of money are rais'd here for his service, and what a considerable part of it the swedish Agents have already

ready † finger'd; what a stanch hero for Prote-stancy the K—g of S—n is, who (for all his gilt Bible ) wou'd give a Popish head to the Church of England; and how tender he's grown of the Liberties of our Country, who has not left as much as the Shadow of Liberty, tho an Artifice frequent with Tyrants, in his own Country. So much better politicians however were the Suedes than their Brittish bubbles, that the motion of putting the Church of England in their intended Manifesto came originally from them; and was but barely agreed to by the Jacobites here? who never stipulate any thing on the be-half of Religion, for all the noise they make a-bout the Church. I presume to speak of the K-g of S n personally; till he disowns his Ministers; for, if they say true, the matter was actually open'd to him by Baron Gortz, as you'll fee in his Letter of Nov. 12: and in his Letter of Dec. ir, he owns that, before his departure from Sueden, they were already dispos'd to this Expedition; which is the reason, that, in another place, he fays, he was not afraid of offending in Sueden, for any thing he should trans-act in this affair. He affirms it is a thing with them already decided, and that they were only folicitous about the means? and, in his Letter of Fan. 8, he owns himself at last to be fully authoriz'd. I had like to forget, that, in his Letter of the 16th of the same month, he says their Prince was to be present in this expedition in person; and every body remembers, that the Jacobites have for a considerable time hop'd for great matrers from Sueden, but whereof they have spoken

for a 12-month past with extraordinary confidence.

UPON the whole, your Lordship cannot but conclude, that we have all the reason in the World to prepare against the greatest Mischiefs this Gothick Monarch can be capable of doing to us: and to put our selves likewise in a condition of demanding reparation, for the feveral Piracies committed upon our ships; no less than to obtain satisfaction, for the many Slights he has put upon his Majesty, in the persons of his Ministers, refusing to give any or very trivial Anfwer to their Memorials. Besides that he hates our Revolution Principles, and shows a personal disaffection to our King, by his actually protecting Rebels and Traitors fled from hence; and by his refusing to promise, as all other Princes in amity with us have done, not to receive the Pretender into his dominions, nor to affift him directly or indirectly. Any of these things, and much more so all together, not to speak of feveral other foul practices I cou'd easily add to this charge, afford sufficient reasons to declare Warr against him, as, without due satisfaction, to be fure will be done. Over and above the justice of our cause, the experience of our victorious Generals, and the bravery both of our Soldiers and Seamen (who fight for liberty and property against slaves and beggars) we have three or four Princes to join with us, that are in Warr with him already. He has given the most intolerable provocations to the Dutch, whose promptitude in seizing the grand Incendiary Gortz, amply demonstrates that their Interests are inseparable from those of our King; and they

must be very silly indeed, who believe, that the Emperor is not glad to see him driven out of Germany. So that his deposeing humour may end at home, which seems to be the onely way for preserving the peace of Europe, and saving the kingdom of Suedeland from utter ruin: for the poor Suedes after all deserve pity from every side, as they will doubtless obtain it, if they but show themselves sensible of their condition, and chearfully contribute to regain their ancient freedom. Tis not too late even for the author of all their miseries to recover himself: for I know of no man (to use the words of an incomparable writer) who does not wish his refuming a right Mind, rather than His Destruction; but if that cannot be compass'd, wou'd not the placing another Protestant Prince in his Room (a Method familiar with him) leave the Protestant Religion in the Same fate it now is, if not put it in a better? Are not those Dominions which be has lost in Germany, in Protestant Hands? Cou'd he still be safely trusted with them? Wou'd the introducing Mahometanism infread of Christianity, promote the Protestant Religion in general? To which let me add, that this is not the first time the Suedes have depos'd their Princes, and found their account in it.

THE right honourable author, my Lord, whom I just come from quoting, is one of your acquaintance since the Year 1687, when travelling in Germany, he gave you so moving an account of the danger these nations were in at that time, which you have so often repeated to me: and I have proofs in my hands, which perhaps he has not in his own, of the eminent services he them did to the good Cause in several Courts of the Empire.

Empire. But since you have not seen his late \* Observations upon a treasonable Libel written by Count Gyllenborg, and that ignorant people have been infatuated in favour of the Kgof S, n by Romantick characters; try whether in the following juster account, which is very pertinent to our purpose, you find the same Stile and Spirit, that you admire so much in the Account of Denmark.

of m. hop. polyningen regularity and on in NO King in Europe has been a greater flave to, nor a greater fufferer by his own Choler, than he has been. The most cruel, as well as the most un. Successful Actions of his Life, are owing to its His Generals, Admirals, Senators, nay, Relactions and intimate Friends, dare not so much as represent calmly against any thing he has once " politively refolv'd upon. And these Resolutions he takes alone without debating them. Tis to his rash Commands, and persisting in them, he owes the lofs of whole Armies in Muscoup, in Jutland, in Rugen and Straelfund; the destruction of his Commerce, the loss of Holftein, by forcing it into his quarrel; the disobliging all his Friends; the perseverance of his Enemies, the utter disappointment of all Treaties of Accommodation. Treaties defign'd for his relief in the utmost extremities, these he reckons as the greatest of Injuries and Affronts. How long and how often Las he refus'd (and upon what it range pretences) "and formalities) to fend his Ministers to the Con-i gress at Brunswick? notwithstanding all the Inflances of the Emperor, and the King of Great Britain, mov'd by the urgent necossities of the real his own, of the antheast levice the then

<sup>\*</sup> Observations upon a pamphlet, call'd an English Mer-

King of Sueden's affairs. How often has he de-'lay'd or refus'd to return Answers, or not civil ones, to Messages contriv'd purely for his service? His Towns must hearken to no Capitulations; his Armies must not retreat, let the Occasion be never so manifest: his Men must be engag'd to fight to the last drop of their blood. against all likelihood of success. He must have 'all or none; and this he hopes passes for invincible Courage, a virtue which he does not di-'stinguish from Brutality. He seems (if we are ' rightly inform'd) to have bound himself under ' some foolish Vows, as not to lye in a bed, or otherwise than in straw; not to wear a clean fhirt, nor a white cravat; nor pull off his boots above once or twice a month; to wear a broad 'leather belt, very ordinary cloaths, and forty other mere Quixotisms, till he be reveng'd, according to his own mind, of his Enemies, His obstinate defending a single house at Bender, with ' 500 Men against 10000, in the very midst of the 'Grand Seignior's Dominions, is to be look'd on '(forfooth) as the effects of an undaunted Spirit. 'His not visiting the capital City after so long an Absence; his not meeting the States of his Realm, not going to his Senators, or holding a 'Council; not heark'ning to the cries of the 'Merchants, the Fatherless, and the Widows, 'all this is Magnanimity. One may see he wishes the whole World were in flames and desolation, provided he cou'd accomplish his Revenge. 'Is this a Temper to be endured? His admirers ' wou'd do well to remember there are different 'kinds of Melancholies, a Religious, a Stupid, a ' Raging, an Heroick, an Amorous, a Vain-glorious, &c. In which rank do they think their

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'Hero deserves to be plac'd? Was it not amazing to hear t'other day of his great wrath, testify'd against his poor Subjects of Lapmark, on-'ly for framing themselves into Bodies for their own defence against the Muscovites, who had an 'Army upon the Borders ready to fall upon them? and this at a time when the K -- g of S --- n had ' withdrawn all his soldiers in those parts, to reinforce his Army in Schonen; and these poor Laplanders had nothing in the world to defend them, but their own Valour. This was however construed as an Encroachment on the Regal Authority; and their King has shown that he is so jealous of it, that he had been better pleas'd if they had all been cutin pieces, than have offer'd to defend themselves under Officers not of his appointing, tho he was so far off, as that they cou'd not wait for his Orders. Is not this strain. ing the Prerogative till it even cracks again? and at the most unseasonable Juncture that cou'd be.

TO leave us expos'd for a prey to this new Attila, was the fole motive of those who intended to clamour for the disbanding of the Army, before one Rebellion was scarce quell'd, and when another was just upon breaking out. The better to compass this design, the most necessary of all others for the success of their plot, pamphlets were to be industriously dispers'd, as Count Gyllenberg discovers in his Letters. Some were actually publisht, and D. F. confesses that he was getting his ready, before the book he pretends to answer had appear'd. These are things that speak of themselves, and do more than sindicate the Ministry.

I mice Dominion is

nistry. All I have to say to him now, is what he truly Sung of himself.

Thy Friends, without the help of prophesy, Read Goals and Gibbets in thy Destiny.

But there's one piece of news in Count Gyllenborg's Letters, which, I own, makes amends to me for all the rest. How glad am I to hear, that we have Ministers who will not do things by halves: for we have hitherto been so addicted to doing things by halves, not having patience to go through with any thing, that we pass with some of our Neighbours for a half-witted people. Had we not done things by halves at the Revolution, none had dar'd to offer at restoring Popery and Tyranny since. Had we not grown weary of our Victories, our Annals wou'd not be fully'd by the late scandalous and treacherous Peace. And, to name no more instances among thoufands, if we do not carry on by halves the profe-cution of the late Ministers, authors of that Peace and the Rebellious humor that still ferments among our people, the King will fit eafy for the future on his throne, and the nation be out of danger from being any more undone by wicked Ministers. I am encourag'd to hope the best by one of thele same Letters of the ist of November, which says that our present Ministers are ALL FURIOUS PERSONS, which in the mouths of their enemies, fignifies, that they are hearty and zealous for their King and country, that they are no less vigilant and indefatigable in the service of both, than firm and steady in their Resolutions, as well as brave and expeditious in the execution of them. Vigor, supported by a just Cause, they'll find to be the truest Policy: and fo I leave 'em to show it at this nice juncture.

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S E C T. 

## SECTION III.

SHALL next communicate to your Lordhip those LETTERS I promis'd above, after I have previously acquainted you with the occasion of writing them. Having not only been a confiderable time bred up among the Diffenters, and receiv'd many personal obligations from some of them (which I shall always gratefully acknowledge) but likewise having, in the course of my Studies both at home and abroad, had all imaginable opportunities of being as intimately acquainted with their Principles as with their Persons: I cou'd not see, without concern, to what wicked purposes they were so frequently misrepresented by men, farr inferior to them in Piety towards God, or Morality towards their Neighbor. More especially, in the year 1705, they were painted in the blackest colours, and drest up as wild beasts sit to be exterminated, in a Libel entitul'd the Memorial of the Church of England; which represented them as unworthy of any TOLERATION, fince by their principles they wou'd neither tolerate any else, nor even one another. This odious charge was strenu-ously enforc'd at the same time by several other authors, who to divide the PROTESTANT INTEREST in general, and to weaken the HANOVER-Succession in particular, wou'd needs make the Diffenters pals in the world for impious and antimonarchical, for a pack of feditious and enthufiastical fellows: nor were there

wanting certain Deserters from among themfelves, who to curry favor with their High Church Patrons, scandalously declaim'd against their private Academies as nurseries of Schism and Rebellion.

TWO Persons no less eminent for their virtue than their rank, with whom I had the honor then to correspond, desir'd me to impart a true account of this matter to them; and, in a fecond Letter, infifted only upon the point of TOLERATION, owning themselves satisfy'd with the innocence of the Diffenters, as to the other accusations. I fail'd not immediately to do jufice to the injur'd, representing them all hearty for an IMPARTIAL TOLERATION; and this as farr as any body, according to the dictates of true Religion and found Politicks, cou'd either defire or allow. I affur'd my Correspondents, that the Dissenters did not espouse the sentiments of any that had formerly written against TOLER ATION (as Rutherford for example) no more than they Subscribe now to the Persecuring spirit of their adversaries; that they lookt upon such a principle or practice in some of their denomination heretofore, as the imperfection of that time, from which they had since as effectually reform'd, as their ancestors did from the POPE's Supremacy, or from Transubstantiation; and that their accusers were themselves the real INTOLERANTS, who libell'd the Government for granting TOLERATION, and revil'd the Bishops, with all others, both Clergymen or Laymen, that approv'd of it. But since those two
illustrious persons might be serviceable to the Diffenters upon a proper occasion, as being both

of them fincerely zealous for our Legal Constitution and the Protestant Religion, I thought it wou'd not be amiss if they cou'd see such assurances from the Dissenters themselves: and therefore I wrote a Letter upon this Subject, whereof I sent a Copy to two Ministers of each denomination among the Dissenters.

THIS is the Letter, in which, D. F. fays in his late \* Libel, that I incited the Diffenting Ministers to declare their willingness to admit a TOLERATION of all Religions; that I might ensnare them into a consent to tolerating the blasphemers of the Godhead of our blefsed Redeemer He cannet refrain (says he lower) in moving for the Liberty of the Dissenters, to propose, after the example of Holland, a GENERAL LIBERTY for all Religions in the World: and yet be knows the Dissenters understand bim, and that they formerly rejested the Proposals he made to them of that kind. Nor is this the first time that he misrepresented that same Letter, which none ever mention'd in Print besides him, as having never yet been publisht: for foon after the writing of it, he did in a Pamphlet call'd the Dissenters Vindicated, speak of it to the same calumniating purpose. The passage appearing obscure to the late most reverend Dr. Tennison, ARCHBISHOP of Canterbury, into whose hands this Pamphlet was put by a person, who knew of an affair transacted between his Grace and me a little before, by the intervention of Mr. Fobn Dubourdieu (of whom above) his Grace, I fay, was defirous to have an explication of this matter from my felf; and so, according to my duty, I sent him the following Letter, which gave him entire satisfaction, by the said Mr Dubourdieu. May it please your Grace,

T A M inform'd by my worthy friend Monfa eur Dubourdien, that your Grace took no. tice to him of a passage wherein my name was us'd in a book entitul'd the dissenters Vindicated; and that not well knowing what to make of it at first fight (as none indeed cou'd perceive the truth under the cover of so many lies, heapt together in fo few lines) you were apprehenfive, least it shou'd be something inconsistent with the engagement he made in my name to your Grace, and with the Letter wherein I did my felf the justice to \* confirm it. But tis so farr from being any thing of that nature, my Lord, that I cou'd not possibly chuse a better proof of my fincerity, than what is now offer'd me by so odd an accident. I have neither propos'd, nor begun, any manner of transaction with the Diffenters of any kind, relating to my own person or affairs. I directed my Letter to all of them, as a fettled member of the 'Church of England as by law establish: and the two first Paragraphs of the Letter it self will ' amply account for the occasion of writing it, which I make no doubt but your Grace will reckon a publick Service, even before you are 'acquainted with all the circumstances. Among other Views it was my intention, to re-duce the doctrine of Toleration to a ' clear and positive System, whereas it has been hitherto deliver'd only in general terms

<sup>\*</sup> It had been reported to his Grace, that I was writing upon a Subject that never came into my beart or head; and so I cou'd easily give him assurances, that I neither did, nor ever wou'd write to any such purpose.

or popular harangues; and (according to the common fate of all good things) it has been fometimes perverted from its true end to ferve very ill purposes: not only as once or twice it became a pretext, to dispense with the Laws of the nation by Popish counsels; but likewise, as it was not feldom made by nominal Protestants to countenance Licentiousness in manners, or Indifference in Religion. I thought it therefore well worth my pains, fo to qualify, limit, and explain it, that no good people of any Communion shou'd call the orthodoxy of their Clergy in question for maintaining such a \* Doctrine; and that all advantages on this Inbject may be for ever cut off, from the common enemies both of Piety and Peace. As for one or two Persons that encourag'd me in this attempt, tis not material their names shou'd be known. I shou'd not have perus'd the Dissenters Vindicated, had it not been for such an occasion; for I seldom or never read any thing, that comes from the reputed author of the same. And your Grace may depend upon it, that there are no less than four lies within the compass of that short passage relating to me. First, he says he has the original of my Letter. with which I never parted out of my own hands, those copies directed to the Dissenting Minifters being written by my Amanuensis: nor did I see De Foe in my whole life, but it wou'd be as improper for me to enquire, who among the Dissenters gave him his copy (if he has any) as it was in any of them to part with it. Se-

<sup>\*</sup> I was always more afraid of some fraitlac'd Laymen in this affair, than of the Ministers, who well understood theequity, benefit, and importance of an Impartial Toleration.

condly,

condly, he affirms, that I prest the Dissenters to declare for the Universal Liberty of all Christians; whereas the Papills and some others are excepted in the Letter by name, and that I have expresly limited my demands to all Protestant Communions. Thirdly, he says the Diffenters met all together to consult about this matter, which is an honor I was as farr from vainly expecting, as they from imprudently giving: nor did they otherwise consider it, than as they do any other Letter of course in their respective meetings, every munday, for the management of their own affairs. Fourth-' ly, he fays, that they unanimously refolv'd to ' give no answer at all to it, or to make any Declaration of their opinion on that head. But I have, on the contrary, distinct answers from all of 'em, and all but \* one to my satisfaction; nor do I make any doubt of getting that one, to be made as full and home as the reft. Now the hurry of Parliament and Con-vocation being over, I design to wait on your Grace when Monsieur Du Bourdieu will tell me of a proper time, and to communicate to you the particulars of this whole affair, which is calculated for the honor of the Church of ' England, for the peace and welfare of the whole Nation, for our more brotherly Commu-' nion and Correspondence with other Reform'd · Churches, and for the particular Satisfaction of some, who have a right to command me in omnibus licitis & honestis. In the mean time I ' fend you hereby the true Copy of my Letter, Verbatim as I sent it to the Dissenters; the few

<sup>\*</sup> Of this one a word hereafter.

' mispellings, and the many misplacing of Ca-' pital Letters by the Amanuensis, only except-' ed. I am, &c.

NOW, my Lord, That the truth of my affertions to that excellent man, the late ARCHBISHOP, ever vigilant for the good of Church and State, may evidently appear; and that the afpersions of the shameless Detractor may no less clearly stare him in the face: as well as that the irreligious imputations of my enemies, whether out of ignorance or envy, may be washt away; and that the divine principle of Toleration may be yet further propagated (since you give me leave to publish this second Memorial) I do here insert the whole Letter, as I shall subjoin the Answers in their due order.



MARKENKENKENKENKENKENKENKENKEN

A LETTER Sent to some of the several denominations of PROTESTANT DISSEN-TERS, demanding their opinion concerning

TOLERATION. Jan. 1705-6.

SIR,

PERSON of your experience cannot be ignorant, how common a thing it is, for men to declaim against others for that very fault, whereof they are not only guilty themselves in their Practice, but which they frequently and passionately labour to justify by their Arguments. And this they do with the fame intent, that they make an excessive show of Zeal for Religion or the Publick good, the better to cover their private Ambition, Ree venge, or other pernitious Defigns; by which artifice they fometimes mislead those to promote and affist their projects, who wou'd have prov'd their most cordial opposers, had they once sufpected that they acted only for personal ends.

'THUS, Sir, all forts of Protestants diffenting in this kingdom from the Church establish'd by Law, are represented as unworthy of any civil 'Trust or Honour in the Common Wealth, by certain persons, who, tho pretended advocates for the Church, give abundant reason to believe, they are as little friends to the present Church, ' as to the present Government of England. But notwithstanding the unchristian Persecutions 6 and inhuman Severities, which men of this cha-

racter have heretofore procur'd against the Disfenters; to the unspeakable discouragement of Learning, to the decay of Trade, depopulation of the Kingdom, disturbance of the Go-' vernment, and (what's of more confequence than all the rest) to the manifest hazard of the Protestant Religion, which thro such means was e very near undermin'd by Popery, till it was ' miraculously deliver'd by the providence of God, and by the courage and conduct of principal inftrument King WILLIAM III: Yet these ve-' ry Men, with their adherents and abettors, are ' above measure clamorous and positive at this time, in their Libels, Sermons, and Discourses, as if all the Diffenters in general, and each of their bodies in particular, were by their Princi-' ples engag'd against any Religious Toleration, except only of their own way; and that were they in possession of the civil Administration, they would neither tolerate those of the Church of England nor even one another, which confequently renders them justly undeferving the ' TOLERATION they enjoy.

'THO I want no proof, Sir, that most of our Bishops, a considerable number of the inserior Clergy, and the body of the People, are intirely convinced that this is an egregious calumny; and malitiously dispersed by the savorers of Popery, or of a popish Pretender to the Crown, to create distractions in the Government, and to weaken the Protestants by adding Jealousies to their Divisions: nevertheless divers well meaning people are found credulous enough to receive such dangerous impressions, being seduced by their timorous fancies, or by their ignorance

of the true state of affairs. For my own part, I have not a stronger moral Certitude of any thing in this -world, than of your being · all for TOLERATION, which I conceive my felf oblig'd to acknowledge after a careful perusal of your best Books, after hearing many of your celebrated Preachers, and converfing with some of the most intelligent in every Communion; as thinking it more equitable, fafe, and certain, to learn the Opinions of others rather from themselves than from their · Adversaries (who are but too prone to misun-' derstand or misrepresent them) and as being allow'd this Latitude and Familiarity by the dictates both of Reason and Religion, by the charity of the Church of England, and by my 'Christian Liberty. However, for the Satisfaction of certain persons, who ought to be under ono mistakes in this case, I was particularly defir'd to get your's and Mr....'s Opinion un-· der your hands, as men that may be justly pre-fum'd to know the fentiments of the rest of your party concerning Toleration and PERSECUTION; for tis impossible to speak intelligibly of the one without supposing the other, there being no middle way of acting in matters purely Speculative or Indifferent.

NOW, that (on the one hand) you may not imagine, Sir, I purpose to entrap you by any captious Enigma, and that no body (on the other hand) may pretend to discover any prevarication or ambiguity in your Answer; I think it becomes a lover of Peace, and a candid enquirer after Truth, to premise the folfollowing Restrictions, or rather Explications of the Question.

I, First, I don't expect that you'll answer for every individual person of your Communion, but only for much the greater number or bulk of that Persuation in England: for there's 'no fect or fort of men, but some particulars among 'em have favourite Notions, repugnant to the publick profession of the rest; tho, because they agree together in most things, or at Least in the primary points of their Doctrine, '-they pass with others under one common denomination. Every fociety of men will afford numerous examples of this kind. And the peculiar Opinions of many private Doctors in the Church of England are as well ' known, as that She was never charg'd with fuch Opinions on their account: nor ought our Church to be less charitable, in this refpect, to other Churches; no more than the Infirmities or Vices of a few, shou'd any where be imputed to the whole number, when dif-' claim'd by the profession of all, and not com-'mited by the greater part.

II. 'SECONDLY, by LIBERTY I don't mean Licentiousness, but Forbearance; and this only in such Actions as are in their own nature indifferent, or in such Opinions as are merely Speculative, and which do not necessarily lead to any Practice destructive of Society: for in matters of Property, civil Obedience, or moral Virtue, which are common to all mankind, and without which no private Faith or publick Community cou'd subsist, the Magistrate is to restrain what the Laws prohibit, let a man alledge ever so much persuasion or conscience for his proceedings; since Murder, Stealing, Defamation,

famation, and the like, are plainly evil and injurious, be the inward motives of the transgreffor what they will. But in points of fimple Opinion, nothing can be justly punishe by the Magistrate, since he's only to punish where he can be a competent Judge; whereas neither by his his own Discretion, nor by the Evidence of others, can he certainly judge of men's Sincerity or Hypocrify, of their Obstinacy or Docility, nor whether they receive folid Satisfaction, or continue still perplext with Doubts and Scruples, which (according to their various Dispositions, Apprehensions, or Preposseffions) they may well do, notwithstanding the 'Truth has been ever so adequately demonstra-'ted; and therefore the refusal or neglect of men is no blemish to the Truth, but a sign of their own Ignorance, Prejudice, Stupidity, or · Perverineis.

III. 'THIRDLY, By Toleration I don't mean Indifference, and much less Approbation. Wee are doubtless to wish that all mankind ' wou'd heartily embrace the Truth, and we are 'likewise sedulously to endeavour it in our several stations: yet this desireable end, is not to be attain'd by feizing Person or Goods, by Stigmatizing, Banishment, or Death; but by Arguments, Exhortations, and exemplary Living, by inward Conviction, and by fuch gentle, tho ferious Reproofs, as may express more of Love than of Anger, and indicate a warmer concern for the Happiness of another, than for Victory or our own Reputation. Tis the usual stratagem of the Romish Priests, to make their disciples believe that the STATES

of Holland (for instance) approve all the Sects which are tolerated in their Province; whereas no people on earth are more tenacious of their Religion, than those of the National Church in that country. But they can tolerate and protect fuch as they can't approve, and commiferate those who won't be convine'd. In our own dominions the POPISH AGENTS 'infinuate, that all those Statesmen, Clergymen, and others, who declare for TOLERATION, are lukewarm or indifferent in their Religion. But while they have Humanity and the Gospel on their Side, the example of our Saviour and his Apostles, and the prosperous event of their practice as well to Religion as to the Government, they are not to be shaken in their prudent resolutions by this aspersion: and we are charitably to suppose, that most of 'em are no e less conscious to themselves, than we know 'em prepar'd to convince Gainsayers, of the truth and divinity of their Religion; to which therefore they must have resolv'd an inseparable adherence, but not to any distinguishing names of Party, which, tho admitted rather than approv'd out of Custom, yet are ordinarily impos'd by their Antagonists.

'IDOUBT not, Sir, but you agree with me that tis the worst mark imaginable of a Church, when none must be deem'd a sincere member of her Communion, who has any indulgence for others, or who is not for branding, oppressing, and destroying all that diffent from her Doctrine or Discipline. But the Truth, simple and undisguis'd, is not afraid to encounter any adversary the never so formidable; since none

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can prove too hard for her lustre, with all the armor of Art, or Fraud, or Violence: whereas superstitious Tales and Practices dare not abide the touchstone of Examination, either by Scripture or Reason; and that Opinions, which are only grounded on Authority or calculated for Gain, must needs be supported by Force and and Fear, by secular Honours and Rewards to their maintainers, and by deterring their impugners with Punishments and Incapacities, which is the genuine source and secret of all Persecution.

'TO be more particular, Sir, you cannot be bette fatisy'd your self than I am, that those of your profession are not indifferent in their ' Diffent, for which they have fuffer'd with fo ' much constancy and perseverance; nor inclin'd ' to approve those other Opinions, against which they appear so strenuously both from the pulpit and the press, tho persuaded, they can neither be influenc'd nor rectify'd by Compulsion. 'I know there are many Opinions which you more than disapprove; I mean that with me ' you abominate and detest them, tho you pity ' those who profess them: such as believing that 'any humane Power can forgive Sins against 6 God, or dispence with the observation of his Commands; and that a confecrated Wafer becomes both God and Man, which is not only the greatest Idolatry and most extravagant Ab-' furdity, but likewise direct and execrable Blasc phemy. I know you are zealously averse to ' any Opinions that are derogatory to the Divi-6 nity or Suffrings of our Redeemer JESUS 'CHRIST, or that tend to lessen the divine 6 authority

authority of the Old or New Testament. I farther know, that you cannot entertain such a thought, as if you were desir'd to tolerate, or that others shou'd intend a TOLERATION for any who afferts the absolute mortality of the Soul, without all hope of a Resurrection: or that denies the Being or Attributes of God. • particularly his Providence in the government of the World, whereby the religion of an Oath '(which is one of the main bonds of Society) 'wou'd be render'd of no efficacy, and the dread of fecret Villany be quite extirpated. And last-'ly, I know, that you and every other Protestant party, may, agreably to the principles of Reason and Christianity, and without opposing TOLERATION, or entrenching on the civil Power, deny Communion to disorderly persons ' and enormous Sinners; who are to be consider'd 'no better than unbelievers, till they heartily fub-" mit to the laws of the Gospel, and be reconcil'd to the followship of the faithful by visible signs of Repentance.

'I TAKE it then for granted, that you think' your self no more concern'd in the former mifraken Practices of any Church or Persons, than
our present Bishops are to be arraign'd for all
the Variations either of Doctrine or Discipline;
that have happen'd in the Church of England
fince the Reformation: and I am sure
that you reject (as much as the Magistates themselves) the Popish Supremacy and Doctrine of
Dispensations, with the enthusiastical notion of
Dominion's being founded in Grace.

'BUT, Sir, it is my earnest, and (I hope) not unreasonable request, that you wou'd be pleas'd in a few lines to signify to me,

' 1st. Whether, after admitting and presuppofing all the above-written Qualifications, you hold and approve an impartial TOLERATION in Religion, both of such Actions as are of themfelves indifferent, or in their circumstances unsinful; and of such Doctrines or Opinions as are not destructive of Humane Society and of all Religion, but confishing in bare Speculation, and solely regarding the Conscience or Persuasions of Men?

or diversities in the same Religion (under the faid Limitations) to be consistent with good Government; and that, if you had the civil Magistracy in your own hands, you wou'd, on these Principles, tolerate the Worship of those who are now the National Religion, and of all other Protestant Communions? And

Compulsion in matters of mere Opinion is improper, useless, and unjust; but that depriving men of their native Advantages, and excluding them on the score of such Differences from civil Trusts, is a real Force and Punishment, which you wou'd no more practice upon others, than you approve 'em as practis'd against your selves, according to the precept of our Saviour, who injoyns his followers, to do to others, what they wou'd be done unto?

And in these three demands, I think, the whole Doctrine of TOLERATION is clearly express and contain'd.

NOW I reiterate my entreaty, Sir, that, with the foonest, you wou'd let me understand your own Opinion and that of your Brethren in this momentous point, and at this most seasonable conjuncture; not purely as a favour to me (tho such I shall esteem it) but chiefly as a piece of Justice you owe to your selves, and to the people committed to your care. So wishing a happy success to your labours for the benefit of men's Souls and their temporal welfare; I remain, Sir, with due respect, your sincere Friend, and most ready to serve you in all good Offices.

YOUR Lordship is now left to judge, what a nefarious report was made of this Letter: how farr it is from containing any impiery, or being a fnare to seduce others into unwarrantable Schemes: and whether it does not exhibit fo complete and candid a System of Toueration, as no honest man or good Christian will scruple to approve? The obligation of enquiring after Truth, gave me a right of proposeing the foresaid questions to any private Ministers (tho not to assemble a whole body of men, which never enter'd into my imagination) and the duty of being always ready to give a reason of their faith, will justify the answers which those Ministers were pleas'd to make me. The first who did so, was the reverend and worthy Mr. Allen; who is the oldest Minister that I know alive among the Baptists, or, as we call them, the Anabaptists. Be pleas'd to read his own words. 'Sir,

onot knowing how certainly to direct for you in town,\* I have taken this way to let you know I met last night with Mr. Stennet, and diverse others of our brethren in the Ministry; by whom vour excellent Letter was receiv'd, both with unanimous approbation, and a grateful acknow-' ledgment of your generosity, in the publick service you therein do to us and our Cause. We not only readily declar'd our unanimous heartiness for TOLERATION as therein stated; but every one of us were fully persuaded, we might engage the fame for the generality of our persuasion: notwithstanding which it was desir'd, that we shou'd more generally meet to conferr about this imoportant matter, which can't be conveniently done till munday afternoon. The rest is Civility, nor is it needful to repeat another Letter I had from one of the same persuasion to the same purpose; as I had several from those of other persuafions, approving my System of Toleration, even with fewer Restrictions.

BUT in the mean time the late Mr. Stennet, whose Modesty and Abilities seem'd to outry each other, intimateing by a note to me, that some of their Ministers had propos'd the subscribing my Letter in a publick manner (for they were always declar'd advocates for Toleration) and that others, for prudential reasons, oppos'd this way of proceeding, I sent him back the following answer. Reverend Sir, last Saturday I wrote a Letter to Mr. Allen as the eldest Minister I knew of your profession, and to your self as the most learned. I don't expect that all your brethren shou'd subscribe that Letter, as a publick act (tho I design

<sup>\*</sup> Because I was at that time mostly in the Country.

to make a publick use of it) but only that you and he, and if you please any other persons, shou'd answer it as a private Letter; and say little more than to declare, that you approve of TOLERATION as exprest in those three Demands, and as it is qualify'd and explain'd before, which you take to be the judgment of all the Baptists in England, or fomething to this purpose. The Presbyterians, which were deem'd the most \* intolerant among Protestants, have last week made a Vote against Persecution in a numerous meeting of Minifters, and enter'd it in perpetuam rei memoriam on their books, of which a copy is granted to me to make what use of it I think fit, &c. So that you fee, My Lord, I declin'd all publick proceeding in this affair as much as any other possibly cou'd: knowing it cou'd do no greater service to my Cause, than the method I had my self propos'd; and that it might be probably constru'd to to the disadvantage of the Dissenters, by such as fought all occasions to injure and expose them.

THE occasion of the Vote, or Resolution of the Presbyterians concerning Toleration, which I mention'd in my Letter to Mr. Stennet, was as follows. Certain Quakers came not long before to some of the most eminent Ministers of the Dissenters, complaining that their friends were hardly us'd in New England, and that even some of 'em were put to death for their belief; tho under the threadbare pretence of disobeying the Laws, by returning into the Country, after they were banisht out of it under this capital penalty. Wherefore they desir'd those Ministers, that, if they allow'd of the same Liberty to others elsewhere, which they

enjoy'd themselves here, they wou'd write their thoughts of this affair to their brethren in New. England; who, they doubted not, wou'd respect their judgment. Whereupon those Ministers, after consulting the rest. of their body and receiving their consent, dispatcht two Letters to New England, one from the Independents and another from the Presbyterians, to the perfect satisfaction of the Quakers: and this, you'll say, cou'd be nothing short of declaring for such a TOLERATION, as is contain'd in my Letter.

IT was fo, My Lord; and the moment it came to my knowledge ( the thing happening just about the time of writing my Letter) I desir'd that very Resolution to be given me, as the most authentick answer I cou'd transmit to my Correspondents, fully declareing the opinion of the Presbyterians and Independents about TOLERATION. I requested this in particular of the reverend Mr. Nefbitt, an eminent Independent Minister, who favor'd me with the following Letter. 'Sir, I have discours'd some of those, who subscrib'd the Letter sent to New England, and signify'd to them what was defir'd. They, without the least difficulty, granted it: fo that if you pleafe to favor " me with a line, when you will call, I shall en-' deavor to be in the way to accommodate you with any part of the Letter you may judge neces-' fary. And if your affairs will not allow of this, · let me know if the transmitting of that Paragraph to you, which was read when I faw you, will be ' sufficient. Your pleasure in either of these shall be comply'd with, by your, &c. This was fair dealing in a fair cause, and gave full satisfaction to the persons concern'd; who were amaz'd to find with what

what malignity the Dissenters had been asperst, without any regard to truth or even probability.

I HAD the same Vote, under the like circumstances from the reverend Mr. Shower, a Presbyterian Minister of great merit and reputation, since deceas'd. After as full a declaration of his own fense, as any man cou'd desire, I signify'd to him. that the foresaid Vote, to the procureing of which I doubted not he was mainly instrumental, being the best and weightiest answer that cou'd bc made, I was not defireous of any more answers: and therefore requested him, that some Ministers, who I heard were about to propose a more explicite Declaration of their fense in this matter, might foare themielves that needless trouble. This it feems was a misinformation, and I was referr'd by them, as I wisht, to the so often mention'd Resolution: no publick act, grounded upon my Letter, being either desir'd by me, as appears by the Letter it felf; or thought adviteable by them, as I told above to the ARCHBISHOP. Sir, fays Mr. Shower, I have had an opportunity of discoursing with fome of the Ministers you mention'd, and do not find, after what has been done already with refpect to the Quakers in New-England, that they think it adviseable to speak for so numerous a · Party, unless call'd to it by our Superiors. Here are answers then from all the three Denominations, as full and pertinent as can be to the defign of my Letter; and nothing deny'd but what was never askt, nor ever design'd, viz. to have it subscrib'd by the Diffenting Ministers, as a publick act in the name of their whole body. I am only amaz'd, that any man's Zeal for TOLERATION cou'd prompt him to make such a proposal, especially

at that time: yet, I am sure, the intention of those particular persons was sincere and laudable.

BUT your Lordship perhaps will be curious to know, what that one answer was, which I told the Archeishop did not quite satisfy me; tho I hop'd in time to get it made as full and home as the rest. The point is this. Having had information who it was among the Ministers, that mention'd the being call'd upon to declare any Opinion by their Superiors, I wrote to him (who was my intimate acquaintance, and much Mr. Shower's Senior) to know what he meant by that expression; which I desir'd of him as a matter of grace, and not of right. I receiv'd an answer from him; but in fuch general terms, as left me at a loss about the manner in which fuch a call shou'd be made, or how their answer on such an occasion shou'd be given. Indeed he explain'd himself better to me a good while afterwards at his own house, and gave me sufficient reasons why he was not more frank before: for I must needs own, that he saw much further into futurity than I did.

NOW without troubling your Lordship or the world with a matter of mere curiosity, the Dissenters have at length in the most publick, solemn, and authentick manner, in the most seasonable conjuncture, in the most generous terms, and in a method beyond all exception or cavil, declar'd their opinion of Toleration in the Address which the Presbyterian, Independent, and Anabaptist Ministers, presented in a body to his Majesty, as their joint act, on the fourth of this instant March, and which was inserted in the London Gazettee of the fifth. To use their own words,

They hope their PRINCIPLES are the most FRIENDLY TO MANKIND; and amounting to no more than those of a GENERAL TOLE-RATION to all peaceable Subjects: UNIVER-SAL LOVE AND CHARITY for all Chri-ftians: and to all in matters of Religion as GOD SHALL GIVE THEM LIGHT into his Will about them. This is the most humane, Christian, and extensive Declaration, that ever was made on this side the Gospel. This is truly pleading the Cause of mankind. Tis the sure way to promote Truth and Virtue, to encrease our Wealth and People, to secure our Peace and Prosperity. It justifies the practice of our best friends the Dutch, with every other Nation or Community that grants Entire Liberty of Consci-ENCE: and (with due submission be it spoken) it fully absolves my self from all sinister designs; TOLERATION, as stated in my Letter, not reaching in expression the perfection of that in the Address, nor by implication any further.

YOU'LL not wonder, My Lord, to find me fo very fensibly toucht with this Declaration of all the Diffenters, for a GENERAL TOLERATION; when with me you take a future prospect, and consider all the happy consequences of it to Great Britain.

En aurea nascitur Aetas!
En Proles antiqua redit! Concordia, Virtus,
Cumque Fide Pietas, alta cervice vagantur.

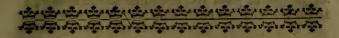
Claud.

Besides that it will prove of infinite advantage to the Dissenters themselves, for whom

you ever exprest a great regard, it wipes of at once all the calumnies of their enemies on this head; and fets'em in a true light to the King, against whatever infinuations might be made to their prejudice. It is no GENERAL-PARTICULAR TOLERATION for which they declare, it is a TOLERATION of all peaceable Subjects: it is not the Libeller's ridiculous Toleration of one Religion, exclusive by name of the \* Jews, whom no body can deny to be peaceable Subjects, as we have Heathens that are our Subjects in America: and if we had Mahometan Subjects there, pray where wou'd be the harm to the State of tolerateing them? for to genuine Christianity it wou'd be none, against which Mahometanism can never gain any ground but by the arm of flesh; and as to civil Government, they have no principles any way incompatible with it. A religious foundation, diflinct from a political foundation for TOLERATION, is Non-sense; since true Religion and sound Politicks can never disagree, much less contradict each other. This whole matter is so admirably set out in the FUND AMENTAL LAWS of Carolina, S. 97, that you'll not be ill pleas'd, I dare say, to see the words in this Memorial. 'Since the Natives of ' that place, who will be concern'd in our Plantation, are utter strangers to Christianity, whose dolatry, Ignorance, or Mistake, give us no right to expell or use them ill; and that those, who remove from other parts to plant there, will unavoidably be of different opinions concerning matters of Religion, the LIBERTY whereof they will expect to have allow'd them,

<sup>2. 76.</sup> 

and it will not be reasonable for us on this account to keep them out: that civil Peace may be maintain'd amidst the Diversity of opinions, and our 'Agreement and Compact with all men may be duely and faithfully observ'd (the violation whereof upon what pretence foever cannot be without great offence to almighty God, and great feandal to the true Religion which we profess)
and also that Jews, Heathers, and other Differters from the purity of Christian Religion, may onot be scar'd and kept at a distance from it; but, by having an opportunity of acquainting themselves with the truth and reasonableness of c its Doctrines, and the peaceableness and inoffenfiveness of its Professors, may by good usage and persuasion, and all those convincing methods of
Gentleness and Meekness, suteable to the rules and defign of the Gospel, be won over to embrace and unfeignedly receive the Truth: THEREFORE any seven or more persons a-greeing in any Religion, shall constitute a CHURCH or Profession, to which they shall give fome name to distinguish it from others. Nevertheless in the foregoing §. 96. the Church of England is establisht the National Religion of Carolina, and it alone allow'd to receive publick maintenance by grant of Parliament: tho, as to civil Trusts, and a capacity of holding Places of profit or honor, there was nothing requir'd, with respect to Religion, but to be a member of some Church or Profession, as may be seen §. 101. Most Happy and flourishing did Carolina continue, while these and the like Laws were observ'd : but since a breach has been made upon them, every body knows the fatal consequences.



## SECTION IV.

O return now to the Dissenters, since, agreeably to what I have faid of them more than once in my former Memorial (that they were to a man no less zealous for King George than hearty for the civil Constitution) they now say of themselves in their late Address, that they know not of the King's haveing among them an open, a secret, or a suspected enemy; nor any, who, notwithstanding what they have suffer'd from his Majestie's enemies, or the NEGLECT they have hitherto met with from others (for whose sakes, and with whom, they bave been always content to suffer) can be brought to the least degree of INDIFFERENCE about any thing that concerns his Majesty, his Family, or his Administration: fince all this, I fay, is incontestably true, and that the King has been graciously pleas'd to declare, that he's fully convinc'd of the LOYALTY and ZEAL of the Protestant Dissenters; nothing shall hinder me from faying, that, farr from being longer NEGLECTED by their Low-church friends, they highly deserve to be distinguisht in another manner than by MARKS OF INFAMY. They are Englishmen, they are Protestants, they are for King GEORGE, they are for the Constitution: wherefore I cannot but hope, that confidering what has happen'd of late, and what we are threatn'd with at present, they will be made capable by Law to defend their lives, their Religion, the King, and the Constitution : in a word, that they'll be restor'd to all the native and legal advantages

advantages of good and peaceable Subjects, as well in Corporations as elsewhere.

SINCE it is very plain by the experience of all ages, that tis not any difference of opinions, but useing men ill for this difference, that causes hatred and animolities; there cannot be a greater encouragement for putting the Dissenters in the same civil capacities with their fellow-subjects and fellow-protestants, than the disposition they entertain on their part, even towards their implacable enemies the High-Church men. As a proof of this, among many others I cou'd produce, I shall transcribe a passage, deserving to be writ in letters of gold, from an Ordination-charge by the reverend Dr. Calamy, whose name is respected by all lovers of Learning and Moderation. Speaking to the newly ordain'd Ministers, if you have any thing to do (fays he) with Deifts, Socinians, Arrians, or Papists, carry it to them with HUMANITY: and let them see, that you bear no Ill-will to their persons, how much soever you dislike their principles or practices. And as for those that are warm for the NATIONAL-CHURCH-ESTABLISHMENT, out of which you are excluded, carry it to them as brethren, how much soever you find they differ from you. Never treat them with contempt, or return Railing for Railing. Shew them by your behavior, that a hearty brotherly love is very consistent with all that diversity of Sentiments, there is between them and us. Re-joice in the usefulness of any of them to spread serious piety, or to promote works of charity; at the same time that you freely lament (and not without reason) the visibly much greater zeal of most of them to promote the INTEREST OF A PARTY, both here at home and in foreign parts. Endeavor to convince them of that which is a very great truth, and our real glory; that our CHARITY is more GENEROUS, DISINTE-RESTED, and EXTENSIVE than theirs. And how forward soever they appear to be to bear hard upon you, and upon those you are satisfy'd are in the main in the right; instead of running as farr from them as you can, discover a readiness upon all occasions to join in with them in any thing, that may do real service to the civil Government, or promote serious Piety, or even contribute to a happy ACCOMMODATION OF DIFFERENCES in the Church: upon their discovering that temper that is necessary to produce Peace, and such a farther union as none may have cause to complain of, as bearing hard upon them, in depriving them of any thing to which they have a natural, a civil, or a scriptural right.

THIS excellent passage needs no comment, and therefore I shall here add to it another passage of the same author, in his Brief and true account of the Protestant Dissenters in England to a Divine in Germany. Such friends, says he, are they to that Christian Charity, upon which the writings of the New Testament lay so great a stress, that while those of the establisht Church, are generally for confineing their communion to such as are of their own way only, a number of the Dissenters have from the first (tho they de-clar'd they foresaw the disservice it wou'd do to their particular Interest) own'd themselves freely for OCCA-SIONAL CONFORMITY with Christians of all forms, who agree in the Essentials of Religion, in testimony of their esteeming them brethren, notwithstanding their differences in lesser matters. And indeed this Occasional Conformity, the most charitable, generous, and Christian practice that can be, is so farr from being (as the enemies of protestant Union malicioully suggest) an equivocal or novel trick to get into

into places, that many Diffenters practis'd it, when constant conformity cou'd not get any Whig into preferment. But tis easy to stop the Mouths of Gainfayers, by an undeniable matter of fact, which I produc'd to this purpose on another occasion: for the Independents in the year 1658, when they were farr from being Dissenters, did allow and ratify this Occasional Conformity in the Declaration of their faith and Order, at their Assembly in the Savoy After declaring, in the 29th article or paragraph of their Discipline, that persons sound in the Faith, and of conversation becoming the Gospel (tho of different Reforming Churches) ought not to refuse the Communion of each other; so farr forth as may consist with their own principles respectively, the they walk not in all things according to the same rules of Church Order: the next article, which is the last in the book, runs in these words; Churches gather'd and walking according to the mind of Christ, judging other Churches, tho less pure, to be true Churches may receive unto Occasional Communion with them such members of those Churches, as are credibly testify'd to be godly, and to live without offence. Here's Occa-SIONAL COMMUNION name and thing, long before the Acts of Parliament, incapacitating Diffenters, were in being: and there's all the reason in the world to hope, that it will again be encourag'd by fuch as are true lovers of the peace of the Church of England, and the prosperity of the whole Protestant Interest.

TO set this subject of GENERAL TOLERATION still in a better light, I shall add in this place, My Lord, a Letter written near five years after mine, by the STATES GENERAL of the United Netherlands; in which, like true fathers of their Country, they

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make an Apology for some of their Dissenting subjects, tho the most distant from the national Church of any Protestants in the Provinces. Nay, They generously intercede for those of the same sect, even under a foreign jurisdiction: so farr are they from not interesting themselves for any Protestants, unless they be precisely of their own communion. Arminians are frequently imploy'd by them as well as Calvinists, of which I cou'd give diverse examples; none being excluded from civil Offices by law but Papists, who yet are imploy'd in their Armies, tho seldom of late in their national Troops. And, to say it in sew words, they discover that manly Latitude, and lay down those pious Principles throughout this Letter, as render em truely worthy to sit at the helm of a most potent Republick on earth, and to wear Crowns of glory hereafter in heaven.



A Letter from the High and Mighty STATES-GENERAL of the United Provinces, to the laudable Canton of BERN, in favour of the persecuted MENNONISTS or ANA-BAPTISTS. March 15. 1716.

HE Anabaptists, who live under the juriswith great concern and grief of mind, how they un-6 derstand by letters and certain information, that their Brethren of the same persuasion in Switzerland, and especially in your Canton of Bern, are opprest with heavy and severe Persecutions, for the exercise of their RELIGION: infomuch, that at this time a great number of persons, both men and women, are imprison'd, and threatn'd, not only with lesser punishments, but even with the Gallies, Banishment, and Death itself; upon which account they beg our intercession in favour of their Brethren, for ' alleviating their Sufferings, and preferving to them
the liberty of remaining securely in their native country, in the free exercise of their Religion. We have for many years examin'd the conduct of the Anabaptists, and have found them by expe-' rience to be good and faithful subjects in our ' Country; of a quiet, plain, and fincere manner of life; not medling with any matters, but what belong to them: on which account we neither courd, nor ought, to refuse to so good subjects our intercession in favour of their Brethren. We

hold, as well as your Lordships, the \* REFORM'D RELIGION for the best and true Religion; and we cou'd wish, that the Anabaptist's here, and with you, cou'd be brought over to it. But we are of opinion, that no other means are to be em-' ploy'd to obtain that end, but REASON and CON. VICTION: and that COMPULSION ought never to be us'd in matters of CONSCIENCE, over which GOD bas referved to himself the JURISDICTION; to whom alone every man must give an account, in due time, as well of his OPINIONS, as of his ACTIONS and 6 OMISSIONS. And fince you, as well as we and other Potentates professing the REFORM'D RELI-GION, do fo often, and with very good reason, complain of the Persecution suffer'd by our Brethren, in those countries where an Insupportable ' HIERARCHY has got the upper hand; it does by on means become us to fall into the same methods ' of persecuting those, who, the differing from us ' in some particulars, yet admit the word of God for the + sole rule of their Faith and Manners. But it is much more adviseable, to use Christian forbearance and Toleration towards them, that the enemies of the REFORM'D RELIGION may not have any pretence from the example of fuch perfe-

Lutherans Evangelick.

<sup>\*</sup> Tho the Lutherans are Reform'd, as likewise the Arminians and Anabaptists; yet custom has so obtain'd abroad, that the Calvinists are peculiarly term'd Reform'd, and the

<sup>+</sup> All such are Protestants with the Dutch, and, in effect, are true Protestants according to the original notion of the word: but it does not follow, that all forts of Protestants do equally well interpret or apply the Word of God, or live up to this facred Rule; which certainly none do, so farr as they are for any degree of Persecution.

cutions (practis'd by any reform'd potentates against those, that differ in some things from their sentiments) to justify their severe and cruel Perfecutions of our REFORM'D BRETHREN. It feems ' very strange and surprizing to us, that any shou'd offer to punish others with Banishment, Prifone, Gallies, and Death, on account of their Religion, on which they think their eternal Salvation depends. We think all men shou'd be left free to themselves in those matters, provided that they, who are of any other than of the publick establisht Religion, do nothing that can tend to the pre-' judice of the \* Commonwealth: and it appears to us, that, in this respect, there is less to be apprehended from the Anabaptiffs, than from men of any other persuasion; since they carry them-' selves constantly obedient and submissive to the fuperior Powers in all things, which they don't think contrary to the Word of God. And where-as we are informed, that your Lordships lay three things to their + charge, first, that they do not own Magistracy to be agreeable to the Word of God, or to the tenor of the Christian Reli-6 gion; secondly, that they refuse to swear fideliby to the Government, and to confirm the truth by their Oaths when cited by the Magistrate;

\* This is the eternal Standard, whereby to distinguish Persecution for speculative opinions and harmless rites, from law-

ful Restraints upon unlawful practices.

c thirdly,

<sup>+</sup> The noble Apology here made for the Mennonists, is equally strong in behalf of the Quakers, who, in respect of Magistracy, Oaths, and Arms, perfectly agree with the Dutch Anabaptists; for the English Anabaptists differ not in these things, either from the Church of England, or the other Reform'd Churches.

thirdly, that they refuse to desend their country in case of necessity: it appears to us, that the first of these accusations does not at all agree with the 13th article of their Confession of Faith; by which it is plain that they have other, and much better fentiments of Obedience to Superiors. And as to the matter of Oaths, fince they are of opinion that swearing is forbid them by the Word of God, and that their DECLARATION on their e veracity has the same force and effect with them, as Oaths with others; it follows by confequence, that this opinion can be no \* prejudice to the publick. And as to the third, we think it is too far ftretch'd, fince they do not ' absolutely refuse to defend their Country: but think that the profession and use of Arms, for revenge and ruin to others, is not allow'd of by the Laws of the Gospel; and that it may suffice, that they pay all the Taxes which are laid upon them, by which a State may be defended. We therefore request you, that, for the foresaid rea-6 sons, you will take the affair of these Anabaptists into your consideration: and not only releafe those that are in prison, and abstain from all other punishments; but also allow them, as good Subjects, to live in peace under your fa-' vourable protection. We are of opinion, that you will thereby, not only do no prejudice, but a very great service to your own State (to which we wish all manner of prosperity) and that we ought in this case to observe this Rule, to do to

<sup>\*</sup>We all know what unreasonable and sierce opposition has been made to the Quaker's AFFIRMATION, before the present Parliament wisely past it into a perpetual Law. God bless King GEORGE.

others as we would be done unto. Moreover, it will be very agreeable to us to hear, that our Intercession has produc'd the wish'd effect, for the relief of those afflicted people, and we shall acknowledge the same on all occasions.

UPON the presenting of this Letter to the Canton of Bern by the States General's Minister, he had, among other things, the following expressions in his Memorial.

THEY hope that you, My Lords, who interest your selves with so much tenderness, iointly with the rest of the laudable Cantons, for the deliverance of your Brethren in CHRIST, that are in the Gallies or Prisons of France; and who so often endeavour, to persuade other Potentates to have regard to them in the future e peace: that you, I fay, who act the part of Brethren in affishing the poor French prisoners, will not refuse to your own natural subjects (and what is more, to faithful and peaceable · Subjects) some sparks of the same tender Come passion and Charity. They hope this so much the more, because if you shou'd not do it, there will be reason to fear, that the enemies of our Religion will take advantage from this example, to treat our Brethren after a worse manner: in which case one may truly say, that you pull down with one hand, what you build up with the other with fo much care and charity.

OBLESSED States! (to use the late excellent Bishop of Sarum's phrase) you, that conjointly with Great Britain, are the Refuge of the oppress, the Comfort of the afflicted, the supporters of Truth, and the

the Guardians of Liberty! how Christian are your principles, how humane is your conduct! with what a prodigious encrease of people, and confequently of riches and power, has God almighty fignally bleft your Country, beyond any fuch extent of ground upon the face of the whole earth! as being the natural and most sureable return of that entire impartial toleration you practice, after his own most most gracious example; who fuffers the wheat and the tares to grow together, who causes his fun to shine upon the unjust as well as upon the just, and who accepts those in every nation who fear him, and work righteousness. Other Countries have as much sea, better ports, a richer soil, and a hape pier climate; but they have neither LIBERTY nor TOLERATION. Some have CIVIL LIBERTY, without a RELIGIOUS TOLERATION, which is inconfiftent and absurd. But the nearer any Government approaches to an ENTIRE TOLERATION and an EAST NATURALIZATION (as may be evidently perceiv'd in our own) the more that Country abounds in People, and confequently, as I said just now, the more it flourishes in Traffick, Credit, Power, and Authority: Thrice Happy therefore London, and no less happy Amsterdam! as being each of you under the special protection of God for this special reason, viz. that there's scarce any way known under heaven of honoring his name (provided it dishonors not his image to the unsettling of Society) but either actually is, or may readily be permitted within your Gates. Hence, to repeat it once more, is the mighty Figure you both make in the World; hence is your Populousness, Wealth, and Fame: but the minute you persecute, that minute you dwindle; your pure Religion

Religion will be turn'd to bigotted Superstition, and your slourishing Trade will become fordid Pedling.

- BUT leaving the consideration of these things to our Parliament, and gladly acquainting you that the University of Cambridge has declar'd for UNIVERSAL GOOD-WILL (a most noble expression) towards all their fellow-subjects, in an excellent Address presented to his Majesty the 12th instant; I hope this may be the last Memorial, or even Letter, I shall have the honor of fending to your Lordship, before I see you fafely arriv'd in this Country, where I passionately long to embrace you. I referr you for news to the dispatches of your august Master's Resident, with whom I have no familiarity, the formerly there was some slight acquaintance; which by your means I design to renew, his character being extremely good. I fubmissively kiss your hands, and am with more devotion than I can eafily express

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most faithful obedient Servant

London, Mar. 30. 1717.

PATRICOLA.

FINIS.