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THE COMPLETE WORKS

In Verse and Prose

OF

ANDREW MARVELL

M.P.

FOR THE FIRST TIME FULLY COLLECTED AND COLLATED
WITH THE ORIGINAL AND EARLY EDITIONS, AND CONSIDERABLY
ENLARGED WITH HITHERTO INEDITED PROSE AND POEMS,
AND A TRANSLATION OF THE GREEK AND LATIN POETRY : AND
IN THE QUARTO FORM AN ORIGINAL PORTRAIT ON STEEL, AND OTHER
PORTRAITS, FACSIMILES, AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

EDITED, WITH MEMORIAL-INTRODUCTION, ESSAY, AND NOTES

BY THE

REV. ALEXANDER B. GROSART,

ST. GEORGE'S, BLACKBURN, LANCASHIRE.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. IV. PROSE.

PRINTED FOR PRIVATE CIRCULATION.

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I. MR. SMIRKE : OR THE DIVINE IN MODE :

AND

HISTORICAL ESSAY CONCERNING GENERAL COUNCILS : 1676.

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I.

MR. SMIRKE:
OR THE DIVINE IN MODE:

AND

HISTORICAL ESSAY CONCERNING
GENERAL COUNCILS.

(1676.)

BEING A DEFENCE OF BISHOP CROFT.

NOTE .

Opposite this is the original title-page of "Mr. Smirke, &c." For full notices of the Author vindicated in it—BISHOP CROFT—and other details, see our Preface and Memorial-Introduction in Vol. II. Second only to 'The Rehearsal Transpros'd,' this masterly book, which is brimful of rare and scholarly reading and the most sparkling wit, has been hitherto given with extreme inaccuracy. The Author himself in the original edition says almost pathetically, "The Erratas are too many to be corrected," and intending to correct one the reference to it is misprinted: *e.g.* "But p. 71 *ult* Eighth is to be struck out"—where no such error appears. Nevertheless by a recurrence to the text of 1676, numerous errors of Captain Thompson and others are corrected. As an Appendix Bp. Croft's "Dedication" is added from Captain Thompson's edition. G.



Mr. SMIRKE;
OR, THE
DIVINE in MODE:
BEING

*Certain Annotations, upon the Animad-
versions on the Naked Truth.*

Together with a Short *Historical Essay*,
concerning *General Councils, Creeds, and Im-
positions*, in Matters of Religion.

Nuda, fed Magna est Veritas & prævalebit.

BY
ANDREAS RIVETUS, *Junior*,
Anagr.
RES NUDA VERITAS.

Printed *Anno Domini* MDCLXXVI

[40]

TO THE CAPTIOUS READER.

ALL that I have to require of thee is, That wheresoever my stile or principles strike out and keep not within the same bounds that the most judicious Author of *The Naked Truth* hath all along observed; he may not therefore be traduced. He could best have writ a Defence proportionable to his own subject; had he esteemed it necessary, or that it was decent for him to have enter'd the pit with so scurrilous an Animadverter. But I thought it a piece of due civility from one of the laitie, to interesse myself for one of the clergy, who had so highly obliged the people of England. And I will answer for mine own faults; I ask thee no pardon. Nor therefore is either the Author, or any other particular person, or any Party, to be accused, or misrepresented upon my private account. For the rest, neither let any particular man, or order, inlarge my meaning against themselves, further than in conscience they find they are guilty. Nor let the body of chaplains think themselves affronted. None more esteems them, nor loves their conversation better than I do. They are the succeeding hope of our church, the youth of our clergy; and the clergy are the reserve of our Christianity. Some of them, whom I know, have indeed, and do continue daily to put very singular obligations upon me; but I write to a nobler end, than to revenge my petty concernments.

Adieu.



MR. SMIRKE: OR, THE DIVINE IN MODE.

FT hath been the good-nature (and politicians will have it the wisdom) of most governours to entertain the people with publick recreations; and therefore to incourage such as could best contribute to their divertisement. And hence doubtless it is, that our ecclesiastical governours also (who as they yield to none for prudence, so in good-humor they exceed all others,) have not disdained of late years to afford the laity no inconsiderable pastime. Yea, so great hath been their condescension that, rather then faile, they have carried on the merriment by men of their own faculty, who might otherwise, by the gravity of their calling, have claimed an exemption from such offices. They have ordained, from time to time, several of the most ingenious and pregnant of their clergy to supply the press continually with new books of ridiculous and facetious argument. Wherein divers of them have succeeded even to admiration; insomuch that by the reading thereof, the ancient sobriety and seriousness of the English nation hath been in some good measure discussed and worn out of fashion. Yet, though the clergy have hereby manifested that nothing comes

amiss to them, and particularly, that when they give their minds to it, no sort of men are more proper or capable to make sport for spectators; it hath so happened by the rewards and promotions bestowed upon those who have labour'd in this province, that many others in hopes of the like preferment, although otherwise by their parts, their complexion and education unfitted for this jocular divinity, have in order to it, wholly neglected the more weighty cares of their function. And from hence it proceeds, that to the no small scandal and disreputation of our church, a great *arcanum* of their state hath been discovered and divulged; that, albeit wit be not inconsistent and incompatible with a clergyman, yet neither is it inseparable from them. So that it is of concernment to my lords the bishops henceforward to repress those of 'em who have no wit, from writing, and to take care that even those that have, do husband it better, as not knowing to what exigency they may be reduced: but however that they the bishops be not too forward in licensing and prefixing their venerable names to such pamphlets. For admitting,—though I am not too positive in it,—that our episcopacy is of apostolical right, yet we do not find that among all those gifts then given to men, that which we call wit is enumerated; nor yet among those qualifications requisite to a bishop. And therefore should they, out of complacency for an author, or delight in the argument, or facility of their judgments, approve of a dull book, their own understandings will be answerable, and irreverent people, that cannot distinguish, will be ready to think that such of them differ from men of wit, not only in degree, but in order. For all are not of my mind, who could never see any elevated to that dignity,

but I presently conceived a greater opinion of his wit then ever I had formerly. But some do not stick to affirm that even they, the bishops, come by theirs not by inspiration, not by teaching, but even as the poor laity do light upon it sometimes, by a good mother; which has occasioned the homely Scotch proverb that "an ounce of mother-wit is worth a pound of clergy." And as they come by it as do other men, so they possesse it on the same condition: that they cannot transmit it by breathing, touching, or any other natural *effluvium*, to other persons; not so much as to their most domestick chaplain, or to the closest residentiary. That the king himself, who is no less the spring of that then he is the fountain of honour, yet has never used the dubbing or creating of witts as a flower of his prerogative; much less can the ecclesiastical power conferre it with the same ease as they do the holy orders. That whatsoever they can do of that kind is at uttermost, to impower men by their authority and commission, no otherwise then in the licensing of midwives or physitians. But that as to their collating of any internal talent or ability, they could never pretend to it; their grants and their prohibitions are alike invalide, and they can neither capacitate one man to be witty, nor hinder another from being so, further then as the press is at their devotion. Which if it be the case, they cannot be too circumspect in their management, and should be very exquisite,—seeing this way of writing is found so necessary,—in making choice of fit instruments. The Church's credit is more interested in an ecclesiastical droll, then in a lay chancellor. It is no small trust that is reposed in him to whom the bishop shall commit *omne et omnimodum suum ingenium*,

tam temporale quam spirituale : and however it goes with excommunication, they should take good heed to what manner of person they delegate the keys of Laughter. It is not every man that is qualified to sustain the dignity of the Church's jester; and should they take as exact a scrutiny of them as of the Nonconformists thorow their diocesses, the number would appear inconsiderable upon this Easter Visitation. Before men be admitted to so important an employment, it were fit they underwent a severe examination; and that it might appear, first, whether they have any sense; for without that how can any man pretend,—and yet they do,—to be ingenious? Then, whether they have any modesty; for without that they can only be scurrilous and impudent. Next, whether any truth; for true jests are those that do the greatest execution. And lastly, it were not amiss that they gave some account too of their Christianity; for the world has always been so uncivil as to expect something of that from the clergy, in the design and stile even of their most uncanonical writings. And though I am no rigid imposer of a discipline of mine own devising, yet had anything of this nature entered into the minds of other men, it is not impossible that a late pamphlet, published by Authority and proclaimed by the Gazette, "*Animadversions upon a late pamphlet, entitled, The Naked Truth; or, The True State of the Primitive Church,*" might have been spared.

That book so called, *The Naked Truth*, is a treatise, that, were it not for this its opposer, needs no commendation; being writ with that evidence and demonstration of Spirit, that all sober men cannot but give their assent and consent to it, unasked. It

is a book of that kind, that no Christian scarce can peruse it without wishing himself had been the author, and almost imagining that he is so; the conceptions therein being of so eternal an idea, that every man finds it to be but the copy of an original in his own mind, and though he never read it till now, wonders it could be so long before he remembered it. Neither, although there be a time whenas they say all truths are not to be spoken, could there ever have come forth any thing more seasonable; when the sickly nation had been so long indisposed and knew not the remedy, but (having taken so many things that rather did it harm than good) only longed for some moderation, and as soon as it had tasted this, seemed to itself, sensibly to recover; when their representatives in Parliament had been of late so frequent in consultations of this nature, and they, the physitions of the nation, were ready to have received any wholesome advice for the cure of our malady. It appears moreover plainly that the Author is judicious, learned, conscientious, a sincere Protestant, and a true son, if not a father, of the Church of England. For the rest, the book cannot be free from the imperfections incident to all humane indeavours, but those so small, and guarded every where with so much modesty, that it seems there was none left for the Animadverter, who might otherwise have blush'd to reproach him. But some there were that thought Holy Church was concerned in it, and that no true-born son of our mother of England but ought to have it in detestation. Not only the churches but the coffee-houses rung against it. They itinerated like excise-spyes from one house to another, and some of the morning and evening chaplains burnt their lips with perpetual discoursing

it out of reputation, and loading the Author, whoever he were, with all contempt, malice and obloquy. Nor could this suffice them, but a lasting pillar of infamy must be erected to eternize his crime and his punishment. There must be an answer to him, in print, and that not according to the ordinary rules of civility, or in the sober way of arguing controversie, but with the utmost extremity of jeere, disdain, and indignation; and happy the man whose lot it should be to be deputed to that performance. It was Shrove-Tuesday with them, and, not having yet forgot their boyes-play, they had set up this cock, and would have been content some of them to have ventur'd their coffee-farthings, yea their Easter-pence by advance, to have a fling at him. But there was this close youth who treads alwayes upon the heels of Ecclesiastical Preferment, but hath come nearer the heels of the Naked Truth then were for his service, that rather by favour then any tolerable sufficiency carried away this employment, as he hath done many others from them. So that being the man pitched upon, he took up an unfortunate resolution that he would be witty: infortunate, I say, and no less criminal; for I dare aver that never any person was more manifestly guilty of the sin against nature. But however to write a book of that virulence, and at such a season, was very improper; even in the holy time of Lent, when, whether upon the sacred account, it behoved him rather to have subjugated and mortified the swelling of his passions; or whether upon the political reason, he might well have forborn his young wit, as but newly pigg'd or calv'd, in order to the growth of the yearly summer provisions. Yet to work he fell, not omitting first to sum himself up in the whole wardrobe of his

function; as well because his wit consisting wholly in his dresse, he would (and 'twas his concernment to) have it all about him: as to the end that being huff'd up in all his ecclesiastical fluster, he might appear more formidable, and in the pride of his heart and habit out-boniface an Humble Moderator. So that there was more to do in equipping of Mr. Smirke then there is about Doriman, and the Divine in Mode might have vyed with Sir Fopling Flutter. The vestry and the tiring-roome were both exhausted, and 'tis hard to say whether there went more attendants toward the composing of himself, or of his pamphlet. Being thus drest up, at last forth he comes in print. No poet either the first or the third day could be more concern'd; and his little party, like men hired for the purpose, had posted themselves at every corner to feigne a more numerous applause; but clap'd out of time, and disturb'd the whole company.

*Annotations upon his Animadversions on the Title,
Dedication, &c.*



T first bolt in his Animadversions on the Title, the Dedication and the Epistle to the Reader; he denounces sentence before inquiry, but against the book itself, forgetting already his subject, so early his brain circulates; and saith that, "having perused the book thorowly, he is "abundantly satisfied not only from his stile, which "is something enthusiastick" (his speech bewrays him) "but from his matter and principles, if he stick "to any, that the Author is a borderer upon "Fanaticisme and does not know it." Even as the

Animadverter is upon wit and reason; for I have heard that borderers for the most part are at the greatest distance, and the most irreconcilable. What the 'Stile' is of a Title, and what the 'principles' of a Dedication and Epistle to the Reader,—for these, if any, the Animadverter ought here to have stuck to,—it's indeed a weighty disquisition, fit for a man of his talent. But I have read them over, and so have others of better judgement, and find every sentence therein poised with so much reverence, humility and judicious piety, that from an humane pen (allowing the reader any tolerable share too of humanity) I know not what more could have been expected. And as to the matter, it seems to be but a paraphrase upon the "principles" of the song of the angels: "Glory to God on high, on earth peace, good-will toward men"—[St. Luke II. 14.] If to speak at that rate, and upon such a subject, with so good an intention, be to have an enthusiastick stile or fanatical principles, it is the first crime of which I should be glad to be guilty. What in the mean time shall we say to these men, who, out of a perverse jealousy they have of the Nonconformists, run,—which few wise men do,—into the contrary extreme, affixing such odious names to every word or thing that is sober and serious, that with their good-will they would render it impracticable for men even to discourse pertinently concerning Religion or Christianity? Put it upon this short issue: If the stile of the epistle before *The Naked Truth* be enthusiastick and fanatical, the stile of the Animadverter is presumed, and so allowed of, as spiritual, divine, and canonical.

The first evidence that he produces, after so hasty a sentence against the Author, is out of the book too, not out of the title, dedication, or epistle; that he

has said p. 17. "In the primitive times, when the "whole world of Jews and Gentiles were enemies to "the Church and not one of your ceremonies to "preserve it, the simple Naked Truth without any "surplice to cover it, without any Ecclesiastical "Policy to maintaine it, overcame all, and so it would "do now, did we trust to it, and the Defender of it." And upon this he runs division: "The Defender in heaven," God; "the defender of the faith," his Majesty; and the many "defenders" (among whom I suppose he reckons himself of the principal) "who may be trusted." This is all fooling, whereas the Author does manifestly intend it of God Almighty, and could not otherwise. For though his Majesty may well be trusted for his reign with the defence of the Naked Truth, yet most of us know that in the primitive times, his Majesty was too young for that imployment, and that it was God alone who could then protect it, when the defenders of the faith were all heathens, and most of them persecutors of Christianity. He then descants no less upon Naked Truth; "The Naked Truth of our cause," or, "the Naked Truth of the pamphlet," or, "he knows not what Naked Truth." But he saith "it should have been truth fle'd;" (so he had the butchery of it) which is like Pilate and no worse man, who, when our Saviour told him, He came into the world (John xviii. 37) "That He might bear witness to the truth," asked Him, "What is truth?" and then, though he confessed "he found no evil in this man," delivered Him over, against his conscience, to be stripped, scourged, fley'd, and afterwards crucified. Such like also is his talking, that "this is stripping the Church to the skinne, nay skinne and all," and "skinne for skinne:" so wretchedly does he hunt over hedge and

ditch for an university quibble. The casual progress and leaping consequences of any man's memory are more rational then this method of his understanding, and the Nonconformists' Concordance is a discourse of more coherence then such Animadversions. I have heard a mad-man having got a word by the end, ramble after the same manner. In this only he is true to himself, and candid to the Author, having avowed that "he had scann'd his book thorow," this hacking and vain repetition being just like it when we were at our

*Montibus, inquit, erunt ; et erant sub montibus illis :
Risit Atlantiades ; et me mihi, perfide, prodis ?
Me mihi prodis ? ait.*

For as I remember this 'scanning' was a liberal art that we learn'd at grammar-school ; and to scann verses as he does the Author's prose, before we did, or were obliged to understand them. But his tugging all this while at "skin," and "skin for skin," and "all that he has he will give for his life," [Job ii. 4.] meerly to hale in an ill-favor'd jeer at the Author—and truely with some profaneness,—for proposing the Naked Truth as necessary for the "self-preservation of our Church," and an "expedient againt Popery ;" is (whatsoever the Animadverter's judgment be) a retchlesness and mockery ill becoming his character. And it savors of the liquorishness of a trencher-chaplain, little concerned in the *curâ animarum*, so he may but *curare cuticulam*.

But as to his fastidious reproach of the Author's "seeking of God, his fasts and his prayers," the Animadverter is more excusable, having doubtless writ his pamphlet without practising any of these

fanatical superstitions, as neither was it requisite ; but if he had, 'twas such an answer to his prayers as never before came from heaven. The Animadverter is proof against such exorcismes ; and although our Saviour prescribed these remedies against the most obstinate devils, this man it seems is possessed with a superiour spirit, which is not to be cast out, no not by prayer and fasting, [St. Matthew xvii. 21.] but sets them at defiance.

Nor had the Animadverter, when he considered himself, less reason to blame the Author for deliberating so long before he published his book, and for doing it then with so much modesty. These are crimes of which the Animadverter will never be suspected or accused by any man, at least they will do him very much wrong, but however it will be impossible ever to convict him of them. But to word it so superciliously ! “ This has been the travel “ of his mind, since he had these thoughts, which he “ has been humbly conceiving these two years ; time “ enough for an elephant to have brought forth in.” Why there is, 'tis true, a winged sort of elephant, hath a peculiar trunk too like the other, is not so docile and good-natured, but impudent, flying in every man's face, and sanguinary, thirsting alwayes after blood ; and, as if it were some considerable wild beast, makes a terrible buzze ; but in conclusion 'tis a pitiful, giddy, blind, troublesome insect, ingendered in a night's time in every marish, can but run a pore thorow and give but a skinné-wound, and the least touch of a man's finger will crush it. In the Naked Truth it is but a gnat : and such is the Animadverter compared with the Author.

But in this next paragraph the Animadverter seems to have outshot himself, that not content with

having passed his own ecclesiastical censure upon the Author, he forges too in his mind a sentence of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament: who, "he believes" and "'tis probable," would have doom'd the book to have been burnt by the hangman. In this he hath meddled beyond his last: but it is some men's property; yet neither is it so likely they would have done it at the same time when they were about passing an act for the easing all Protestant Dissenters from penalties. Had he vouch'd for the Convocation, his belief, or his probability might have been of more value.

But what has he to do (yet they have a singular itch to it) with Parliament business? or how can so thin a skull comprehend or divine the results of the wisdom of the nation? Unless he con, as in the epilogue,

"Legion his name, a people in a man,"

And, instead of Sir Fopling Flutter, he, Mr. Smirke,

"Be knight oth' shire and represent them all."

Who knows indeed but he may, by some new and extraordinary Writ, have been summon'd, upon the emergency of this book, to represent in his peculiar person the whole Representative? Yet by his leave, though he be so, he ought not to undertake before he be assembled. I know indeed he may have had some late precedents for it, and for some years continuance, from men too of his own profession. And if therefore he should undertake,—and to give a good tax for it,—yet what security can he have himself, but that there may rise such a contest between the Lords and Commons within him, that, before they can agree about this judicial proceeding against the book, it may be thought fit to prorogue him?

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The crimes indeed are hainous, and if the man and book be guilty, may when time comes, furnish special matter for an impeachment, that "he has made a breach on their glorious Act of Uniformity, violated their Act, their most necessary Act" (the Animadverter had reason by this time to say so) "against printing without a license:" and I suppose he reserves another for aggravation in due time; the Act against seditious conventicles. For these three are all of a piece, and yet are the several pieces of the Animadverter's armour: and indeed no less, nor no more then necessary. For considering how empty of late the Church magazines have been of that spiritual armour, which the Apostle found sufficient against the assaults of whatsoever enemy, even of Satan; what could men in all humane reason do less, then to furnish such of the clergy as wanted, with these weapons of another warfare? But, although these Acts were the true effects of prudence and piety of that season, yet it is possible (but who can provide for all cases?) that, if they have not already, there may arise in a short time some notable inconvenience. For suppose that truth should one day or other come to be truth and every man a lyer, (I mean of the humour of this *parliamentum indoctum*, this single representative, this Animadverter) you see there is no more to be said, as the case stands at present, but 'executioner do your office.' Nor therefore can it ever enter into my mind, as to that act particularly of printing, that the lawgivers could thereby intend to allow any man a promiscuous licentiousness and monopoly of printing pernicious discourses tending to sow and increase dissension thorow the Land (of which there is but too large a crop already;) as neither of prohibiting books dictated by Christian

meekness and charity for the promoting of truth and peace among us, and reconciling our differences; nor, nor even of such as were writ to take out the blots of printing-inke, and wipe off the aspersions which divers of the licensed clergy cast upon men's private reputations; and yet this is the use to which the law is sometimes applied. And this Animadverter, who could never have any rational confidence or pretence to the press or print, but by an unlucky saying men have, or by the text-letters of his *imprimatur*, arraignes this worthy author for printing without allowance, as if it were a sin against the eleventh commandment. Though a Samaritan may not practise physick without a licence, yet must a priest and a Levite alwayes "pass by on the other side," and if one of them, in an age, "pour oyle and wine," into the wounds of our Church (instead of tearing them wider) must he be cited in the spiritual Court and incur all penalties? This high charge made me the more curious to inquire particularly how that book, *The Naked Truth* was published, which the Animadverter himself pretends to have got a sight of with some difficulty. And I am credibly informed that the Author caused four hundred of them and no more to be printed against the last Session but one in Parliament. For nothing is more usual then to print and present to them proposals of revenue, matters of trade, or any thing of publick convenience, and sometimes cases and petitions; and this, which the Animadverter calls the Author's dedication, is his "humble petition to the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament"; and understanding the Parliament inclined to a temper in religion, he prepar'd these for the Speakers of both Houses, and as many of the members as those could furnish; but that the

Parliament rising just as the book was delivering out and before it could be presented, the Author gave speedy order to suppress it till another session. Some covetous printer in the mean time getting a copy, surreptitiously reprinted it, and so it flew abroad without the Author's knowledge, and against his direction. So that it was not his, but the printer's fault to have put so great an obligation upon the publick. Yet because the Author has in his own copyes, out of his unspeakable tenderness and modesty, begg'd pardon of the Lords and Commons, in his petition, for transgressing their act against printing without a licence, this *indoctum parliamentum*, mistaking the petition as addressed to himself, will not grant it, but insults over the Author and upbraids him the rather as a desperate offender, "that sins on" he saith, "goes on still in his wickedness," and hath done it "against his own conscience." Now truly if this were a sin, it was a sin of the first impression; and the Author appears so constant to the Church of England, and to its Liturgy in particular, that, having confessed four hundred times with an "humble, lowly, penitent, and obedient heart," I doubt not but in assisting at divine service he hath frequently since that received absolution. It is something strange that to publish a good book is a sin, and an ill one a virtue; and that while one comes out with Authority, the other may not have a dispensation. So that we seem to have got an expurgatory press, though not an Index, and the most religious truth must be expung'd and suppressed in order to the false and secular interest of some of the clergy. So much wiser are they grown by process of time then the obsolete Apostle that said "we can do nothing against the truth." [2 Corin. xiii. 8.] But this hath been of

late years the practice of these single representers of the Church of England, to render those peccadillioes against God as few and inconsiderable as may be, but to make the sins against themselves as many as possible, and these to be all hainous and unpardonable. In so much that if we of the laity would but study our self-preservation, and learn of them to be as true to our separate interest as these men are to theirs, we ought not to wish them any new power for the future, but after very mature deliberation. Forasmuch as any one Act does but serve, as some of them use it, to make the good people of England walk in peril of their souls, to multiply sin and abomination thorow the Land, and by ingaging men's minds under spiritual bondage, to lead them canonically into temporal slavery. Whereas the laity are commonly more temperate and merciful (I might say more discreet) in the exercising of any authority they are intrusted with; and what power they have, they will not wear it thred-bare; so that if I were to commit a fault for my life, (as suppose by printing this without a license) I would chuse to sin against good Mr. Oldenburg.

But this Animadverter is the genuine example of ecclesiastical clemency, who, proceeding on, cannot bear that the Author should use the title of an "Humble Moderator" (he thinks him sure guilty herein *læsæ majestatis ecclesiasticæ*, and that both these qualities are incompatible with one of their coat, and below the dignity of any man of the faculty) much less will he indure him when he comes, in the following discourse, to justify his claim to that title, by "letting his moderation," according to the Apostle's precept, "be known to all men, for the Lord is at hand." [Philp. IV. 5.] But he saith

that the Author "assumes, imposes, and turns all upside down," and witnesses an "immoderate zeal for one" (that is, the Nonconformists) "party:" then which the Animadverter could never have invented a more notorious, studied, and deliberate falshood, to prepossesse and mislead the gentle reader. Wherein does he "assume?" He speaks like a man, a creature to which modesty and reason are peculiar: not like an Animadverter, that is an animal which hath nothing humane in it but a malicious grinne, that may provoke indeed but cannot imitate so much as laughter. Wherein does he "impose?" In nothing but by declaring his opinion against all unreasonable imposition. And though it appears natural to him to speak with gravity, yet he usurps not any authority, further then as any man who speaks a truth which he thorowly understands, cannot with all his modesty and humility hinder others from paying a due reverence to his person and acquiescing in his doctrine. But wherein does he "turn all upside down?" This hath been a common topick of ecclesiastical accusation. Our Saviour was accused that He would "destroy the Temple." [St. Mark xiv. 58.] The first martyr Stephen was stoned as a complice. And Saint Paul (as ill luck would have it) was made odious upon the same crimination of the Animadverter's: Acts xvii. 5, 6. For, "certain lewd fellows, of the baser sort, set all the city in an uproar, crying, those that have turned the world upside down are come hitber also." And yet, notwithstanding all these calumnies, the *Naked Truth*, Christianity, hath made a shift, God be thanked, to continue till this day; and there will never want those that bear testimony to it, even to the Primitive Christianity, maugre all the arts that

the men of religion can contrive to misrepresent and discountenance it. But as for the "turning all upside down," the Animadverter is somewhat innocent, if by the defect of his organs, as it fares with those whose brain turns round, (so we vulgarly expresse it) he have imagined that the world is tumbling headlong with him. But as to the prejudice, which he therefore reserved as the most effectual and taking to undoe the Author by, that he is "immoderately zealous for the Nonconformists;" it is the effect of as strong a phancy, or as malicious an intention as the former; it being scarce possible to open the book in any place without chancing upon some passage where he makes a firm profession, or gives a clear proof of his real submission and addiction to the Church of England; all his fault for ought I see being, that he is more truly and cordially concerned for our Church then some men's ignorance is capable of, or their corrupt interest can comply with. But therefore, whoever were the adviser, it is not well done to use him in this dirty manner. There is no prudence in it, nor whereas the Author, in excuse that he sets not his name, saith it is, "because he is a man of great passions, and not able "to bear a reproach" (the Animadverter had done fairer to cite the whole), "or commendations: my "small ability puts me out of danger of the last, but "in great fear of the former." Therefore to resolve thus (whereas they might have undone him you see by commendation) the rather to reproach him, now they have learnt his feebleness, Holy Church, I can tell you, hath suffered upon that account so often that it were time for her to be wiser. For by exasperating men of parts, who out of an ingenious love of truth have temperately w.t. against some

abuses, she hath added provocation to men's wit to look still further; insomuch that at last it hath sometimes produced (then which nothing can be more dangerous to the Church) a Reformation. Therefore, though Christ hath commanded His followers (so it be not I suppose out of his way) that if any man press them to go one mile, they should go two;—[St. Matt. v. 41.]—yet it is not wisdom in the Church to pretend to, or however to exercise, that power of *angariating* men further than their occasions or understandings will permit. If a man cannot go their length 'tis better to have his company in quiet as far as his road lyes. For my part I take the Church of England to be very happy in having a person of his learning and piety so far to comply with her; and if my advice might be taken, she should not lose one inch more of him by handling him irreverently. For if once she should totally lose him, God knows what an instrument he might prove, and how much good he might do in the nation, more than he ever yet thought of. What a shame it is to hear the Animadverter abuse him (who, by the very character of his stile, appears no vulgar person, and by how much he hath more of truth, hath more of God's image, and should therefore have imprinted that awe upon him that man hath over most brutes:) he, to trifle with so worthy a person at that rate, that one would not use the meanest varlet, the dullest school-boy, the rankest idiot, no, nor the veryest Animadverter! However, he saith, "the Author hath done himself, and him (the Animadverter,) a great favour, by concealing his name, in making it impossible for him to reflect upon his person" (otherwise it seems he should have had it home) "which he knows no more than the man in

"the moon." But therefore I am the rather jealous he did know him: for the Animadverter having a team of *Gnaza's* alwayes at his devotion, and being able if any one tired by the way, to relieve it and draw in person, never think that he would want intelligence in that region. Come, 'twas all but an affected ignorance in the Animadverter, and he had both inquired and heard as much as any of us, who was the probable Author: and all the guard that he lyes upon is, because the Author had not given him legal notice that he writ it. And this was even as the Animadverter would have wished it. For if a reverend person had openly avowed it, he could not have been sawcy with so good a grace; but under the pretence of "not knowing," Sir, that it was you; but only, Sir, "as you were the patron of so vile a cause," many a dry bob, close gird, and privy nip has he given him. Yet he saith, the "Author would have done well, and a piece of justice, to have named himself, so to have cleared others; for it hath been confidently layed to the charge of more than one reverend person" (how slily!) "who (I have great reason to believe, and am several ways assured) had no hand in it." Truly, the Animadverter too, would have done a piece of justice to have named himself; for there has been more then one witty person traduced for his pamphlet, and I believe, by this time he would take it for a great favour if any man would be such a fool as own it for him. For he very securely reproaches the Author, and yet I have been seeking all over for the Animadverter's name, and cannot find it; notwithstanding that he writes forsooth in defence of the Church of England; and "against so vile a cause," as he stiles it, and under the publick patronage. Which is most disin-

genuously done; as on other accounts so in respect of my Lord Bishop of London, whom he has left in the lurch, to justify another man's follies with his authority. But however that venerable person, who has for learning, candor, and piety, (as he does for dignity also,) outstripp'd his Age and his fellows, have been drawn in to license what certainly he cannot approve of. It was but his first-fruits, and a piece of early liberality, as is usual, upon his new promotion; and I am given to understand, that for the Animadverter's sake, it is like to be the last that he will allow of that nature. But this is not only a trick of the Animadverter's, but ordinary with many others of them; who, while we write at our own peril, and perhaps set our names to it, (for I am not yet resolved whether I can bear reproach or commendation) they that raile for the Church of England, and under the publick license and protection, yet leave men as if it were a hot cockles, to guess blindfold who it is that hit them. But it is possible that some of these too may lie down in their turnes. What should be the reason of it? Sure theirs is not "so vile a cause" too, that they dare not abide by it. Or, are they, the writers, conscious to themselves that they are such things "as ought not once to be named among" Christians? [1 Cor. v. 1.] Or, is it their own sorry performance that makes them ashamed to avow their own books? Or, is there some secret force upon them that obliges them to say things against their conscience? Or, would they reserve a latitude to themselves to turn Nonconformists again upon occasion? Or, do they in pure honesty abstaine from putting a single name to a book, which hath been the workmanship of the whole diocess?

But though he know not his name, "seeing he has vented his own amusements to the Church's great and real prejudice," he saith (and "that is this case") "he must not think to scape for the godliness of his stile:" Impious and most unmerciful! Poor David was often in "this case." [Psal. xxii. 13.] "They gaped upon him with their mouth." "He trusted," said they, "in the Lord that he would deliver him, let him deliver him, seeing He delighted in Him." And Psal. lxxi. 2. "Persecute and take him, there is none to deliver him." And yet there are many places too in Scripture, where God spared men even for their outward formalities, and their hypocrisy served to delay His judgements; and should He not still do so, the Church might receive "greater prejudice." But the Church and God are two things, and are not, it seems, obliged to the same measures; insomuch that even the sincerity of one person, which might perhaps atone for a whole order, and render them acceptable both to God and man, yet cannot hope for his own pardon.

"Neither must he think to scape for a man of good intentions; yet sure he is, else would not give the devil so much more than his due, saying, he would never condemne any good action, though done by the devil, as if," saith the Animadverter, "he supposed the devil might do some such." Here he thinks he has a shrewd hit at him, and this, if a man had leisure, might beget a metaphysical controversy; but I desire him rather to comment on that: "Doest thou believe? thou doest well; the devils also believe and tremble." [St. James ii. 19.] Whereas he goeth on to mock at the Author's "good intentions," and tells him pleasantly, that "Hell itself is full of such as were once full of good intentions." 'Tis a

concluding piece of wit, and therefore, as well as for the rarity, should be civilly treated and encouraged ; so that I shall use no further retortion there, [than] that if this be the qualification of such as go to Hell, the Animadverter hath secured himself from coming there, and so many more as were his partners. And thus much I have said upon his "Animadversions on the Title," &c. wherein, he having misrepresented the Author, and prejudicated the reader against him by all disingenuous methods, and open'd the whole pedler's-pack of his malice, which he half-p—worths out in the following discourse to his petty chapmen, I could not possibly say less, though it exceeds perhaps the number of his pages. For it is scarce credible how voluminous and pithy he is in extravagance ; and one of his sides in *quarto*, for falshood, insolence, and absurdity, contains a book in *folio*. Besides, the reader may please to consider how much labour it costs to bray even a little thing in a mortar ; and that calumny is like London dirt, with which though a man may be spattered in an instant, yet it requires much time, pains, and fullers-earth to scour it out again.

ANNOTATIONS *upon the ANIMADVERSIONS on the First Chapter, concerning ARTICLES OF FAITH.*



HE Play begins. "I confess" (do so then, and make no more words) "when first I saw "this jewel of a pamphlet, and had run over "two or three pages of this chapter, I suspected the Author for some youngster that had "been dabbling amongst the Socinian writers, and "was ambitious of shewing us his talent in their "way. I was quickly delivered from this jealousy,

“by his orthodox contradictory expressions in other places.” That word “jewel” is commonly used in a good sense, and I know no reason why this book of the Author’s might not be properly enough called so, though the Animadverter hath debased the meaning of the word, to deprave and undervalue the worth of the treatise. For I perceive that, during his chaplainship, he hath learnt it in conversation with the ladies, who translate it frequently, to call whore in a more civil and refined signification. But to say thus, that “he suspected him at first for a Socinian, yet “was quickly cured of his jealousy, because he found “the Author was honest and orthodox:” why should he vent his own amusements thus, to “the great and real prejudice” of any worthy person? It is indeed a piece of second ingenuity for a man, that invents and suggests a calumny of which he is sure to be convict in the instant, therefore with the same breath to disclaim it; but it manifests in the meantime how well he was inclined, if he thought it would have pass’d upon the Author; and that, could the Animadverter have secured his reputation, he would have adventured the falshood. What would he not have given to have made the world believe that he was a Socinian? In this beginning you have a right pattern of the Animadverter’s whole stuffe, and may see what measure the Author is to expect all thorow.

But “he finds,” he saith, “that he is one of the “men of the second rate, (as he takes leave to stile “them) that scarce ever see to the second consequence.” At first I suspected from this expression, that the Animadverter had been some ship-chaplain, that had been “dabbling” in the sea-controversies, a tarpawlin of the Faculty; but I was “quickly delivered from this jealousy” by his magisterial

"contradictions," that shew him to be a man of more "consequence," one of them whose ecclesiastical dignities yet cannot wean them from a certain hankering after the wit of the laity, and applying it as their own, upon (or 'tis no great matter though it be without) occasion. Yet "therefore once for all, "he protests," too, "that he does not charge him with any of his own most obvious consequences as his opinions," (for who would believe the one or other, that reads the Author?) "for 'tis plaine that he does not" (nor any man that hath eyes) "discerne them." This is a candor pregnant with contempt. But in the mean time he thinks it ingenuous to load this "second rate" frigate, (that was fitted out for the king's and the nation's service) so deep that she can scarce swime, with a whole cargo of consequences which are none of the Author's, but will, upon search, be all found the Animadverter's proper goods and trade, his own inconsequences and inanimadversions. So men with vicious eyes see spiders weave from the brim of their own beavers.

As for example, p. 1, he saith, that "this chapter "does admirably serve the turn of the rankest "Sectarian. That in his two or three first pages he "appeared a Socinian." P. 12. That his "pique at the new word *homoousios* carries such an ugly reflection upon the Nicene Creed, that he," (the Animadverter,) "scarce dares understand him." P. 6. The Author speaking against introducing new Articles of Faith, the adversary tells him, "he hopes "he does not mean all our Thirty-nine Articles;" and defends them, as if they were attacked. That "he does implicitly condemne the whole Catholick "Church, both East and West, for being so pre- "sumptuous in her definitions." P. 9. That "upon

"his principles the prime and most necessary Articles of Faith will be in danger; the old dormant heresies, Monothelites, Nestorians, &c. may safely revive again." P. 13. That his "are the very dreggs of Mr. Hobbs his divinity, and worse." P. 14. That "he would have some men live like Pagans, and go to no church at all." P. 16. "So, for ought we know, this Author is a Jesuite, and writes this pamphlet only to embroile us Protestants." P. 25. That "he is guilty of unthought of Popery." P. 33. That our Author "like her (the foolish woman) in the Proverbs, plucks down our Church with his own hands," and that "she had need therefore be upheld against such as he is." Of these inferences, which, not being natural, must have required some labour, he is all along very liberal to the Author; but the vile and insolent language costs him nothing, so that he lays that on prodigally and without all reason. Now, whether a man that holds a true opinion, or he that thus deduces ill consequences from it, be the more blameworthy, will prove to be "the case" between the Animadverter and the Author. And (to shew him now from whence he borrowed his wit of the second rate, and at the second hand)

——all the subject matter of debate,
Is only who's the Knave of the First Rate.

But he saith, because of these things, "the mischief being done, to undoe the charme again, it is become a duty to expose him." Alas! what are they going to do with the poor man? What kind of death is this "exposing?" But sure, considering the executioner, it must be some learned sort of cruelty. Is it the *tæda*, in which they candled a

man over in wax, and he, instead of the wick, burnt out to his live's end like a taper, to give light to the company? Or, is it the *scapha*, wherein a man being stripped naked and smear'd with honey, was in the scorching sun abandon'd to be stung and nibbled by wasps, hornets, and all troublesome insects, till he expired? Or, is it rather *ad bestias*, turning him out unarmed to be baited, worried, and devour'd, by the wild beasts in the theatre? For in the primitive times there were these and an hundred laudable ways more to "expose" Christians; and the Animadverter seems to have studied them. But the crime being of sorcery, and that there is a "charm" which hath wrought great "mischief, and is not to be undone, "but by *exposing* the malefactor," (charme he never so wisely) 'tis more probable that it may be the punishment usual in such cases. And indeed the Animadverter hath many times in the day such fits take him, wherein he is lifted up in the aire, that six men cannot hold him down; teares, raves, and foams at the mouth, casts up all kind of trash, sometimes speakes Greek and Latine, that no man but would swear he is bewitched; and this never happens but when the Author appeares to him. And though in his "*Animadversions on the Title*," &c. he hath so often scratched and got blood of him (the infallible country cure) yet he still finds no ease by it, but is rather more tormented. So that in earnest I begin to suspect him for a witch, or however, having writ the *Naked Truth*, 'tis manifest he is a soothsayer, that's as bad. Many persons besides have for tryal run needles up to the eye in several remarkable places of his *Naked Truth*, that look like moles or warts upon his body; and yet he, though they prick never so much, feels nothing. Nay, some others of

the clergy, whereof one was a bishop, have tyed him hand and foot, and thrown him into the Thames betwixt Whitehall and Lambeth, for experiment; laying so much weight too on him as would sink any ordinary man, and nevertheless he swims still and keeps above water. So dangerous is it to have got an ill name once, either for speaking truth or for incantation, that it comes to the same thing almost to be innocent or guilty; for if a man swim, he is guilty, and to be burnt; if he sinke, he is drowned, and innocent. But therefore this "exposing" must surely be to condemne the Author, as he has done his book already, to the fire, (for no man stands fairer for't, as being first heretick, and now witch by consequence) and then the devil sure can have no more power over the Animadverter. Yet when I consider'd better, that he does not accuse him of any harme that he has suffered by him in person, but that it is the "Church which may justly complain of "him," and having done her so much "mischiefe, "therefore it is become a duty to 'expose him;" I could not but imagine that it must be a severer torment. For if our Church be bewitched, and he has done it,

*Huic mites nimium stammas, huic lenta putassem
Flumina, fumiferi potasset nubila peti.*

Though I never heard before of a Church that was bewitched, except that of the Galatians, Gal. iii. 1. whom St. Paul asks, "O foolish Galatians, who hath bewitched you?" taking it for evident that they were so, "because" (they are his very next words) "they did not obey the truth." (And that was a *Naked Truth* with a witness, the Apostle teaching, that "Christ is become of none effect to them, that

from their Christian liberty returned to the Jewish ceremonies," Gal. v. 4.) But therefore I looked over the Canons, the Rational, the Ceremonial, the Rubrick, imagining the "exposing" mention'd, must be some new part of our ecclesiastical discipline, that I had not taken notice of before, and I should find it in one or other of the Offices. But I lost my labour, and 'twas but just I should, for being so simple, as not to understand at first that to "expose" a man, is to write Animadversions upon him. For that is a crueller torment than all the ten persecutors (and which none but this clergyman could have) invented. To be set in the pillory first, and bedawb'd with so many addle eggs of the Animadverter's own cackle as he pelts him with! How miserable then is the man that must suffer afterwards, *sub tam lento ingenio!* To be raked and harrowed thorow with so rusty a saw! So dull a torture, that it contains all other in it, and which even the Christian reader is scarce able to indure with all his patience! Had he been a man of some acuteness, the pain would have been over in an instant; but this was the utmost inhumanity in whoever it was that advised (whereas several witty men were proposed, that would have been glad of the employment) to chuse out on purpose the veryest Animadverter in all the Faculty. This it is to which the Author is condemned. And now that I know it, and that it is an office, a duty to which our Church, it seems, has advanc'd the Animadverter; I wish him joy of his new preferment, and shall henceforward take notice of him as the Church of England's Exposer, for I can never admit him by any analogy to be an Expositor.

It is no less disingenuously then constantly done of the Exposer in this same p. 1. to concern the

Author in the Nonconformists, that may have reflected any where, as if there were Socinian or Pelagian doctrines "allowed to be preached and "maintained in the city-pulpits." For the Author hath not in his whole book the least syllable that can be wrested to any such purpose. Only it serves the adversarie's turn, as he thinks, to pre-engage the whole clergy and Church of England against him, if they were so simple, and by giving him an odious badge, and jumbling them altogether, to involve him in all the prejudices which are studiously advanced against that Party. But neither have I any thing to urge of that nature, further then, because he will out of season mention these matters, to observe that our Church seems too remiss in the case of Socinus and Volkeliuſ, who had many things of great value stolen from them by a late Plagiary, but as yet have not obtained any justice or restitution.

But seeing the Exposer is thus given to transforme not only the Author, but his words and his meaning ; it is requisite to state this chapter in his own terms : as men set their arms on their plate, to prevent the nimbleness of such as would alter the property. The sum of what he humbly proposes is : "That nothing hath caused more mischief in the Church, then the establishing new "and many Articles of faith, and requiring men to "assent to them with divine faith. For the imposing such on Dissenters, hath caused furious "wars and lamentable bloodshed among Christians. "That it is irrational to promote the truth of the "Gospel, and break an evident commandment to "establish a doubtful truth. For if such Articles "be not fully expressed in Scripture words, it is "doubtful to whom it is forced, though not to the

“Imposer. If it be fully expressed in Scripture words, there needs no new Articles: but if not so, and that it be only deduced from Scripture expressions, then men that are as able and knowing as the Imposer, may think it is not clearly deduced from Scripture. But there is nothing more fully exprest, or that can be more clearly deduced from Scripture, nor more suitable to natural reason, then that no man should be forced to believe; because no man can force himself to believe, no not even to believe the Scriptures, but faith is a work of peculiar grace and the gift of God. And if a man believe what is clearly contain'd in Scripture, he needs not believe anything else with divine faith. To add to, or deminish from the Scripture, is by it unlawful, and lyable to the curse in the Revelation. [Rev. xxii. 18.] If the Imposer answer, he requires not to believe it as Scripture, he doth, if he urge it to be believed with divine faith. If he say he requires it not to be believed with divine faith, he does, if he make it necessary to salvation. There is no command nor countenance given in the Gospel to use force to cause men believe. We have no comprehensive knowledge of the matters declared in Scripture, that are the prime and necessary articles of faith, therefore it is not for any man to declare one tittle more to be believed with divine faith, then God hath there declared. He cannot find the least hint in the Word of God to use any force to compel men to the Church's established doctrine or discipline: and from reason there can be no motive to be forced beyond their reason. To attempt any such force, though to the true believe, is to do evil that good may come of it. But the pastor ought first by plaine and sound doctrine to stop the

“mouths of gainsayers. When the ministers have preached and prayed, they have done all they can in order to men’s believing, the rest must be left to the justice or mercy of God. But if turbulent spirits broach new doctrines, contrary to Scripture, or not clearly contained in the Gospel, and neither by admonitions nor intreaties will be stopt, the pastors may proceed to the exercise of the keys. Which if it were duely performed as in the primitive times, and not by lay-chancellors and their surrogates, would be of great effect. The magistrate ought to silence and oppose such as preach what is contrary to or not clearly contained in the Gospel, and if they persevere in their perversness, he may use his power with Christian moderation. For his power reaches to punish evil doers, who publish or practise something to subvert the fundamentals of religion, or to disturbe the peace of the State, or to injure their neighbours; but not to punish evil believers. But if the magistrate shall conceive he hath power also to punish evil believers, and on that pretence shall punish true believers, the subject is bound to submit and bear it, to the loss of goods, liberty or life.” The reader will excuse this one long quotation, for it will much shorten all that followes.

But now for which of these is it that ’tis become a duty to “expose” him? What is there here that seems not, at first sight, very Christian, very rational? But however, it is all delivered in so grave and inoffensive [a] manner, that there was no temptation to alter the stile into ridicule and satyre. But like some cattle, the Animadverter may browze upon the leaves, or peel the barke, but he has not teeth for the solid, nor can hurt the tree but by accident. Yet a

man that sees not into "the second," but the thirteenth "consequence," that is one "of the disputers of this world,"—[1 Cor. i. 20.]—and "ought [not] to be admitted to these doubtfull disputations" (from which he ironically by St. Paul's rule forsooth excludes the Author) what is there that such an one, so subtile, so piercing, cannot distinguish upon and controvert? Truth it self ought to sacrifice to him that he would be propitious; for if he appear on the other side, it will go against her unavoidably.

In his 27 P[age] he is ravisht in contemplation how *rarachose* it is, to "see or hear a material question in "theology defended in the University-schools, where "one stands a respondent, enclos'd within the compass "of his pen, as Popilius, the Roman Embassador, "made a circle with his wand about Antiochus, and "bid him give him a determinate answer before he "went out of it;" a most apt and learned resemblance, and which shews the gentleman's good reading! But it is, I confess, a noble spectacle, and worthy of that theater which the munificence of the present Archbishop of Canterbury hath dedicated in one (may it be too in the other) of our Universities; where no apish *scaramuccio*, no scenical farces, no combat of wild-beasts among themselves, or with men condemn'd, is presented to the people; but the modest skirmish of reason, and which is usually perform'd so well that it turns to their great honour, and of our whole nation; provided the chaire be well filled with an orthodox professor, and who does not by *solæcismes* in Latine, or mistake of the argument or question, render the thing ridiculous to the by-standers. That the pew be not less fitted with a respondent, able to sustaine and answer in all points the expectation of so learned an auditory; that the

opponent likewise exceed not the terms of civility, nor cavil where he should argue; and that the questions debated be so discreetly chosen, as there may be no danger, by controverting the truth, to unsettle the minds of the youth ever after, and innure them to a disputable notion about the most weighty points of our religion; by which sort of subtilizing, the Church hath in former ages much suffered, nor hath ours in the latter wholly escaped. Now seeing the Exposer seems to delight so much (as men use in what they excell) in this exercise, he and I, because we cannot have the conveniency of the schools and pew, will play as well as we can in paper, at this new game of Antiochus and Popilius. I must for this time be the Roman senator, and he the Monarch of Asia; for by the rules of the play, he always that hath writ the last book is to be Antiochus, until the other has done replying. And I hope to gird him up so close within his circle, that he shall appear very slender. For I am sensible, yet could not avoid it, how much of the reader's and mine own time I have run out in examining his levity; but now I am glad to see my labour shorten: for, having thus plumed him of that puffle of feathers, with which he buoy'd himself up in the aire and flew over our heads, it will, almost by the first "consequence," be manifest in his argument, how little a soul it is, and body, that henceforward I am to deal with.

The Author having said that, "That which we commonly call the Apostles' Creed, is, and was so received by the primitive Church, as the sum total of Christian faith, necessary to salvation. Why not now? Is the state of salvation alter'd? If it be compleat, what need other articles?" The Exposer

p. 2. answers. "There may have been needful heretofore, not only other articles, but other creeds for the further explication of these articles in the Apostles' Creed: and yet in those new creeds not one new article." 'Tis safely and cautiously said, "there may," and not "there were" other articles and other creeds needful. But the whole clause besides is so drawn up, as if he affected the academical glory of justifying a paradox; nor is it for the reputation of such creeds, whatever they be, to be maintained by the like methods. But seeing he disdains to explicate further, how there can be a new creed, and yet not one new article; I will presume to understand him, and then say that in such creeds, whatsoever article does either explain the Apostles' Creed contrary to, or beside the Scripture, or does not contain the same express scriptural authority (which only makes this that is called the Apostles' Creed to be authentick) that is a new article to every man that cannot conceive the necessary deduction. But then he galls the Author. The Apostles' Creed is the sum of the Christian Faith. "True. Yet I hope he will not think the Nicene, the Constantinopolitan, and the Athanasian Creed" superfluous and unnecessary. First, it is not necessary to take all those three in the lump, as the Exposer puts it; for perhaps a man may think but one, or but two of them to have been superfluous, and unnecessary. Next, it is an hard thing for the Exposer, who ought rather to have proved that they were necessary, to shift it back thus upon the Author. I have not spoke with him, nor know whether I shall as long as I live, (though I should be glad of the opportunity) to know his mind. But suppose he should think them, one, two, or three unnecessary, who can help

it? But so much I think, upon the state or sum of this controversie in his own words, I may adventure for him; that as confessions of faith he does not disapprove them, (taking it granted there is nothing in any of them flatly against the Word of God) but that if any thing be therein drawn up in such or such an exact forme of words, not expressed in Scripture, and required to be believed with divine faith, as necessary to a man's own salvation, and without believing which, he must declare too that no man else can be saved; that this is dangerous, and the imposing of it is unwarrantable by reason or Scripture. He adds in this same paragraph, that "the Author's censure upon Constantine is so bold and "upon some godly Bishops, (whom" he conceives more zealous then discreet, "and so do some godly "Bishops conceive of this author") and his pique at "the new word *homoousios* carryes such an ugly "reflection upon the Creed, that he scarce dare "understand him." And I on the other side take his "fears" and his "hopes" to be alike inconsiderable. His words are p. 6. "I am confident had the "most prudent and pious Constantine, the first and "best of Christian emperours, pursued his own "intention, to suppress all disputes, and all new "questions about God the Son, both *homoousian*, and "*homoiousian*, and commanded all to acquiesce in the "very Scripture expressions, without any addition, "that the Arian heresie had soon expired." I note that the Exposer very disingenuously, and to make it look more ugly, takes not the least notice of his pique against *homoiousios* too and the Arian heresie. But what is there here to fright the understanding Animadverter out of his wits, or what to make "some godly Bishops" (who it seems must be numberless or

nameless) "to conceive the Author more zealous than discreet?" But for this censure of the Author, as well as for the godliness of the Bishops, we must acquiesce it seems upon the credit or gratitude of one nameless Exposer.

He then blames the Author p. 3. for saying p. 1. that "he would have men improve in faith, rather intensive than extensive; to confirm it, rather than enlarge it." Still and alwayes, to make things a little more ugly and of less value, he clips the Author's good English. "You would have men improve in faith, so would I, but rather intensive than extensive. 'Tis good to know all Gospel truths, no doubt of that, the more the better still; but the question is not what is good, but what is necessary." This is a pious and undoubted truth, and confirm'd by the Author out of several places of Scripture. May I add one, Marke the ix. 17, where "one brought his son, being troubled with a dumb spirit, to our Saviour:" v. 23, "Jesus saith to the father, if thou canst believe, all things are possible to him that believeth. The father cryes out with tears, Lord I believe, strengthen thou my unbelief." And this confession of the intensive truth of his faith, with his relyance upon Christ for the strengthening of it, was sufficient to cooperate with our Saviour toward a miracle, and throwing that dumb and deaf spirit out of a third person. Whoever indeed will deny this truth, must go against the whole current of the New Testament. But the Exposer is deaf to that, 'tis all one to him. Yet he is not dumb; though as good he had, for all he has to say to it is, "and yet it is certaine that all formal and mortal hereticks, that are not atheists, are justly condemn'd for want of due extension in their faith." What pertinence!

But there goes more faith I see, to the ejecting of a talkative then of a dumb spirit. There is no need of further answer to so succinct a bob, then that it had been well those terms of "formal," and "mortal," and "hereticks," and no less that of "condemned," had in this place been thorowly explained. For we know that there was a time when the Protestants themselves were the "formal," and, to be sure, the "mortal hereticks," even here in England, and for that very crime too, "for want of due extention in their faith," they were "condemned," whether justly or no, it is in the Exposer's power to determine. For some of our ruling clergy, who yet would be content to be accounted good Protestants, are so loath to part with any hank they have got, at what time soever, over the poor laity, or what other reason, that the writ *de hæretico comburendo*, though desired to be abolish'd, is still kept in force to this day. So that it is of more concernment then one would at first think, how far mens "faith" (lest afterwards for believing short, their persons and estates) "be extended," or taken in execution.

He proceeds, page the 3d, and several that follow, to quarrel the Author for quoting to this purpose, Acts viii. and then saying, "I pray remember the treasurer" (the Exposer will do it, I warrant you, and the chancellor too, without more intreaty) "to Candace queen of Ethiopia, whom Philip instructed with in the faith. His time of catechising was very short, and soon proceeded to baptisme. But Philip first required a profession of his faith, and the eunuch made it, and I beseech you observe it. 'I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God, and straightway he was baptized.' How, no more then 'this? No more. This little grain of faith, being

"sound, believed with all his heart, purchased the kingdom of heaven. 'Tis not the quantity but the quality of our faith God requireth.'" Here the Exposer, pretending now to be a learned Expositor, hopes to win his spurs, and layes out all his ability to prove that Philip (in a very short time for so much as he finds him) had instructed the treasurer thorow the whole Athanasian Creed, concerning the "equality, inseparability, co-eternity of the three Persons in the Trinity." For, saith the Exposer, "the very forme of baptisme, if thorowly explained, is a perfect creed by itself: 'in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost':" "for it seems the name of the Son was by a divine criticisme interposed between the other two Persons, whose Godhead was confest and acknowledged by the Jewish Church, rather then that of the Word, to denote the second Person, &c." I should be glad to know where the Exposer learnt that the Jewish Church acknowledged the Godhead of the Holy Ghost, as of a distinct Person; which if he cannot show, he is very far out in the matter, as he is in that expression of "divine criticisme." Therefore he may do well to "consider." But it is simply, to say no worse, done of him, to call that forme of words, as it is ordered by our Saviour Himself, a "divine criticisme," as if Christ had therein affected that critical glory, which the Exposer himself in so subtile a remarke doubtless pretends to. But the Exposer will not only have Philip to have instructed the treasurer in this "criticisme," but to have read him so long a lecture upon baptisme, as must for certaine have been out of the Assemblie's, and not Nowell's Catchisme: "acquainting him, and instructing him abundantly in those great points of faith, the dying, burying, and rising again of Christ

“for our justification from our sins, together with
 “the thing signified, death unto sin, mortification,
 “the new birth unto righteousness, then the mystery
 “of the first and second covenant, original sin, how
 “thereby he was a son of wrath, had hereby for-
 “givenness of sins, adoption, being made a child of
 “grace, coheire with Christ, to live with him in the
 “communion of saints after the resurrection, in life
 “everlasting.” I am glad to see that, at least when
 it serves to his purpose, this Exposer will own all the
 doctrines, which another Exposer would have call’d
 “so many stages of regeneration,” and have thought
 them too many to have drove over in one
 day’s journey, but would rather have turn’d out of
 the road, and la’d short all night somewhere by the
 way. Here is a whole “Calvinistical systeme” of
 divinity, that, if the treasurer had been to be bap-
 tized in the “Lake of Geneva,” more could not have
 been expected. And he has in a trice made him so
 perfect in it, that, as soon as the christ’ning was
 over, he must have been fit to be received not only
ad communionem laicam, but the *clericam* also, if it
 were then come into fashion. These Exposers are
 notable men; they are as good as witches, they know
 all things, and what was done, and what was not
 done equally. In earnest, he has made us as formal
 a story of all Philip said, and the treasurer believ’d,
 as if he had sate all the time in the coach-boot; and
 knows how long the discourse lasted, as well as if he
 had set his watch when they began, and look’d upon
 it just as the Spirit caught up Philip to Azotus.
 But suppose (for the Exposer’s sake) that the treas-
 urer were in a coach discourse; and, for all the
 rumbling, so distinctly and thorowly, in so short a
 time too (if it had been, which is the uttermost, a

daye's passage) catechumeniz'ed, it came to this short point between them: the treasurer desires to be baptized; Philip replyes, 'if thou believest with all thine heart thou mayest'; which can never signifie otherwise then with all the intention of our spirit, as when we are said to love God with all our heart; the treasurer replyes, and that's all, 'I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God.' Now it is worth the reader's observation, that out of a desire of cavilling, and the luxury the Exposer takes in it, he has quite forgot the matter he brought in controversie. For the dispute is concerning new creeds, imposed beyond clear Scripture; the Author's arguments and proofs tended wholly thither, and to that purpose he urged this passage of Philip, to prove that God considers both, but rather the quality then the quantity of our faith. The Exposer amuses himself and us, to tell what Philip preach'd to the treasurer, but never minds that, let that be as it will, and the eunuch have believ'd all that this man can imagine, yet all the creed demanded, and all that he professes, is no more then these formal words, "believed with all his heart:" 'I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God.' Wherein the Author has clearly carryed, and the Exposer thus far lost the question. And indeed, Antiochus, you are much to blame to have put the Romans to all this trouble to no purpose. But any thing to stuffe out the dimensions of a book, that no man may imagine he could have said so little in so much, (which is the new way of compendiousness found out by the Exposer) whereas he might have known, that, not God only, but even men alwayes do respect the quality of any thing, of a book, rather then the quantity. One remarke I must make more, before I take leave of this page; how, having, thus

liberally instructed both Philip and the treasurer, he immediately chops in, p. 5.

“Now this Author may see what use and need
“There was of the Constantinopolitan Creed,

“that puts in one baptisme for the remission of sins.” I read it over and over, for there was something in it very surprising, besides the elegancy of the verses. For the “now” in that place is a word of inference, as if it appeared necessarily, from what last preceded, that he had notably foil’d the Author in some arguments or other, and therefore exulted over him. To any man of common sense it can signifie neither more nor less then that, (whereas I upon prospect of this spoke merrily of the Athanasian Creed, Nowell’s, and the Assemblie’s Catechisme, &c. wherein Philip instructed the treasurer) the Exposer means in good earnest (if men mean what they say) that Philip having studied the Constantinopolitan Creed himself very exactly, explain’d every article of it thorowly to the eunuch, and in especial manner that of baptisme for the remission of sins; which happening to have been so many hundred years before that Council was in being, must needs be an extraordinary civility in Philip, and which he would scarce have done, but for the particular satisfaction of so great a personage, that had the whole manage of the revenue of the Queen of Ethiopia. I am sure it is more then our Church would vouchsafe in baptisme, either of infants or those of riper years, with their godfathers, but fobbs them off with the plain Apostles’ Creed; and truly, the easier the better, if “after that,” and by “pouring “water upon them,” these persons be without any

more adoe "(as the priest," according to our Rubrick, "shall then say") regenerate.

To as little purpose doth he trouble in this same 5. p. another Scripture, the first of John iv. 2. "Every spirit that confesses that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is of God:" which the Author urges in confirmation of what he said before, concerning the intention of faith. But, saith the Exposer, "will a Mahumetan, or a Socinian confession "of faith suffice?" This is I trow what they call reducing a man *ad absurdum*, and I doubt he has hamper'd the Author mischievously. No, it will not suffice in the Mahumetan or Socinian interpretation; but a confession according to the true sense of this, and the clear express words of Scripture in other places, will do it; especially if St. John, as most men are of opinion, writ his own Gospel. Nay, though the Exposer contends against this place, he admits another concerning Peter, that is not much more pregnant. "All the few primary fundamentals of Christianity," saith he, "were virtually contained in "St. Peter's short confession of faith, 'Thou art "Christ the Son of the living God:' for which "confession he was blest, and upon which faith "Christ declared that he would build His Church as "upon a rock." In conclusion I see Antiochus has *ex mero motu et certâ scientiâ*, and prince—like generosity, given us the question; for I would not suspect that he hath hunted it so long till he lost it, or let it go of necessity, because he could hold it no longer. For the extention as well as intention of Peter's faith, was terminated in these few words. For it is no irreverence to take notice how plain the Apostles were under that dispensation. The same John the Apostle and Evangelist, c. xiv. v. 26. and

in the following chapters, shewes how little it was, and in how narrow a compass, that they knew and believed, and yet that sufficed. Insomuch that where, c. xvi. v. 17. our Saviour promises the Holy Ghost, to instruct them further, He saith only, "It is expedient for you that I go away, for if I go not away, the Comforter will not come to you." He saith not it is necessary. For that measure of true belief would have sufficed for their own salvation, but there was a larger knowledge requisite for the future work of their Apostleship. In how many of them, and St. Peter himself as much as any, were there such "ignorances,"—I humbly use the word,—in matters of faith, that our Saviour could not but take notice of it and reprove them! As for Peter, when our Saviour was so near His death as to be already betray'd, yet he "upon whose faith He built His church as on a rock," knew not the effect of His passion, but was ready with his sword, against Christ's command and example, to have interrupted the redemption of mankind. And this short confession, "in which all the fundamentalls were virtually contained" (as the Exposer here teacheth us, and so hath reduced himself to that "little grain of faith," against which he contends with the Author) was upon occasion of our Saviour's question, when Peter doubtless did his best to answer his Lord and Master, and told Him all he knew. For that similitude, taken from so small a graine by our Saviour, did equal the proportion of faith, then attainable and requisite. And as in a seed the very plain and upright of the plant is indiscernibly express'd, though it be not branch'd out to the eye, as when it germinates, spreads, blossomes, and bears fruit; so was the Christian faith seminally straitned in that virtual

sincerity, vital point, and central vigour of believing with all the heart that Jesus Christ was come in the flesh, and was the Son of the living God. And would men even now believe that one thing thorowly, they would be better Christians, then under all their creeds they generally are both in doctrine and practice. But that gradual revelation, which after His death and resurrection shined forth in the Holy Ghost, must now determine us again within the bounds of that saving ignorance by belief according to the Scriptures, untill the last and full manifestation. And the intention of this faith now also, as it hath been explain'd by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit in the sacred writers, is sufficient for salvation, without the chicanrey and conveyancing of humane extentions. And the Controverter himself hath, if not by his own confession, yet by his own argument all along hitherto proved it.

In 6. p. he saith that, where the Author charges some with introducing many and new articles of faith, "he hopes he does not mean all our Thirty-nine Articles." If he hopes so, why doth he raise the suspicion, for which indeed there is no cause imaginable, but the Exposer's own disingenuity; the Author appearing thorow his whole book a true subscriber to them, without that latitude of equivocation which some others use, or else they would not publish those doctrines they do, and be capable nevertheless of ecclesiastical places? But here, as though any man had meddled with those Articles, he explicates his learning out of Bishop Laud and of the *communio laica*, which is but his harping upon one string and his usual "scanning" on his fingers. For the Author having named "many and new articles of faith," the Exposer revolves over in his mind

“articles, articles of—” and, the word not being very pregnant, he hits at last upon “the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England:” which yet the Exposer saith himself, “are articles of peace and consent, not of faith and communion.” Why then does he bring them by head and shoulders, when the Author he knows was only upon articles of faith? He might as well have said “the lords” of the “articles. But this,” he saith, “is one, as he takes “it, of our Church’s greatest ecclesiastical policyes, “that she admits the many in thousands and hundred “thousands, without any subscription, *ad communionem laicam*.” Truly she is very civil, and we are an hundred thousand times obliged to her. But I know not whether she will take it well of him, that he, not being content with so good an office as that of her Exposer, should pretend to be her Ecclesiastical Politician, over another man’s head that is fitter for both, and not expect the reversion. And she cannot but be offended that he should thus call her fool by craft, assigning that for “her greatest Ecclesiastical Policy,” when to have done otherwise would have been the greatest impert[in]ence and folly. But who are these, “the many,” whom she so graciously receives *ad communionem laicam* without subscription? Truly all of us whom she trusts not “with teaching others or with university degrees.” The whole body of the laity. (There again is another name for us, for we can scarce speak without affronting ourselves with some contemptuous name or other, that they (forsooth the clergy) have affixed to us.)

Nos numerus sumus, the many, et fruges consumere nati.

Even his Majesty too, God bless him, is one of the

"many," and she asks no subscription of him neither, although I believe he has "taken his degree in the University." Well we must be content to do as we may: we are "the many," and you are "the few," and make your best of it. But now, though I am none of you, yet I can tell you a greater "Ecclesiastical Policy," than all this you have been talking of. It is a hard word, and though it be but one syllable, I cannot well remember it, but by good luck it was burnt by the hand of the hangman, about that time that the *Naked Truth* was printed. And had that "Policy" succeeded, "the many" must have taken not only all the Thirty-nine Articles, but all the ecclesiastical errors and incroachments that escaped notice, all in the mass at once, as if they had been articles of faith, infallible, unalterable; but the state of the kingdom had been apparently changed in the very fundamentals. For "a few" of "the few," for above these forty years, have been carrying on a constant conspiracy to turn all "upside down" in the government of the nation; but God in His mercy hath always hitherto, and will, I hope, for ever frustrate all such counsels.

In his 7. p. it is that he saith, "the Author in his 4. p. implicitly condemns the whole Catholick Church, both East and West, for being so presumptuous in her definitions." However if he does it but implicitly, the Exposer might have been so ingenuous or prudent as not to have explicated it further, but conceal'd it lest it might do more harme, but at least not to have heighten'd it so; "the whole Catholick Church," and not only so, but, "the whole Catholick Church, both in the East and West too" (why did he not add in the North and South too?) "for being so" presumptuous,—a term far beyond

and contrary to the modesty and deference of the Author's expressions. But this is the art and duty of "exposing;" here it is that he brandishes the whole dint of his disputative faculty, and if it be not the most rational, I dare say (and yet I should have some difficulty to persuade men so) that it is the most foolish passage in the whole pamphlet. It is impossible to clear the dispute but by transcribing their own words. In the mean time therefore I heartily recommend myself to the reader's patience. The Author, pursuing his point how unsafe and unreasonable it is to impose new articles of faith drawn by humane inferences beyond the clear Scripture expressions, instanceth in several of the prime and most necessary principles of the Trinity, especially that of the Holy Ghost. "Are they not things," saith he, "far above the highest reason and sharpest understanding that ever man had? Yet we believe them, because God, who cannot lye, hath declared them. Is it not then a strange thing for any man to take upon him to declare one tittle more of them than God hath declared? seeing we understand not what is declared, I mean we have no comprehensive knowledge of the matter declared, but only a believing knowledge." To which the Exposer will have it that, if the Author be here bound up to his own words, (and 'tis good reason he should) he hath said that "we understand not that the matter is declared;" and moreover he saith that "he is sure he has done him no wrong in fixing this meaning to the Author's words." No, "it is no wrong," it seems then, to say that to understand "that," and to comprehend "what" is the same thing. As for example, (if our ignorance may be allowed in things so infinitely above us, to allude to things as far below

us) because I understand 'that' the Exposer here speaks nonsense; I must therefore be able to comprehend 'what' is the meaning of his nonsense, and be capable to raise a rational deduction from it. I am sure I do the Exposer right in this inference, and should be glad he only would therefore wear it for my sake, for it will fit none but him 'twas made for. But let us come down to the particular. "The Scripture," saith the Author, "plainly tells, that the "Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father, and that He "is sent also by the Father, that He is sent also by "the Son: but whether He proceeds from the Son, "or by the Son, the Scripture is silent. I grant that "by rational deduction, and humane way of argument, "'tis probable that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the "Son, as from the Father. But we understand not "'what' the procession or mission of the Holy Ghost "is, and therefore we cannot prove they are Both one. "And therefore to determine it or any such divine "and high mysteries by humane deductions, in "humane words, to be imposed and believed with "divine faith, is dangerous:" and much more the Author adds demonstratively to the same purpose, but the Exposer culls out, by the duty of his place, what may best serve for his, neither will that do the turn, unless he also pervert it. Here again is the 'that' and the 'what' the same thing? Is it the same thing to say or understand 'that' the Holy Ghost is sent by the Son (which is declared in Scripture) and to understand and comprehend 'what' the nature of that mission is, or 'what' the nature of procession, that a man may safely say that he proceeds 'from' or 'by' the Son, as from the Father (which is not declared in Scripture but by humane deduction) and exact the divine belief thereof under eternal and

temporal penalties? Yet this is the Exposer's logick. And away he goes with it, as if the world (as this inference is) were all his own, and knocks all on the head with a killing instance, which that I may still open more visibly to the readers, I must beg pardon that I am necessitated to repeat over again their own words sometimes upon occasion. The Exposer saith, "But he means we have no comprehensive knowledge. His meaning is good and true, "but his inference is stark naught, if he means "therefore we understand not at all that this or that is "declared." But the Author neither says nor means any such thing, and the Exposer does him, notwithstanding his averment to the contrary, the most manifest wrong imaginable; for as much as he would not only fix a false meaning upon the Author's words, which I first mentioned in the beginning, but upon these other words also, which, contrary to their plaine signification, he produces for proof against him. They are, by the Exposer's own relation, "if then our reason understand not what is declared" (which is the very equipollent of what the Author had said, that we have no comprehensive knowledge of the matter declared) "how can we by reason make any "deduction by way of argument from that which we "understand not?" No more. From whence it is evident from that virtual repetition and natural reflection that every conclusion hath of and upon its premisses, that the full sense of the words must be—"from that which we understand not, comprehensive." And yet he saith that he does him no wrong, he is sure he does not in affixing this meaning unto those words. And proceeds, "Is it even so? Then "let us put the case with reverence, that Almighty "God, who assuming, I suppose, the shape of an

“angel, treated with Abraham face to face, as a man doth with his friend, should for once have spoken in the same manner to Arius or Socinus, and made this one declaration, that the Catholick Church’s doctrine of the Trinity was true, and his false ; then I demand, would not this have been demonstration enough of the faith which we call Catholick, either to Socinus or Arius? And yet all these contradictory arguments, which either of them had once fancied so insolvable, supposing them not answered in particular, would remain against it, and stand as they did before any such declaration ; and yet all this without giving him any comprehensive knowledge.” This instance is made in confutation of his own false supposition that the Author’s words, “if then our reason understand not with comprehensive knowledge what is declared, how can we then make any deduction by way of arguments from that which we understand not,” did in their true meaning signifie, how can we by reason make any deduction by way of argument, from that which “we understand not to have been declared,” or, that I may put it the furthest I can imaginable to the Exposer’s purpose or service, “how can we by reason understand that it is declared,” which is to impose a most ridiculous and impossible sense upon the Author’s plain words ; for if we neither understand ‘that’ nor ‘what,’ there is an end of all understanding. Yet admitting here, sayes the Exposer, I have stated you a case which proves the contrary, for here Arius or Socinus have “no comprehensive knowledge of what is declared,” and “yet they understand that it is declared :” and doubtless the Author would say so too, without ever meaning the contrary ; yea, and that this revelation would

have been "demonstration enough of that Faith, which we call Catholick." But what would become of "their former contradictory arguments," which the Exposer saith, "would stand as they did before," and "remain against it?" I cannot vouch for the Author, that he would be of the same opinion. For I cannot comprehend, though God had not answered those arguments of theirs, in particular as the Exposer puts it, that those arguments would or could remaine against it, and stand as they did before any such declaration to Arius and Socinus, after they had received a sufficient demonstration from God's own mouth by New Revelation. They would indeed remain against it, and stand as they did before to Mr. Sherlocke. But when I have thus given the humorous Exposer his own will and swing in every thing, yet this superlunary instance does not serve in the least to confirme his argument that he makes against the Author's words, after his transforming them; for here Arius and Socinus only bring their sense of hearing, and having heard this from God, do not "by reason" make any "deduction by way of argument," but by a believing knowledge do only assent to this second further Revelation; nor can they then from this second Revelation make any third step of argument to extend it beyond its own tenour without incurring the Author's just and wise argument again, that "seeing our reason understands "not what is declared, I mean we have no comprehensive knowledge of this doctrine of Trinity," (which the Exposer supposes to be declared) "how can we by reason make any deduction by way of argument from that which we understand not," to wit, "not comprehensively?" as I have abundantly cleared. But this instance was at first extinguished,

when I shewed in the beginning that he did impertinently traduce the Author's words, and forge his meaning.

In the mean time, though he saith, "put the case "with reverence," when the case so put cannot admit it, I cannot but at last reflect on the Exposer's unpardonable indiscretion, in this more than absurd and monstrous representation of God Almighty assuming the shape of an angel, as he saith he treated with Abraham face to face, as a man doth with his friend, to discourse with Arius and Socinus. These are small escapes with which he aptly introduces such an interview and conference, "that he "treated our father Abraham face to face, as a man "doth with his friend: for it is true that Abraham is stiled the friend of God, and that God spoke to him; but it is never said in Scripture that God did "treat:" that is a word of Court not of Scripture; no, nor that "God spoke to him face to face." But it is said in Scripture only of Moses, *Exod. xxxiii. 11.* "The Lord spoke to him face to face, as a man speaketh unto his friend." But that was a privilege peculiar to Moses: *Numb. xii. 5.* "And the Lord came down in a pillar of cloud, and stood in the door of the congregation, and called Aaron and Miriam, and they both came forth, and He said, hear now my words: if there be a prophet among you, I the Lord will make Myself known to him in a vision, and will speak unto him in a dream: my servant Moses is not so, who is faithfull in all My house; with him will I speak mouth to mouth; even apparently and not in darke speeches, and the similitude of the Lord shall he behold, wherefore then were you not afraid to speak against my servant Moses? (the Exposer is not afraid to do him manifest injury) for

Deut. xxxiv. 10. "And there arose not in Israel a prophet like unto Moses, whom the Lord knew face to face," &c. And much more might be said of this matter, were the man capable of it : but I perceive he neither reads nor understands Scripture, and one "divine criticisme" is stock enough it seems to set up an Exposer. Neither is it so notorious an error that he saith God assumed the shape of an angel to treat with him. I would be glad to know of the Exposer seeing he is so cherubick, what is the shape of an angel? Some humane criticks have told me that it was the similitude of a calfe. But God's appearing in a shape to Abraham, when He treated with him face to face, was in the shape of a man. Gen. xviii. 1. "The Lord appeared to him in the plain of Mamre, as he sate in the tent-door, and so three men stood by him," &c. These are easie slips, and he that stumbles and falls not, gains a step. Yet for one, as he mocks the Author, p. 2. "that appears as one drop'd down from heaven, vouching himself a son of the Church of England, teaching as "one having authority like a father," to trip in this manner, is something indecent. But to bring God in to so little a purpose,—contrary to all rules, that I have seen one with a better grace brought down by a machine,—to treat with Arius and Socinus,—no other company,—those who have contended against the Son of God and His Holy Spirit, whose opinions have been the pest of the clergy for so many ages ; to have them now at last brought in as privado's to the mysteries of Heaven and the Trinity ; what divine in his witts but would rather have lost an argument ! What will the gentleman I last named say, to see such a reconciliation, to behold Arius and Socinus in so close "communion with God," as to be admitted

even to single Revelation? He cannot then avoid thinking, what he lately printed, and now with more reason, "That God is all love and patience when He "has taken His fill of revenge," as others use to say "the devil is good when he is pleased." What a shame is it to have men like the Exposer, who are dedicated to the service of the Church, and who ought as in the place quoted by the Author in the same argument, they of all other to "hold fast the forme of sound words," [2 Tim. i. 13.] thus by their rash levity administer so much occasion upon the most revered subject, that one can scarce answer them in their own dialect without seeming, though never so averse, to border upon their profaneness; but these are the Divines in Mode, who, being by their dignities and preferments plump'd up beyond humane proportion, do, whether for their pride or ignorance, neither understand themselves or others, (men of nonsense) much less do they understand to speak of God, which ought to be their study, with any tolerable decorum. These are the great Animadverters of the times, the church-respondents in the pew, men that seem to be members only of Chelsy Colledge,—nothing but broken windows, bare walls, and rotten timber. They with a few villanous words, and a seared reason, are the only answerers of good and serious books; but then they think a book to be sure fully answered, when, as the Exposer has by "an humane criticisme," they have writ or scribed the same number of pages. For the Author's book of the *Naked Truth*, chancing to be of sixty-six pages, the Exposer has not bated him an ace, but payed him exactly, though not in as good billet, yet in as many notches. This being done, then the Exposer ubiquits himself, peeping at the key-holes, or picking

the locks of the bed-chambers of all the great ministers, and though they be reading papers of State, or at the stool, more seasonably obtrudes his pamphlet. Next he sends it by an express to his friends at the universities, but especially to his own colledge, and can scarce refrain from recommending it to the tutors to instruct their pupils, reading it to them in lieu of other lectures. But they are lay'd in for provision by the manciple and butler, and that quarter few escape without being scone'd for an Animadversion. The country cathedralls learn it latest, and arrive by slower degrees to their understanding, by the carrier. It grows a business of chapter, and they admire it in a body as a profound book of theology. Those of 'em that can confide in one another, discourse it over in private, and then 'tis odds, but, before the laity get notice of it, they first hear it preach'd over by him whose turn it is next Sunday in the minster; the rest conceal the fraud for the reputation of the diocess. After the book is grown common the plagiary wonders how, but that proportionable wits jump together, the Exposer could hit so right upon his notions. But if the dean foresee that 'tis a very vendible book, he you may imagine forestalls the market, and sends up for a whole dicker of 'em to retaile at his best advantage. All this while the little emissaries here in town are not idle, but hawke about from London to Westminster with their britches stiffe with the copyes, and will sell them to any one for commendation. Nor do they grudge this drudgery out of the hope and vision that they themselves also may, at some happy hour or other, be received into the band of Answerers, and merit the same applause and advancement. But if they found it so hard a task as I do this, sure they would be

better advised. 'Tis a great paine to answer, even an Animadverter; they are much happier of the two; 'tis better by far preaching, and a sermon is soon curried over. Yet sometimes it happens the printing of a sermon is toilsome afterwards and hazardous; for even one that was preached before his Majesty, and by his special command to be printed, is it seems making over again, there having been sure some error in the *fonte*, and has lay'd several months in disobedience. But when it shall come out new vamp'd and refitted, it will be a question worthy the Schooles, whether it be the same sermon, and whether he has not prevaricated against his Majestie's special command, and "sinn'd on," by printing without a licence. Yet I rather expect that after all, it will incur the same fate with that memorable sermon preached before the House of Commons, at their receiving the sacrament upon the first opening of the Parliament; which for some dangerous opinions there vented, was so far from ever coming forth, that one might sooner have obtain'd his Majestie's special command against ever printing it. But to return to the Exposer, who by this impertinence has forced an occasion upon me to reflect on some "few" who are guilty of the same, and may thank him for the favour: May not, with more reason, p. 1. then he saith it of the Author, "the Church justly complaine of him for thrusting out such crude "indigested matter, without communicating these "conceptions of his to some that would have shewed "him the weak and blind sides of them?" I profess after those passages of his that I have already taken notice of, and this egregious one the last, wherein by so few lines he hath so amply molested the judicious reader, I do not think I owe him the patience to

consider what remains with the same exactness, every thing that he adds henceforward growing methodically slighter and worse as it hastens to the center of levity, the conclusion of his pamphlet. Yet something I will reply all along, with more justice than he practises toward the Author; for whereas he picks out here and there what he thinks tenderest in him to tire upon, and render it by his affected misrepresentation obnoxious, but shuts his eyes as not being able to indure the resplendence of those evident truths which he delivers with great demonstration; I shall in the Exposer only observe and deal with what seems the least impertinent. Only I may not perhaps think him worth the transcribing so punctually as I have done hitherto, but for brevity more often refer to his own pages.

Therefore be pleased to look on his p. 7. where, relating to what the Author had said p. 4. of the procession of the Holy Ghost, wherein the Greek Creed and ours differ, he muffles it all up with saying that "yet this breaks not communion between us, "the difference arising only from the inadequation "of languages." Which is a mathematical and more civil way, either of owning his ignorance in so weighty a point, or confessing that he cannot answer what the Author hath said upon it. If by reason of the "inadequation of languages" a mystery so inexplicable could not be expressed, why did either our Church or theirs meddle in it beyond the Scripture? There is no "inadequation between the languages," in speaking of it, *dia* and *apo*, a *Patre Filioque*, and a *Patre per Filium*: "from the Father and Son," or "*from the Father by the Son*:" "proceeding" or "sending;" but no language can reach the nature of procession or mission, nor to represent

to humane understanding how they can both be the same, or wherein they may differ. He does in this as the Arian bishops in their subscription of the Nicene Creed to Jovianus (Socr. l. iii. c. 21.) which now they said they could do with a good conscience, understanding *neque vocabulum substantiæ apud sanctos patres ad consuetudinem Græci sermonis capi*. 'Tis an happy thing I see to find our Church in good humour, else she might have made more adoe about an article of faith, as she does about much lesser matters. 'Tis not strange that the Exposer finds no greater difference or distinction between terms so distant, seeing in the last paragraph above, he was so dull that he understood not "what" is "what." But he most aptly concludes how Demosthenes "once answered the orator Æschines, who kept much adoe about an improper word, 'The fortunes of Greece do not depend upon it.'" So trivial a thing it seems does the Exposer reckon it, to have improper words obtruded upon Christians in a creed, without believing of which no man can be saved, and whereupon the Eastern and Western Churches divided with so much concernment. But how proper and ingenious a contrivance was it of the Author (who is the very canon of concinnity) to bring in Demosthenes and Æschines, as being doubtless both of the Greek Church, to decide the matter in controversy of the procession or mission of the Holy Ghost between them and the West. Antiochus, whensoever you take the pew again, be sure you forget not Demosthenes and Æschines; for it will be to you as good as current money, which answers all things. The Exposer, though here so gentle, yet in the very page before this was as dogged, to as good men as the Greeks some of them, the Papists, Lutherans, and

Calvinists. "The Author," he says, "may make as bold with them as he pleases, for we are none of these, I am not bound to make war in their vindication." But if he should once *Kyrie Elieson*, what would become of us? Good Mother Church of England maintaine this humour thorow, carrey it on, but above all things make much of this thy Exposer; give him any thing, think nothing too good for him. Happy the Church that hath, and miserable that wants such a champion!

But I must find some more expeditious way of dealing with him, and walke faster, for really I get cold. The force of all that he saith in the 8th and 9th pages, is to represent the Author ridiculously and odiously, as if upon his wishing that Constantine had commanded both parties, *homooousian* and *homoiousian*, to acquiesce in the very Scripture expressions, without any addition, whereby he is confident the Arian heresie had soon expired, he did by consequence cut Poe-dike to let in a flood of all heresies upon the fenns of Christianity. But the words with which he cuts the Author down, are: "Why, this was the designe of the Arians themselves, that which they drove at Court, that silence might be imposed on both parties." Well, and 'twas very honestly done of them and modestly, and like Christians, if the controversie arose, as men think, about the imposing of a Creed, or article concerning a question so fine, in words so gross, which yet a man must believe, that without believing it, 'no man can be saved;' though no humane understanding can comprehend the subject of the question, nor the Scripture expressions, as they conceived, did reach it. There is field enough for faith in the Scriptures, without laying out more to it; and to resigne their reason to be

silenced in a question stirred up by others, that peace might be established in the Church, was ingenuity in them; and the contrary proceeding of the Church, was the occasion of many other heresies that else had never been heard of. But the Exposer had said something, if he could have divined that they would have used this silencing the dispute by Constantine as the Arminians (so they were at that time called) did the same in the reign of his late Majesty, who procuring a command from him to prohibit all writing or preaching about those points, having thereby gagged their adversaries, did let the press and the pulpit loose more then ever to propagate their own doctrines. That which the Exposer drops in the ardour of this argument, p. 9. "How many terms in the Athanasian Creed, which to seek for in the Apostles' Creed, or in the whole Bible, were to as much purpose as it was for the old affected Ciceronian in Erasmus to labour and toile his brains to turn that Creed into Ciceronian Latine. Yet these are the terms in which the Catholick Church thought she spoke safely in these divine matters;" is, *totidem verbis*, either to beg the question or make a formal resignation of it. And our Church (howsoever else he may have oblidged her) has reason to resent this indiscretion. Why was she herself so indiscreet to admit such a blab into her secrecies? How if no man else ought to have known it? It is an ill matter to put such things in men's minds, who otherwise perhaps would never have thought of it. 'Tis enough to turn a man's stomach that is not in strong health not only against the Athanasian Creed, but against all others for its sake. He saith p. 8. scoffingly that the Author is one of those whom St. Paul forbids "to be admitted to any doubtful dispu-

tations:" but let the Exposer see whether it be not himself rather that is there spoken of. And withall that he may make some more proper use of the place, which he warily cites not, I recommend it to him in order to his future dispute about ceremonies: 'Tis Rom. xiv. 7. where St. Paul calls him that contends for them the weak brother, "weak in the faith;" and such therefore the Apostle excludes from doubtful disputations, so that one gone so far in ceremony as the Exposer, had no license from him to print Animadversions.

As to what he patches in p. 10, upon the matter of school-divinity, as if the Author poured contempt upon the Fathers; I referre it to the Animadversions on the chapter about preaching; and should I forget, I desire him to put me in mind of it. And p. 11 and 12, where the Author having in his second and third page said, that "none can force another to believe, no more then to read, where the candle does not give clear light," and more very significantly to that purpose; the Exposer flying giddily about it, burns his wings with the very similitude of a candle. Sure, if a man went out by night on tranelling, or bat-fowling, or proctoring, he might catch these Exposers by dozens. But the force of his argument is, p. 13, whereas the Author sayes, you can force no man's sight or his faith, he replies, "If it be not in any man's power to discern fundamental truths, (of which this chapter treats) when they are laid before his eyes, when there is a sufficient proposal, then it is none of his fault." Yet this is as weak as water; for, supposing a fundamental truth clearly demonstrated from Scripture, though a man cannot force himself to believe it, yet there is enough to render a man inexcusable to God. "God hath not been want-

ing" (one of the Exposer's scraps) "in necessities:" but I hope he will not compel God too, but that He may dispense His saving and efficacious influence (without which all that sufficient proposal he speaks of will have been insufficient) only to the minds of whom He pleases. The Animadverter, in defending that a man can force himself to believe, argues against experimental demonstration (try it in any man, in every man) but raises only only a maligne, ignorant, and cavilling dispute, herein to reduce the Author to "the dregs," forsooth, "of Mr. Hobbs his divinity," c. i. It "is not the man's fault," saith he "if he cannot believe after a "sufficient proposal." He saith, "he is sure," too, it is not then the man's fault," (so in the dispute lately about 'that' and 'what,' he said, "he was sure he did the Author no wrong.") But I desire him first to read Romans iii. the 4th, 5th, and 6th verses, with the context; but especially Romans ix. from the 13th to the 22d verse, where the Apostle introduces a man objecting in the same words to the same purpose, "thou wilt say unto me, why doth God yet find fault," &c. And if the Exposer will not take the Apostle's answer, but "be sure" of the contrary, then he too cannot, it seems, "force himself to believe," after what he ought to have allowed for a "sufficient proposal." But where the Author supposes that any man does clearly or sufficiently demonstrate a fundamental truth from Scripture; yet unless a man's brains be clear, it is to him no demonstration. You suppose that all of you do clearly demonstrate, so that if they don't believe, you may justly open their eyes with a paire of pincers. Whereas there are some "few" among the "few" such *spermologers*, that unless a grain of faith fall down by the by from heaven, your seed is barren.

I do not reckon much upon a Church historical, devilish believe. Unless a thing be in the express words of Scripture, there are some of the laity to whom a Council cannot demonstrate clearly, a preacher cannot demonstrate, sneezing powder cannot demonstrate, no earthly [power] can do it. Christ used clay indeed, but it was His spittle that gave the healing quality and cured the blind man. Alas! you are so wise in your own conceit, that you cannot conceive how simple some poor men are. He saith, "the reason "which helps every man to see these fundamental "truths, at least when they are shew'd and pointed "out to him" (such truths you must conceive as the Creed doctrines of the Trinity) "is a vulgar and popular thing" (what need then so many disputes in the councils?) "and sure the Author, that he may "not admit any man's hypocrisie and wilfulness to "be gross and palpable, imagines there are a world "of idiots." So the Exposer would now coaxes [=coax] the lay multitude, whom before he call'd "the hundred thousands," and "the many," and for their simplicity "excusable from subscribing the Thirty-nine Articles," to be grown on the suddain so very wise men, that he may with justice therefore compel them by corporal punishments or penalties, to believe, in spite of their teeth or their understandings. Alas! if any men consider those fundamental truths, so subject, he saith, to vulgar and popular reason, it is one of the difficultest things in the world, and yet more to those who are most removed from being idiots, to believe them; and some men by their clear demonstrations, by their sufficient proposals, by their creeds, have rendered it still more difficult. Why have I wasted all this on the Exposer, who, (whether it be his fault or no) yet cannot force

himself to believe even *the Naked Truth*, though so clearly demonstrated from Scripture (and the Exposer I suppose believes the Scripture) though so consonant and obvious to the most vulgar and popular reason, but believes his own Animadversions, against the most vulgar and popular reason, to be a sufficient proposal to the contrary? In the 13th and 14th pages, speaking of that place, Gal. v. 12, which the Author understands of the magistrate's power, but the Exposer will have to be excommunication; I crave leave to dissent from both of them, humbly conceiving that the word there of "cutting off" is rather meant in the usual sense of Scripture in a multitude of places, for God's taking them off by His hand. But whatsoever it be, I desire the Exposer for his own sake, to take good heed that, whether it be executing, or punishing, or banishing, or excommunicating, or taking them away by God's hand of justice, the Apostle speaks of such as taught for circumcision, and alluding, to the word, wishes that they were rather 'cut off,' who trouble the Galatians about the retaining of that; and who would oblige them, contrary to "their Christian liberty," to such Jewish ceremonies.

For what he hales in of the great and notable effect, p. 14, of Conferences, wishing that there were such held publickly or privately, to satisfie the Nonconformists; truly, though they be no great men, yet perhaps it were fit they were first satisfied what kind of reception they should meet with. But I doubt such Conferences in publick, are but the resemblance and epitome of General Councils. For that of the Savoy, in which he instances, it might almost as well have been in Piedmont. A man disinterested either way, might make a pleasant story

of the anecdota of that meeting, and manifest how well his Majestie's gracious Declaration, before his return, and his broad seal afterwards were pursued. But it is not my present business. But for shortness sake, as to his desire "that he that does not believe the notable effect of them, would but read what my Lord Bishop of Winchester printed of that Conference, where the adverse party was driven immediately to assert that whatsoever may be the occasion of sin to any must be taken away:" I shall as civilly as I can, though I deferre much to his extraordinary veracity, tell the Exposer I do not believe him.

I come now to what he, p. 14, 15, 16, 17, and in other places declares to be his judgement, as to compulsion in matters of faith and religion. The Author's opinion appears in the beginning, where I stated his own words thorow this chapter. The Exposer does beat the aire, p. 14, concerning the Donatists, a most seditious and turbulent sect, "who," saith the Author (as it is objected by those that would have force used) "some of them came to St. Augustine, and gave thanks that the civil power was made use of to restraints them, confessing that was the means that brought them to consider more calmly their own former extravagant opinions, and so brought them home to the true Church." But he quarrels the Author for his four answers against the magistrates, using that as a precedent. The first, "our case is not in repressing seditious practices, but inforcing a confession of faith." I will return straight to the Exposer's answer to this. The Author's second is, "unless it can be evidenced that their hearts were changed as well as their profession (a thing impossible to prove) all this proves

"nothing." Neither does it. For the dispute now betwixt the Author and his Adversary is, whether it be possible to compel a man to believe. This instance proves only that those Donatists were forced to come to Church. Therefore there cannot be a more uncharitable and disingenuous thing invented, then for the Exposer to upbraid him with such a retort, "for ought he knows they were hypocrites:" (the Author does say so) "so for ought we too know "this Author is all this while a Jesuite, and writes "this pamphlet only, to imbroyle us Protestants." But he must make some sputter rather than be held to the terms of the question; and truly I perceive Antiochus is very weary and shifts like a crane (not to instance in a worse bird) first one foot and then another to rest on, being tired to stand so long within so close a circle. For thirdly, the Author answers, "Put the case their hearts were really changed, as to "matter of belief, 'tis evident their hearts were very "worldly still, grovelling on earth not one step "nearer heaven:" he will not be candid without compulsion, but leaves out what follows; "and sure "their heart was evil, which was far more moved for "the quiet enjoyment of this world's good, then for "the blessed enjoyment of Christ." In earnest I begin to think an Exposer is a rational creature. For had he not on purpose left these last words out, he could not have cried, "A horrible charitable "saying! We may forgive the Author any thing "after this;" which is all the answer he gives; so charitable is the Exposer grown to the Donatists, for every man that will come to church is *ipso facto*, with him, a true believer. But it did in truth appear to have been so, and there is not the least uncharitableness in this that the Author has said;

for by those Donatists' own confession, it was not any love to that which they now owned for the truth to St. Austin, not any conviction of conscience, not so much as even an inclination to obey the magistrate; but meer fine, force, and fear of punishment that brought them to church, and whatsoever good came on't was by accident. Whether might not a man adde that their giving thanks for that force and so owning that principle of compulsion, was a further evidence that their heart was naught still, even while they were with St. Augustine? I think a man might, until I be better informed. But the Author having given a fourth answer, that "suppose they were really "brought over to the truth" of the church, of believe, and religion by the magistrates severity, (I express it thus, that I may not with the Exposer trifle about the Jews care) yet St. Paul hath said. "God "forbid we should do evil that good may come of it." [Romans iii, 8.] This is answer enough for a man of understanding. For it is not lawful, suppose for St. Austin himself, to beguile any man even into Christianity; unless as St. Paul perhaps, 2 Cor. xii, 16, "being crafty, caught the Corinthians with guile," by preaching the "Gospel without being burthensome "to the people." No man ought to cheat another, though to the true belief. Not by interlining the Scripture. Not by false quotation of Scripture, or a Father. Not by forging a Heathen prophecy, or altering an Author. Not by a false syllogisme. Not by telling a lye for God. And if no "pettie fraud," much less can a *pia vis* be allowed, to compell them to faith, compell them to a creed, seeing it were to "do evil that good may come of it:" much less to a creed not perfectly scriptural: and, instead of being

inforced, indeed weakened by compulsion, seeing it is impossible to compel a man to believe, and some divines teach us to believe (though I suspend) that God Himself cannot, or doth not compel men to believing. But now it falls in naturally to me, to be as good as my word, to consider what the Exposer replies to the Author's first answer concerning the Donatists, that "our case is of inforcing a confession of faith, "not concerning seditious practices, of which the "Donatists were notoriously guilty, in which case he "had shown before, that the civil magistrate may "proceed to punishment." Wherein the Author reasons with his usual justness, and I, though a very slender accession, cannot but come into him. For St. Paul, in the 13th chapter of the Romans, laying out the boundaries of the duty of Christian subjects and the magistrates' power, saith, "Rulers "are not (ought not to be) a terroure to good works, "but to evil," and so forward; but to the Christian people he saith, "they must be subject not only for "wrath," as those Donatists were afterwards, "but "for conscience sake." And the subjection he defines is in doing good, walking uprightly, keeping the Moral Law, fearing, honouring, and paying tribute to the magistrate. But not one word saith the Apostle of forbearing to preach out of that obedience; saying in another place, "necessity is laid upon me, "and woe is unto me if I preach not the Gospel":— (1 Cor. ix. 16), (and that supposes, too, meeting) and as little of compelling to hear. For in those times and a great while after, there was no inforcing to Christianity. It was very long before that came in fashion; and, writing on the suddain, I do not well remember whether it did ever before the dayes of Pizarro and Almagro, the apostles

of the Indians; yet upon recollection it was sooner. But what saith the Exposer to this of the Donatists, whom the Author allows to have been punishable only for seditious practises, having before declared, that "for such as only refuse to conforme to the "Churche's established doctrine and discipline (pardon "him if he say) really he cannot find any warrant, "or so much as any hint from the Gospel to use any "force to compel them: and from reason sure there "is no motive to use force, because, as he shewed "before, force can't make a man believe your "doctrine, but only as an hypocrite, profess what he "believes not." I expected that the Exposer, in this place above all other, which I guess was his greatest motive to this imployment, should ply and overlay him now with reason, but especially with Scripture. Let us hear how he answers. "I say only this," p. 5, (for he speaks now of our Nonconformists) "the very Act against them calls them 'seditious "conventicles,' and openly to break so many known "laws of the Land, after so many reinforcements, is "not this to be turbulent?" This now you must understand to be reason, and not Scripture: that I suppose, as the strongest, is reserved for the rear. Truly (as far as a man can comprehend by comparing that with other Acts of this Parliament) they did only appoint that the penalty of sedition should ly against those that frequent such meetings: as in the Act against Irish catel, if it be not in itself a nuisance, no law-givers can make it so. Nor can any legislators make that to be 'sedition,' which is not 'sedition' in its own nature. So prohibitions of that kind operate no more as to the intrinseque quality, then a publick allowance of taking away any honest men's goods by violence, and giving it another name,

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would extinguish the robbery. It was the king and Parliament's prudence to make such laws, and as long as they shall continue of that mind, it is reason the Nonconformists should lye under the penalty, which I humbly conceive is all that could be intended. But the Exposer rivets this with reason again, not Gospel. "And was it not ever understood so in all "religions, even in Heathen Rome. The most "learned P. Ærodius tells us" (does he so? what is it, I beseech you?) "that the Roman Senate" (the Exposer quotes it at large, as a story of great use, and not to be hudled over; I must be glad to contract it) "made an act against the conventicles of certaine "innovators in their religion; if any particular "person judged such a sacrifice to be necessary, he "must repair first to the prætor, he to the Senate, "where the *quorum* must be an hundred, and they "must not neither give him leave, if at all, to have "above five persons present at the meeting. The "self same number, beside the Dissenter's own "family, is so far forth indur'd by an act of this "present Parliament, that there must be more then "five to make it a conventicle." This is a very subtile remarke that he has made, as if it were one of those witty accidents of fortune, or an extraordinary hand of Providence, that the Senate of Rome and the Parliament of England should hit so pat upon an act of the same nature; and upon that number of five. However they are oblig'd to him, and he deserves the publick thanks for furnishing them, so long after, with a precedent. I confess I alwayes wonder'd they would allow them so many as five, for fear when, not two or three, but five of 'em were gathered together, God should hear their request:—[St. Matt. xviii. 20]—and it seem'd therefore to me a formidable number.

But where has the example been hid so long? I believe the Exposer's study has lain much this way. But this was so deep an *arcanum*, that it was fit for none but an archbishop's closet. I wish he have come honestly by it. But murder I see and theft will out, and so this comes to light by a blabbing Animadverter, that cannot keep counsel, but will violate the ecclesiastical secret rather than lose the leachery of his tattle and the vain-glory of his pedantry. I could be glad to know what complexion this Exposer is of. I am perswaded, whatsoever he may be now, he was once extreme faire; for I remember since I was at school, that the learned P. Ovidius told me, that the crow was once a white bird, and much in Apollo's favour till for telling of tales:

*Sperantem non falsae præmia linguae,
Inter aves albas vetuit consistere corvnm.*

And of another, the fairest thing that ever eyes were laid on, but for carrying of storyes, was turned into a jackdaw, and grew as black as a crow, filching, and 'Kaw me and I'll Kaw thee,' ever after.

And that which sure must make him more black, more a jack-daw, and like it, worthy to be expelled from the guard and from the protection of Minerva, and who henceforward

—*ponatur post noctis avem,*

is, that he does with open mouth proclaim the Naked design of all the 'few' that are of his party. P. 12. "The Jews in Rome are constrained once a week to hear a Christian sermon." The same p. 12. "We that would oblige him to open his eyes whether he "will or no." P. 14. "I can only wish for the present, that by forcing them into our churches, they may hear our defences." P. 17. "I speak nothing

“ more against them then that they may be brought to our churches, &c.” All this as the last result and greatest condescension of his ecclesiastical clemency ! In conclusion he declares he would have them forced ; and for what manner of force, violence, punishment or penalty he leaves it all open, go as high as men will. These things still are not Scripture neither, but reason. His first was an heathenish reason in one sense, and this a Jewish in another. For I confess it is a very pregnant and ‘adequate’ example, and of great authority for us to imitate ; that “the Jews in Rome are constrained “once a week to hear a Christian sermon.” What could there be more proportionable, then to resemble the proceeding with Christians among themselves here in England, not differing in any point of faith, with the proceeding at Rome against the Jews ? But that the Exposer should ‘implicitly’ liken and compare our bishops to the Pope, may perhaps not be taken well by either party. So that I dare say, had he consulted with his usual prudence, he would not have disoblige’d both sides at once. But for the precedent, I have nothing to oppose to this more then the first, it being “doubtless of notable effect,” as notable as that of the Piedmont Conference. Only out of the affection I have for him, would wish him to correct here one slip, if I be rightly informed ; for some that have been abroad say his intelligence from Rome has failed him, for that it is not once a week, but once a year that the Jews at Rome are obliged, forced, to hear a Christian sermon. And therefore, when the *parliamentam indoctum* sits again, I would advise him not to make his act too severe here upon this mistake, then it is against those Judaick Non-conformists at Rome.

But the next reason would be so extraordinary troublesome to the 'few,' that are of the Exposer's party and to himself, that if he had thorowly consider'd it, I question whether he would have been so charitable to the fanaticks, that he would oblige them "to open their eyes whether they will or no." For it would require two of the Church of England to every Nonconformist, unless 'twere here and there one that had lost an eye in the service. Less would not do the business decently, and those two also must be well in order, to open the Nonconformists eyes both at once, lest one eye should be of one and the other eye of a contrary opinion. And then they should, in humanity, give them some interval for winking. Else they had as good cut off their eye-lids, as the episcopal Carthaginians used the Presbyterian Regulus, for keeping in the true sense to his covenant. But on the other side, it would look too big for a company of beggarly Fanaticks, to be waited upon in as much majesty as Obeshankanogh the king of Virginia, that had two squires of the body in constant attendance, to lift up his eye-lids as oft as he conceiv'd any man worthy to be look'd upon. But let the Exposer order it as he pleases, "I am not bound to" be any of his sight supporters. Onely this, it would be very improper for him to chuse any one that is blind to that employment. For his several times repeated wish, "that they might be forced to come to church to give them a fair hearing, and to hear their discourses:" truly I believe they know the lion by the claw; there is a great part of oratory consists in the choice of the person that is to perswade men. And a great skill of whatsoever orator is, to perswade the auditory first that he himself is an honest and fair man. And then he is like to make

the more impression on them too, if he be so prudent as to chuse an acceptable subject to speak on, and manage it decently, with fit arguments and good language. None but the very rabble love to hear any thing scurrilous or railing; especially if they should hear themselves rail'd on by him, they would be ready to give him the due applause of Petronius his orator, with flinging the stones about his ears, and then leaving him to be his own auditory. Now, they have had so ample experiment of the Exposer as to all these points, in his Defence against *The Naked Truth*, that I doubt his perswasion to this coming to hear him or others, will be of little force with them, and nothing would oblige these Donatists to it, but the utmost extremity; "nor then would they find themselves one step nearer heaven." His book is as good to them as a sermon, and no doubt he has preach'd as well as printed it, and took more pains in it than ordinary, did his best. Must they, will they think, be compelled to make up the pomp of his auditory? Must they, while the good Popish Fathers suffer'd those of Chiapa to come to church with their *chocalatte* pots, to comfort their hearts, be inforced to come to church by him, to have snush thrust up their noses, "to clear their brains for them?" 'Tis the onely way to continue and increase the schisme. But in good sober earnest, 'tis happy that some or other of this 'few,' chances ever and anon to speak their minds out, to shew us plainly what they would be at. Being conscious of their own unworthiness, and hating to be reformed, it appears that they would establish the Christian Religion by a Mahometan way, and gather so much force that it might be in their power, and we lie at their mercy, to change that religion into Heathenisme,

Judaisme, Turcisme, any thing. I speak with some emotion, but not without good reason, that I question whether, which way soever the Church revenues were applied, such of them would not betake themselves to that side as nimbly as the needle to the load stone. Have they not already, *ipso facto*, renounced their Christianity, by avowing this principle, so contrary to the Gospel? Why do not they Peter Hermite it, and stir up our Prince to an Holy War abroad, to propagate the Protestant religion, or at least our discipline and ceremonies, and they take the front of the battel? No, 'tis much better lurking in a fat benefice here, and to domineer in their own parishes above their spiritual vassals, and raise a kind of civil war at home but that none will oppose them. Why may they not, as well force men to Church, cram the Holy Supper too, down their throats (have they not done something not much unlike it?) and drive them into the rivers by thousands to be baptized or drowned? And yet this, after the king and parliament by his, their, gracious Indulgence, have enacted a liberty for five beside their own family, to meet together in their religious worship; and could not therefore intend at the same time to force them to go to Church with the utmost or any severity. What can be the end of these things but to multiply force with force, as one absurdity is the consequence of another, till they may again have debased the reason and spirit of the Nation, to make them fit for ignorance and bondage? Is it not reason, if they had care or respect to men's souls (which they onely exercise it seems the cure of, perhaps not that neither, but evacuate one residence by another) to allow that men should address themselves to such minister as they think best for their souls health? Men are all

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infirm and indisposed in their spiritual condition. What sick man, but if a physician were inforced upon him, might in good prudence suspect it were to kill him, or that, if the next heir and the doctor could agree, he would certainly do it? I shall conclude this reasonable transport with remarking that, although the Author did modestly challenge any man to shew him a warrant or colour or hint from Scripture, to use force to constrain men to the established doctrine and worship, and offer'd to maintain that nothing is more clear to be deduced or is more fully exprest in Scripture, nor is more suitable to natural reason, than that no man be forced in such cases: the Exposer took notice of it, yet hath not produced one place of Scripture, but only made use of force as an invincible reason; so that upon supposal, which none granted him, that all his 'few' do clearly demonstrate from Scripture, what is it at best therefore but deducible from Scripture, he thinks it reasonable to oblige all men by force to come to all their parishes. And yet he himself who does (I suppose it onely for the case's sake) believe the Scripture, although he cannot produce one place of Scripture for using this force, and though the Author has produced so many, and urges the whole Scripture that such force is not to be used, hath his brains nevertheless so confused, or so obdurate, that he cannot force himself to believe the Author but persists in his unchristian and unreasonable desire that men "may be compelled;" and hereby deserves to be made an example of his own principle. For herein he exceeds Pharaoh, who had ten "sufficient proposals," and yet his heart was so hardened, that he would not let Israel go out of Egypt, but was proof against miracles. But he would onely imagine that the Israelites were idle, and would

therefore force them to make brick without straw ; but the Exposer's heart and brains are so hardned, that he will conceive all the Nonconformists to be "obstinate fools or hypocrites," and therefore will "compel them" to go to all their parish churches, and to make therefore faith without reason. And hence it is not onely probable but demonstrable, if they were compelled to go and hear him and the "few" of his party, how well he or they would acquit themselves too in "clearly demonstrating from "Scripture the prime articles of faith," and it is extended in all the creeds of which it was treated in this chapter that I have now done with, and truly almost with those remaining. For I had intended to have gone chapter by chapter, affixing a distinct title, as he does, to every one of them (that men may believe he has animadverted thorowly without reading) except that concerning the difference between bishops and presbyters, which, as being the most easie to be answered, he therefore referred to a bishop. But in good earnest, after having consider'd this last chapter, so brutal, whether as to force or reason, I have changed my resolution. For he argues so despicably in the rest, that even I, who am none of the best "disputers of "this world," [1 Cor. i 20.] have conceiv'd an utter contempt for him. He is a meer kitchin-plunderer, and attacks but the baggage, where even the suttlers would be too hard for him. P. 18, does the Exposer allow that under Constantinus Pogonatus to have been a free General Council ? In the same page, if the Exposer would have done anything in his *Die Ecclesiæ*, he should have proved that a General Council is the Church ; that there can be such a General

Council, or hath been ; that the Church can impose new articles of faith beyond the express words of Scripture ; that a General Council cannot erre in matters of faith ; that the Church of his making cannot erre in matters of faith ; whereas our Church, Article 19, saith thus far, "The Churches of Jerusalem, Alexandria and Antioch have erred, so also the Church of Rome hath erred, not onely in their living and manner of ceremonies, but also in matters of faith." This is an induction from particulars, and remark the title of the article, being "of the Church," ours defines it, "The visible Church of Christ is a congregation of faithful men, in which the pure Word of God is preached, and the sacraments be duly ministered, according to Christ's ordinance, in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same." And then, if the reader please to look on the 20th and 21st articles following, one "of the authority of the Church," the other "of the authority of General Councils," unless a man will industriously mis-apply and mis-construe them, those three are a compendious and irrefragable answer, not onely to what he saith here upon the Appendix, but to his whole book, from one end to the other, P. 19. I ask him when the Greek Church is excommunicate by the Roman, when the Protestants left the Roman Church, when we in England are neither Papists, Lutherans, nor Calvinists, and when in Queen Marie's time we returned to the Roman Church, what and where then was the Catholic Church that was then indefectible, and against which the gates of hell did not prevail ? Was it not in the Savoy ? Moreover, I ask him, what hinders but a General Council may erre in matters of faith, when we in England, that are another world, that

are under an imperial crown, that are "none of them," as the Exposer words it, but have a distinct Catholick faith within our four seas, did in the reign before mentioned (and reckon how many in that Convocation those were that dissented) again make ourselves "one of them?" unless he has a mind to do so too, which would alter the case exceedingly. P. 20, he quotes the Act, 1 Eliz. cap. 1: let him mind that clause in it, "by the express and plain words of canonical Scripture;" and then tell me what service it hath done him; whether he had not better have let it alone, but that it is his fate all along to be condemn'd out of his own mouth, which must alwayes succeed so, when man urges a real truth against a real truth. P. 23. I have reason to affirm, and he will meet with it (and has already in the Author) that those General Councils, howsoever called, were no *representatio totius nominis Christiani*, but nominally; yea, that such a representation could not be. P. 22. He expounds Scriptures here, and thinks he does wonders in it, by assuming the faculties of the whole body to the mouth, which "mouth," he saith (and in some sense 'tis very true, if a man would run over the Concordance) "is the clergy." But I know not why the mouth of the Church should pretend to be the brain of the Church, and understand and will for the whole laity. Let every man have his word about, and 'tis reason. We are all at the same ordinary, and pay our souls equally for the reckoning. The Exposer's mouth, which is unconscionable, would not onely have all the meat, but all the talk too, not only at Church, but at Council Table. Let him read Bishop Taylor of Liberty of Prophecy. P. 25. The Exposer, that always falsly represents his adversary as an enemy to creeds, to Fathers, (as afterwards he

does to ceremonies, to logick, to mathematicks, to every thing that he judiciously speaks and allows of) here, p. 25, saith the Author (who delivers but the Church of England's doctrine herein, and would not have divine faith impos'd upon, nor things prest beyond Scripture) in this matter of General Councils is guilty of unthought of Popery, for the Papists (really I think he partly slanders them herein) cannot endure councils, general and free. They allow many a General Council more than we do. If the Pope do not, for some reason or other, delight in some that are past, or in having new ones, it does not follow that the Papists do not. I think those were Papists that ruffled the Pope too here in the West, and that at the Council of Constance burnt John Hus and Hierome of Prague, and resolved that faith was not to be kept with hereticks. But pray, Mr. Exposer, if we must give divine faith to General Councils, let the author ask you in his turn, which are those General Councils? How shall we know them? Why, onely such as accord with Scripture. Why, then we, I mean you, Mr. Exposer, make ourselves, you still, judges of the General Councils, the fault you so much condemn the Author for. But what Popery, thought or "unthought of," are you, in the very next line, guilty of, that call the Pope's supremacy "the quintessence of Popery? So that it seems the quintessence of the controversie betwixt our Church and theirs, is onely which shall be Pope; for the articles of religion we do not so much differ, we need not much compulsion, though the Nonconformists may. I thank you, Mr. Exposer, for your news; I had often heard it before, I confess, but till now I did never, and scarce yet can, believe it; it is rather to be wish'd then hoped for, a thing

so surprisingly seasonable. But for the good news, Mr. Exposer, I will give you four bottles (which is all I had by me, not for mine own use, but for a friend upon occasion) of the first, second, third, and fourth essence. But the 'quintessence' I doubt would be too strong for your brain, especially in the morning, when you are writing *Animadversions*. Page 28 of ceremonies, he sports unworthily, as if the Author spoke *pro* and *con*, contradictions; while as a Moderator, he advises our Church to condescension on the right, and the Dissenters to submission on the left (how are men else to be brought together?) He had as good call every man, because he has two hands, an *ambidexter*. He would turn every man's stomach, worse than 'the singing-men's dirty surplices,' to hear him defend it so foolishly. P. 29, 30, 35, 36. The best of his reasons for it are the 'apparitions in white,' in the evangelists; the 'transfiguration,' 'the saints in white linnen;' the 'purity of a minister.' Why then does he not wear it all the week? The bishop Sisynnius did so, and a churchman asking him, why not in black? as 'twas then the mode, he gave the same reasons; and I believe Gurnay, the Nonconformist, if, as they say, he went to market in it, learn'd them of him. Why does not the Exposer (there is more reason in Scripture, Col. iv. 6. "Let your speech be alwayes seasoned with salt, that ye may know how ye ought to answer every man") carry a salt-box alwayes in his pocket, to be tasting of? for I doubt he is of the "salt that has lost his savour;" however, I am sure he is very insipid, and this might correct it; beside, it must have been of great vertue, when he was to animadvert on *the Naked Truth*, that "he might have known how to answer him." See Fox, Vol. III. p. 500, col. 2. what

the martyr, the conformable bishop Ridley saith, would not be forced to wear it, "he was no singer." See as to all these things, his beloved Tertullian, *De Cor. Mil.* "Si ideo dicatur coronari licere, quia non prohibeat Scriptura, aequè retorquebitur, ideo coronari non licere, quia Scriptura non jubeat." Bishop Chrysostome, *Or. i. adversus Judæos*, "Ostendite eos ex Dei sententiâ jejunare. Quod, ni id fiat quâvis ebrietate sceleratius est jejunium. Etenim contra quod sit præter Dei voluntatem est omnium pessimum. Non enim ipsa eorum quae fiunt natura, sed Dei voluntas ac decretum efficit ut eadem vel bona sint vel mala." P. 33. His jeering at the Author's, "Oh my Fathers," is inhumane and impious: "but oh, the pity of it that twenty such oh's will not amount to one reason." They will, *Heb. iv. 12, 13*, "that day, which the devils believe and tremble, when all things shall be naked and bare before the word of truth." P. 37, he is scarce proper to come in a pulpit, after what he saith, that the "Apostles received not the sacrament sitting;" much less after, p. 41, he has said, "we read that our Saviour kneeled, in several places," much less after, p. 59, where of preaching he saith, "He knows not what the Author means by the 'demonstration of the Spirit,' unless to speak as he does, magisterially." He never read *1 Cor. ii. 4*, of 'preaching in demonstration of the Spirit;' nor *Mat. vii. 29*, how Christ 'taught as one having authority.' There is such an art, if he knew it. P. 42, he can never answer the Author upon *Rom. xiv.* where 'the zealous observer of ceremonies is the weak brother.' He whiffles, "those were the Jewish ceremonies." The Jews had a fairer pretence than we; for theirs were instituted by God Himself, and they knew not they were abrogate.

His intolerably ridiculous story out of Schottus, p. 15, of contriving a pair of organs of cats, which he had done well to have made the pigs at Hogs-Norton play on, puts me in mind of another story to quit it, relating, as his does, to 'screwing' the Nonconformists into Church; and I could not possibly miss of the rencounter, because the gentleman's name of whom it is told, is the monosyllable voice with which cats do usually address themselves to us. 'Twas (you have it as I had it) the Vice-chancellor of one of our Universities, but now a bishop, Octob. 22, 1671, and 12 Feb., 1669; he came to a Fanatick's house, they not being then at worship, yet one of 'm said, "they were come to pray to the God of heaven and earth;" he said, "then they were within the Act." He would force them to church to Saint Marie's. Himself laid hands on 'm. "He commanded them to follow him in the king's name." His beadle told them, "he would drive them thither in the devil's name." The Vice-chancellour said, he had converted hundreds so at Reading. They spoke of Queen Marie's dayes; he said, "he could burn them too now, if the Law required it." There was old tugging, he had the victory. They were placed in Saint Marie's, with beadles to attend them. As he carried them in, he quoted Luke xiv. 23. "Compel them to come in." What pity 'tis the Exposer knew not of this text, that he might have had one Scripture for his doctrine of compulsion! But it chanced the minister there preached one time Acts v. 41, the other time, Mat. x. 16. Afterwards he took the penalty nevertheless for not having been at Church that same Sunday that he had hurried them thither. P. 62, he speaks of Bishop Morton, whose "industrious brain made up the fatal breach

between the two houses of York and Lancaster." Much good do the clergy with their lay-offices. He coggs, p. 7. with the Bishop of Ely for his short syllogisme; he made a longer of the 'holiness of Lent.' He complements (I said he would not forget him) my Lord Chancellor, 'the Christian Cicero.' 'Tis true of him, but contradictorily exprest: Psal. xxxv. 16. "With the flatterers were busy mockers, that gnashed with their teeth." The Exposer has commenced in both faculties. But the Printer calls: the press is in danger. I am weary of such stuffe, both mine own and his. I will rather give him this following Essay of mine own to busie him, and let him take his turn of being the Popilius.





A SHORT
HISTORICAL ESSAY
TOUCHING
GENERAL COUNCILS, CREEDS,
AND
IMPOSITION IN RELIGION.

THE Christian Religion, as first instituted by our Blessed Saviour, was the greatest security to Magistrates by the obedience which it taught; and was fitted to enjoy no less security under them by a practice conformable to that doctrine. For our Saviour Himself, not pretending to an earthly kingdom, took such care therefore to instruct His followers in the due subjection to governours; that, while they observed His precepts, they could neither fall under any jealousy of State as an ambitious and dangerous Party, nor as malefactors upon any other account deserve to suffer under the publick severity. So that in this only it could seem pernicious to

government, that Christianity if rightly exercised upon its own principles, would render all Magistracy useless. But although He Who was "Lord of all," and to Whom "all power was given both in heaven and in earth,"—[St. Matt. xxviii. 8.]—was nevertheless contented to come in the "form of a servant," (Philip. ii. 7.)—and to let the emperours and princes of the world alone with the use of their dominions; He thought it good reason to retain His religion under His own cognizance and [to] exempt its authority from their jurisdiction. In this alone He was imperious, and did not only practise it Himself against the laws and customs then received, and in the face of the Magistrate; but continually seasoned and hardened His disciples in the same confidence and obstinacy. He tells them, "They shall be brought before kings and governours for his name;" —[St. Matt. x. 18.]—but [to] fear them not, He will be with them, bear them out and justifie it against all opposition. Not that He allowed them hereby to violate their duty to the publick, by any resistance in defiance of the magistracy; but He instructed and animated them in their duty to God, in despite of suffering.

In this manner Christianity did at first set out, and accordingly found reception. For although our Blessed Saviour, "having fulfilled all righteousness" —[Rom. viii. 4.]—and the time of His ministry being compleated, did by His death set the seal to His doctrine, and shew the way toward life and immortality to such as believing imitate His example; yet did not the heathen Magistrate take the government to be concerned in the point of religion, or upon that account consent to His execution. Pontius Pilate, then governour of

Judæa, though he were a man unjust and cruel by nature, and served Tiberius, the most tender, jealous and severe in point of State or prerogative, of all the Romane Emperours: though he understood that great multitudes followed Him, and that He was grown the head of a new sect that was never before heard of in the nation, yet did not he intermeddle. But they were the men of religion, the chief priests, scribes and elders, and the high-priest Caiaphas. And yet, although they accused Him falsely, that He taught that "tribute was not to be given to Cæsar;"—[St. Luke xxiii. 2.]—that He was a fifth monarch and made himself a king,"—[St. Luke xxiii. 2.]—and (as is usual for some of the clergy to terrifie the inferior Magistrates out of their duty to justice, under pretence of loyalty to the prince) threatned Pilate that 'if he let that man go he was not Cæsar's friend;'—[St. John xix. 12.]—he understanding that "they did it out of envy,"—[St. Matt. xxviii. 18.]—and that the justice and innocence of our Saviour was what they could not bear with, would have adventured all their informing at Court, and first have freed Him and then have exchanged Him for Barabbas; saying, that he "found no fault in him:"—[St. Luke xxiii. 4.]—but he was overborne at last by humane weakness, and poorly imagined that by washing his own hands he had expiated himself and wiped off the guilt upon those alone who were the occasion. But as for Tiberius himself, the growth of Christianity did never increase his cares of empire at Rome nor trouble his sleep at Capreæ; but he both approved of the doctrine, and threatned the informers with death; nor would have staid there, but attempted, according to the way of their superstition, upon the

intelligence he had from Pilate, to have received Christ into the number of their deities. The persecution of the Apostles after His death, and the Martyrdome of Stephen happened not by the interposing of the Civil Magistrate in the matter of religion, or any disturbance occasioned by their doctrines; but arose from the high-priest and his emissaries, by suborned witnesses, stirring up the rabble in a brutish and riotous manner to execute their cruelty. How would the modern clergy have taken and represented it, had they lived in the time of St. John Baptist and seen "Jerusalem, Judæa and all the region round about Jordan go out to be baptized by him!"—[St. Matt. iii. 13.] Yet that Herod—for any thing we read in Scripture—though he wanted not his instillers, apprehended no commotion; and had not Caligula banished him and his Herodias together, might in all appearance have lived without any change of government. 'Twas she that caused John's imprisonment for the convenience of her incest. Herod indeed "feared him," but rather revered him, "as a just man," and "an holy," "observed him and when he heard him he did many things and heard him gladly."—[St. Mark vi. 20.] Nor could all her subtilty have taken off his head, but that Herod thought himself under the obligations of a dance and an oath, and knew not in that case they ought both to be dispensed with. But "he was exceeding sorry at his death;"—[St. Mark vi. 26.]—which few princes are if men have lived to their jealousy or danger. The killing of James and imprisonment of Peter by that other Herod, was "because he saw he pleased the people;"—[Acts xii. 3.]—when the priests had once set them on madding; a complaisance to which the most

innocent may be exposed, but which partakes more of guile than civility or wisdom.

But to find out what the disinterested and prudent men of those days took to be the wisest and only justifiable way for the Magistrate to proceed in upon matters of religion, I cannot see any thing more pregnant than the concurrent judgment of three persons of so different characters and that lived so far asunder, that there can be no danger of their having corrupted one another's understanding in favour to Christianity: Gamaliel, the deputy of Achaia, and the town-clerk of Ephesus; the first a Jewish Doctor, by sect a Pharisee, one of the Council, and of great authority with the people, who (when the chief-priest had cast the Apostles in prison, and charged them for preaching against the command he had before laid upon them) yet gave this advice, confirming it with several fresh precedents, Acts v. [38-39] "That they should take heed to themselves what they intended to do with those men and let them alone; for if this counsel," saith he, "or this work be of men it will come to nought," but "if it be of God you cannot overthrow it, lest ye be found fighting with God." So that his opinion, grounded upon his best experience was, that the otherwise unblameable sect of Christianity might safely and ought to be left to stand or fall by God's providence under a free toleration of the Magistrate. The second was Gallio, Acts xviii. a Roman, and deputy of Achaia. The Jews at Corinth hurried Paul before his tribunal, laying the usual charge against him, "That he perswaded men to worship God contrary to the law:"—[Acts xviii. 13.]—which Gallio looked upon as so slight, and without his cognizance, that although most judges are willing to

increase the jurisdiction of their Courts, he "drove them away," saving Paul the labour of a defence, and told them, "If it were a matter of wrong or wicked lewdness, reason would that he should bear with them, but if it be a question of words and names and of your Law, look ye to it, I will be no judge of such matters:"—[Acts xviii. 15-16.]—and when he had so said, Paul was released, but "the Greeks" that were present "took Sosthenes the chief ruler of the synagogue," and ringleader of the accusers "and beat him before the judgement seat." [Acts xviii. 17.] His judgment therefore was, that to punish Christians merely for their doctrine and practise, unless they were malefactors otherwise, was a thing out of the Magistrate's province and altogether unreasonable. The third case was no less remarkable. For one Demetrius, that was a silversmith by trade and made shrines for Diana, stirred up all the free-men of his company against Paul, and indeed he stated the matter very fairly and honestly, assigning the true reason of most of these persecutions: "Ye know that by this craft we have our wealth, but that by Paul's preaching that they be no gods which are made with hands, not only our craft is in danger to be set at naught, but also the temple of the great Goddess and her magnificence, whom all Asia and the world worship, should be despised and destroyed."—[Acts xix. 25.] And it is considerable that even the Jews, though of a contrary religion, yet fomented, as it usually chances, this difference, and egg'd the Ephesians on against the Apostle and his followers. But when they had brought Alexander, one of Paul's companions, into the theatre, the Recorder of Ephesus (more temperate and wise than some would have been in that office)

would not make any inquisition upon the matter, nor put Alexander upon his tryal and defence, but, (although he himself could not have born that office without being a great Dianist, as he declared too in his discourse) he tells the people, "They had brought those men which were neither robbers of churches nor blasphemers of their goddess" (for that judge would not condemn men by any inferences or expositions of old statutes; which long after was Julian's practice, and since imitated) "and therefore if Demetrius and his craftsmen had any matter against them, the law was open, and it should be determined in a lawful assembly, but that the whole city was in danger to be called in question for that uproar, there being no cause whereby they might give account of that concourse."—[Acts xix. 38.] And by this he plainly enough signified, that if Paul and his companions had stoln the Church-plate they might well be indited, but that Demetrius had no more reason in law against them, then a Chandler might have had, if by Paul's preaching, wax-tapers as well as silver-candlesticks had grown out of fashion. That it is matter of right and wrong betwixt man and man, that the justice of government lookes to; but that, while Christianity was according to its own principle carried on quietly, it might so fall that the disturbers of it were guilty of a riot, and their great city of Ephesus deserve to be fin'd for it. And taking this to have been so, he dismiss the Assembly. Acts. xix.

After these testimonies which I have collected out of the History of the Acts, as of greatest authority, I shall only add one or two more out of the same book, wherein Paul likewise was concern'd before heathen Magistrates of greater eminence: Acts xxiii.

Ananias the high-priest (these alwayes were the men) having countenanc'd and instigated the Jews to a conspiracy, in which Paul's life was indanger'd and aim'd at, Lysias the chief-captain of Jerusalem interposes, and sends him away to Fœlix, then governour of Judæa; signifying by letter "that he had been accused only of questions of their law, but he found nothing to be laid to his charge worthy of death or of bonds."—[Acts xxiii. 9.] Whereof Fœlix also, though the high-priest was so zealous in the prosecution that he took the journey on purpose, and had instructed an exquisite orator Tertullus to harangue Paul out of his life, as a "pestilent fellow, a mover of sedition and ring-leader of the sect of the Nazarenes,"—[Acts xxiv. 5.]—not omitting even to charge Lysias for "rescuing by great violence" from being murdered by them,—was so well satisfied of the contrary upon full hearing, that he gave him his liberty and a "centurion for his guard, with command that none of his acquaintance should be debarr'd from coming and ministering to him."—[Acts xxiv. 23.] But being indeed to leave his government afterwards, "left him in prison," partly to shew the Jews and their high-priest another piece of complaisant policy, which 'tis possible they paid well for, seeing the other reason was, because though he had "sent for Paul the oftener and communed with him, in hopes that he would have given him money to be discharged,"—[Acts xxiv. 26.]—there came nothing of it. Which was so base a thing in so great a minister, that the meanest justice-of-the-peace in England would scarce have the face to do so upon the like occasion. But his successor Festus, having called Agrippa and Berenice to hear the cause, they all three were of opinion that 'twas all on the Jews side

calumny and impertinence, but that Paul had "done nothing worthy of death or of bonds, and might have been set free, but that having appealed to Cæsar" [—Acts xxiii. 29.]—he must be transmitted to him in safe custody. Such was the sense of those upon whom the emperors then relied for the government and security of their Provinces; and so gross were their heathen understandings, that they could not yet comprehend how quietness was sedition, or the innocence of the Christian worship could be subject to forfeiture or penalty. Nay, when Paul appear'd even before Nero himself "and had none to stand by him but all forsook him"—[2 Tim. iv. 16.]—he was by that emperor acquitted, and permitted a long time to follow the work of his ministry. 'Tis true, that afterwards this Nero had the honour to be the first of the Roman emperors that persecuted Christianity; whence it is that Tertullian in his *Apologetick* saith, "We glory in having such an one the first beginner and the author of our punishment, for there is none that hath read of him, but must understand some great good to have been in that doctrine, otherwise Nero would not have condemned it."

And thence-forward Christianity for about three hundred years lay subject to persecution. For the Gentile priests could not but observe a great decay in their parishes, a neglect of their sacrifices and diminution of their profits by the daily and visible increase of that Religion. And God in His wise providence had so ordered, that as the Jews already, so the Heathens now having fill'd up their measure with iniquity, "sprinkling the blood of His saints among their sacrifices;"—[St. Luke xiii. 1.]—and the Christians having in a severe apprenticeship of so

many ages learned the trade of suffering, they should at last be their own masters and admitted to their freedom. Neither yet, even in those times when they lay exposed to persecution, were they without some intervalls and catching seasons of tranquillity, wherein the Churches had leisure to reap considerable advantage, and the clergy too might have been inured as they had been exemplary under affliction, so to bear themselves like Christians when they should arrive at a full prosperity. For as oft as there came a just heathen emperour and a lover of mankind, that either himself observed, or understood by the governours of his Provinces, the innocence of their religion and practices, their readiness to pay tribute, their prayers for his government and person, their faithful service in his wars, but their Christian valour and contumacy to death under the most exquisite torments, for their holy profession; he forthwith relented, he rebated the sword of the executioner, and could not find in his heart or in his power to exercise it against the exercise of that Religion. It being demonstrable that a Religion instituted upon justice betwixt man and man, love to one another, yea even their enemies, obedience to the Magistrate in all humane and moral matters, and in Divine Worship, upon a constant exercise thereof, and as constant suffering in that cause, without any pretence or latitude for resistance, cannot, so long as it is true to itself in these things, fall within the Magistrate's jurisdiction.

But as it first was planted without the Magistrate's hand, and the more they pluck'd at it, so much the more still it flourished, so it will be to the end of the world; and whensoever governors have a mind to try for it, it will by the same means and method sooner

or later foil them; but if they have a mind to pull up that mandrake, it were advisable for them not to do it themselves, but to chuse out a dog for the employment. I confess whensoever a Christian transgresses these bounds once, he is impoundable, or like a wafe and stray whom Christ knows not, he falls to the lord of the mannor. But otherwise he cannot suffer; he is invulnerable by the sword of Justice; only a man may swear and damn himself to kill the first honest man he meets, which hath been and is the case of all true Christians worshipping God under the power and violence of their persecutors.

But the truth is, that even in those times which some men now, as oft as it is for their advantage, do consecrate under the name of Primitive, the Christians were become guilty of their own punishment; and had it not been, as is most usual, that the more sincere professors suffered promiscuously for the sins and crimes of those that were carnal and hypocrites, their persecutors may be look'd upon as having been the due administrators of God's Justice. For (not to go deeper) if we consider but that which is reckoned the Tenth Persecution under Dioclesian, so incorrigible were they after nine preceding, what other could be expected when Eusebius l. 3. c. 1. sadly laments having related how "before that the Christians lived in great trust and reputation in Court, "the bishops of each Church were beloved, esteem'd "and revered by all mankind, and by the Presidents of the Provinces, the meetings in all the "cities were so many and numerous, that it was "necessary, and allow'd them, to erect in every one "spacious and goodly churches; all things went on "prosperously with them, and to such an height that "no envious man could disturb them, no divel could

“hurt them, as long as walking yet worthy of those
“mercies they were under the Almighty’s care and
“protection; after that our affair by that too much
“liberty degenerated into luxury and laziness, and
“some prosecuted others with hatred and contumely,
“and almost all of us wounded ourselves with the
“weapons of the tongue in ill language; when
“bishops set upon bishops, and the people that
“belonged to one of them stirred sedition against the
“people of another; then horrible hypocrisy and
“dissimulation sprung up to the utmost extremity of
“malice, and the judgment of God, while yet there
“was liberty to meet in congregations, did sensibly
“and by steps begin to visit us, the persecution at
“first discharging itself upon our brethren that were
“in the army. But we having no feeling of the
“hand of God, nor endeavouring to make our peace
“with Him, and living as if we believed that God
“did neither take notice of our transgressions nor
“would visit us for them, we heaped up iniquity
“upon iniquity. And those which seemed to be our
“pastors, kicking under foot the rules of piety, were
“inflamed among themselves with mutual conten-
“tions; and while they minded nothing else but to
“exaggerate their quarrels, threats, emulation,
“hatred and enmities, and earnestly each of them
“pursued his particular ambition in a tyrannical
“manner, then indeed the Lord, then I say, according
“to the voice of the prophet Jeremy, ‘He covered
“the daughter of Sion with a cloud in His anger,
“and cast down from heaven unto earth the beauty
“of Israel, and remembered not His foot-stool in the
“day of his anger.’”—[Lament. ii. 1.] And so the
pious Historian pathetically goes on, and deploras the
calamities that insued, to the loss of all that stock of

reputation, advantage, liberty and safety, which Christian people had by true piety, and adhering strictly to the rules of their profession, formerly acquired and enjoyed, but had now forfeited, and smarted deservedly under Dioclesian's persecution. And it was a severe one, the longest too that ever happened; ten years from his beginning of it, and continued by others; by which time one might have thought the Church would have been sufficiently winnowed, and nothing left but the pure wheat, whereas it proved quite contrary, and the holiest and most constant of the Christians being blown away by martyrdom, it seem'd by the succeeding times as if nothing but the chaff and the tares had remained. But there was yet such a seed left, and notwithstanding the defection of many, so internal a virtue in the Religion itself, that Dioclesian could no longer stand against it, and tired out in two years time, was glad to betake himself from rooting out Christianity, to gardening and to sow pot herbs at Salona. And he, with his partner Maximianus, resigned the empire to Galerius and Constantius, the excellent father of a more glorious and Christian son, Constantine the Great, who in due season succeeded him, and by a chain of God's extraordinary Providences seemed to have been let down from heaven to be the emperor of the whole world, and as I may say, the universal apostle of Christianity.

It is unexpressible the vertue of that prince, his care, his indulgence, his liberality, his own example, every thing that could possibly tend to the promotion and encouragement of true religion and piety. And in order to that he thought he could not do better—neither indeed could he—then to shew a peculiar respect to the clergy and bishops, providing largely

for their subsistence, had they too on their part behaved themselves worthy of their high calling, and known to make right use of the advantages of his bounty to the same ends that they were by him intended; for if the Apostle, 1 Tim. v. 17, requires that "an elder," provided he "rule well," "be accounted worthy of double honor, especially those who labor in the word and doctrine,"—[1 Tim. v. 17.]—it excludes not a decuple or any further proportion; and indeed there cannot too high a value be set upon such a person: and God forbid too that any measure of wealth should render a clergyman uncanonical. But, alas, bishops were already grown another name and thing; then at the Apostles' institution; and had so altered their property, that Paul would have much difficulty by all the marks in the 1 Tim. iii. to have known them. They were ill enough under persecution many of them, but that long and sharp winter under Dioclesian, being seconded by so warm a summer under Constantine, produced a pestilence, which, as an infection that seizes sometimes only one sort of cattle, diffused itself most remarkably thorow the whole body of the Clergy. From his reign the most sober historians date that new disease which was so generally propagated then, and ever since transmitted to some of their successors, that it hath given reason to inquire whether it only happened to those men as it might to others, or were not inherent to the very function. It show'd itself first in ambition, then in contention, next in imposition, and after these symptoms, broke out at last like a plague-sore, in open persecution. They the bishops, who began to vouch themselves the successors of Christ, or at least of His Apostles, yet pretended to be heirs and executors of the Jewish

high-priests and the heathen tyrants, and were ready to prove the Will. The ignorant Jews and Infidels understood not how to persecute, had no commission to meddle with religion; but the bishops had studied the Scriptures, knew better things, and the same which was cruelty and tyranny in the heathens, if done by a Christian and ecclesiastical hand, was hallowed, to be church-government and the care of a diocess. But that I may not seem to speak without book, or out-run the History, I shall return to proceed by those degrees I newly mention'd, whereby the Christian Religion was usurped upon, and those things became their crime, which were their duties.

The first was the ambition of the bishops, which had even before this taken its rise, when in the intervals of the former persecutions the piety of the Christians had laid out ample provisions for the Church: but when Constantine not only restored those which had been all confiscate under Dioclesian, but was every day adding some new possession, priviledge, or honor, a bishoprick became very desirable, and was not only "a good work,"—[1 Tim. iii. 1.]—but a good thing, especially when there was now no danger of paying, as it was usual formerly, their first-fruits to the emperor by martyrdom. The arts by which Ambition climbs, are calumny, dissimulation, cruelty, bribery, adulation, all applyed in their proper places and seasons; and when the man hath attained his end, he ordinarily shows himself then in his colours, in pride, opiniastry, contention, and all other requisite or incident ill qualities. And if the Clergy of those times had some more dextrous and innocent way then this of managing their ambition, it is to be lamented *inter artes perditas*,

or lyes enviously hid by some musty-book worm in his private library. But so much I find, that both before, and then, and after, they cast such crimes at one another, that a man would scarce think he were reading an history of bishops, but a legend of divels: and each took such care to blacken his adversary, that he regarded not how he smutted himself thereby and his own order, to the laughter or horror of the by-standers. And one thing I remark particularly, that as 'son of a whore' is the modern word of reproach among the laity, of the same use then among the clergy was 'heretick.' There were indeed hereticks as well as there are bastards, and perhaps it was not their fault (neither of 'em could help it), but the mothers or the fathers. But they made so many hereticks in those days, that 'tis hard to think they really believ'd them so, but adventur'd the name only to pick a quarrel. And one thing that makes it very suspicious is, that in the Ecclesiastical History, the ring-leader of any heresy was for the most part accused of having a mind to be a bishop, though it was not a way to come to it. As there was the damnable heresy of the Novatians, against which Constantine, notwithstanding his declaration of general indulgence at coming in, was shortly after so incensed, that he published a most severe proclamation against them; "cognoscite jam per legem hanc quæ a me sanctita est, O Novatiani," &c. prohibiting all their meetings, not only in public, but in their own private houses; and that all such places where they assembled for their worship should be rased to the ground without delay or controversie, &c. Euseb. lib. iii. 62, *de Vita Constantini*. Now the story the bishops tell of Novatus, the author of the sect, Eus. lib. vi. c. 42, is in the words of Cornelius the bishop of Rome, the

very first line. "But you may know that this brave "Novatus did, even before that, affect to be a bishop" "(a great crime in him) "that he might conceal that "petulant ambition, he, for a better cover to his "arrogance, had got some confessors into his society, "&c.," and goes on calling him all to naught; "but then," saith he, "he came with two reprobates of his "own heresy into a little, the very least, shire of "Italy, and by their means seduced three most simple "high-shoon bishops, wheedling them, that they must "with all speed go to Rome, and there meeting with "other bishops, all matters should be reconciled. "And when he had got thither these three silly "fellows, as I said, that were not aware of his "cunning, he had prepar'd a company of rogues like "himself, that treated them in a private room very "freely, and having thwack'd their bellies and heads "full with meat and drink, compell'd the poor "drunken bishops, by an imaginary and vain imposition of hands, to make Novatus also a bishop." Might not one of the same order now better have conceal'd these things had they been true? but such was the discretion. Then he tells "that one of the three returned soon after," repenting it seems next morning, "and so he receiv'd him "again into the Church" unto the "laick communion." But for the other two, he had sent successors into their places. And yet after all this ado, and the whetting of Constantine, contrary to his own nature and his own declarations against the Novatians, I cannot find their heresy to have been other then that they were the Puritans of those times, and a sort of Nonconformists that could have subscribed to the Six-and-Thirty articles, but differed only in those of Discipline: and upon some enormities therein sepa-

rated, and (which will always be sufficient to qualify an heretick) they instituted bishops of their own in most places. And yet afterwards in the times of the best *homoiousian* emperors, a sober and strictly religious people did so constantly adhere to them, that the bishops of the Church too, found meet to give them fair quarter; for-as-much as "they differ'd not in fundamentals," and "therefore were of use to them against hereticks that were more dangerous and diametrically opposite to the Religion." Nay insomuch, that even the bishop of Constantinople, yea, of Rome, notwithstanding that most tender point and interest of Episcopacy, suffered the Novatian bishops to walk cheek by jowl with them in their own diocess; until that, as Socr. lib. vii. c. 11, "the Roman Episcopacy, having as it were passed the bounds of priesthood, slipp'd into a secular principality, and thenceforward the Roman bishops would not suffer their meetings with security; but though they commended them for their consent in the same faith with them, yet took away all their estates." But at Constantinople they continued to fare better, the bishops of that Church "embracing the Novatians, and giving them free liberty to keep their conventicles in their Churches." What, and to have their bishops too, altar against altar? A condescension, which as our Nonconformists seem not to desire or think of, so the wisdom of these times would, I suppose, judge to be very unreasonable, but rather that it were fit to take the other course, and that whatsoever advantage the Religion might probably receive from their doctrine and party, 'tis better to suppress them and make havock both of their estates and persons. But however, the hereticks in Constantine's time had the less reason to complain

of ill measure, seeing it was that the bishops meated by among themselves. I pass over that controversy betwixt Cecilianus, the bishop of Carthage, and his adherents, with another set of bishops there in Africk, upon which Constantine ordered ten of each party to appear before Miltiades the bishop of Rome, and others, to have it decided. Yet after they had given sentence, Constantine found it necessary to have a Council for a review of the business, as in his letter to Chrestus the bishop of Syracuse, Euseb. l. x. c. 6. "Whereas several have formerly separated from the Catholick heresy," (for that word was not yet so ill-natured, but that it might sometimes be used in its proper and good sense:) and then relates his commission to the bishop of Rome and others: "but for-as-much as some having been careless of "their own salvation, and forgetting the reverence "due to that most holy heresy" (again) "will not "yet lay down their enmity, nor admit the sentence "that hath been given, obstinately affirming that "they were but a few that pronounced the sentence, "and that they did it very præcipitately, before they "had duly inquired of the matter: and from hence "it hath happened, that both they who ought to "have kept a brotherly and unanimous agreement "together, do abominably and flagitiously dissent "from one another, and such whose minds are "alienated from the most holy Religion, do make a "mockery both of it and them. Therefore I, &c. "have commanded very many bishops out of innumerable places to meet at Arles, that what ought to "have been quieted upon the former sentence pronounced, may now at least be determined, &c., and "you to be one of them; and therefore I have "ordered the prefect of Sicily to furnish you with

“one of the publick stage-coaches and so many
“servants, &c.”

Such was the use then of stage-coaches, post-horses, and Councils, to the great disappointment and grievance of the ‘many;’ both men and horses and leather being hackney-jaded, and worn out upon the errand of some contentious and obstinate bishop. So went the affairs hitherto; and thus well-disposed and prepared were the bishops to receive the Holy Ghost a second time at the great and first General Council of Nice, which is so much celebrated.

The occasions of calling it were two. The first a most important question in which the wit and piety of their predecessors and now theirs successively, had been much exercised and taken up; that was, upon what day they ought to keep Easter, which though it were no point of faith that it should be kept at all, yet the very calendiry of it was controverted with the same zeal, and made as heavy ado in the Church as if both parties had been hereticks. And it is reckoned by the Church historians as one of the chief felicities of Constantine’s Empire, to have quieted in that Council this main controversie. The second cause of the assembling them here was indeed grown, as the bishops had order’d it, a matter of the greatest weight and consequence to the Christian religion; one Arius having, as is related, to the disturbance of the Church, started a most pernicious opinion in the point of the Trinity. Therefore from all parts of the Empire they met together at the city of Nice, two hundred and fifty bishops and better, saith Eusebius, a goodly company: three hundred and eighteen say others; and the Animadverter too, with that pithy remark, pa. 23. “equal almost to the number of servants bred up in the house of Abraham.”—

[Genesis xiv. 14.] The emperour had accommodated them every-where with the publick posts, or layd horses all along for the convenience of their journey thither, and all the time they were there, supplied them abundantly with all sorts of provision at his own charges. And when they were all first assembled in Council, in the great Hall of the imperial palace, he came in, having put on his best clothes to make his guests welcome; and saluted them with that profound humility as if they all had been emperours; nor would sit down in his throne, tho' it was a very little and low stool, till they had all beckoned and made signes to him to sit down. No wonder if the first council of Nice run in their heads ever after; and the ambitious Clergy, like those who have been long athirst, took so much of Constantine's kindness, that they are scarce come to themselves again after so many ages. The first thing was, that he acquainted them with the causes of his summoning them thither, and in a grave and most Christian discourse "exhorted them" (to keep the peace or) "to a good agreement" as there was reason. "For" (saith Ruffin l. 1. c. 2.) "the bishops being met here from almost all parts, and as they use to do, bringing their quarrels about several matters along with them, every one of them was at the emperour, offering him petitions, laying out one another's faults," (for all the good advice he had given them) "and were more intent upon these things then upon the business they were sent for. But he, considering that by these scoldings and bickerings the main affair was frustrated, appointed a set day by which all the bishops should bring him in whatsoever complaint they had against one another." And they being all brought, he

made them that high Asiatick complement: "God hath made you priests, and hath given you power to judge me, and therefore it is in you to judge me righteously, but you cannot be judged by any men. It is God only can judge you, and therefore reserve all your quarrels to His tribunal. For you are as Gods to me, and it is not convenient that a man should judge of Gods, but He only of whom it is written, 'God standeth in the congregation of the Gods, and discerneth in the midst of them.'— [Ps. lxxxii. 1.] And therefore setting these things aside, apply your minds without any contention to the concernments of God's religion." And so without opening or reading one petition [he] commanded them all together to be burnt there in his presence." An action of great charity and excellent wisdom, had but some of the words been spared. For doubtless, though they that would have complained of their brethren, grumbled a little; yet those that were accusable were all very well satisfied: and those expressions, "you can judge me righteously, and you cannot be judged by any man, and God only can judge you. You are Gods to me, &c." were so extremely sweet to most of the bishops' palates, that they believ'd it, and could never think of them afterwards but their teeth watered; and they ruminated so long on them, that Constantine's successors came too late to repent it. But now the bishops, having mist of their great end of quarrelling one with another, betake themselves, though somewhat awkwardly, to business. And it is necessary to mine, that as shortly as possible, for the understanding of it, I give a cursory account of Alexander and Arius, with some few others that were the most interested in that general and first great

revolution of ecclesiastical affairs since the days of the Apostles. This Alexander was the bishop of Alexandria, and appears to be a pious old man, but not equally prudent, nor in divine things of the most capable, nor in conducting the affairs of the Church, very dextrous; but he was the bishop. This character that I have given of him, I am the more confirm'd in from some passages that follow, and all of them pertinent to the matter before me. They were used, (Sozom. l. ii. c. 16), at Alexandria, to keep yearly a solemn festival to the memory of Peter, one of their former bishops, upon the same day that he suffered martyrdom; which Alexander having celebrated at the Church with publick devotion, was sitting after at home, expecting some guests to dine with him (Sozom. l. ii. c. 16). As he was alone and looking towards the seaside, he saw a pretty way off the boys upon the beach, at an odd recreation, imitating it seems, the rites of the Church and office of the bishops, and was much delighted with the sight as long as it appear'd an innocent and harmless representation; but when he observed them at last how they acted the very administration of the sacred mysteries, he was much troubled, and sending for some of the chief of his clergy, caused the boys to be taken and brought before him. He asked them particularly what kind of sport they had been at, and what the words and what the actions were that they had used in it. After their fear had hindred them a while from answering, and now they were afraid of being silent, they confessed that a lad of their play-fellows, one Athanasius, had baptised some of them that were not yet initiated in those sacred mysteries; whereupon Alexander inquired the more accurately what the bishop of the game had said, and

what he did to the boys he had baptized, what they also had answered or learned from him. At last, when Alexander perceived by them that this pawn-bishop had made all his removes right, and that the whole ecclesiastical order and rites had been duely observed in their Interlude, he, by the advice of his priests about him, approved of that mock-baptism, and determined, that the boys "being once in the simplicity of their minds dipped in the divine grace, ought not to be re-baptized," but he perfected it with the remaining mysteries, which it is only lawful for priests to administer. And then he delivered Athanasius and the rest of the boys that had acted the parts of presbyters and deacons to their parents, calling God to witness that they should be educated in the ministry of the Church, that they might pass their lives in that calling which they had chosen by imitation. But as for Athanasius, a short while after, Alexander took him to live with him and be his secretary, having caused him to be carefully educated in the schools of the best grammarians and rhetoricians; and he grew in the opinion of all that spoke with him, a discreet and eloquent person, and will occasion to be more then once mentioned again in this discourse. I have translated this in a manner word for word from the Author. This good-natured old bishop, Alexander, that was so far from anathematizing, that he did not so much as whip the boys for profanation of the Sacrament against the discipline of the Church, but without more doing, left them, for ought I see, at liberty to regenerate as many more lads upon the next holyday as they thought convenient: He, (Socr. l. i. c. 3), "being a man that lived "an easy and gentle life, had one day called his "priests and the rest of his clergy together, and fell

“on philosophising divinely among them, but some-
“thing more subtly and curiously” (though I dare
say he meant no harm) “then was usual, concerning
the Holy Trinity.” Among the rest, one Arius, a
priest too of Alexandria, was there present, a man
who is described to have been a good disputant; and
others add, (the capital accusation of those times)
that he had a mind to have been a bishop, and bore a
great pique at Alexander, for having been preferr’d
before him to the see of Alexandria; but more are
silent of any such matter, and Sozom. l. i. c. 14, saith,
“he was in great esteem with his bishop. But Arius,
“(Socr. l. i. c. 3), hearing his discourse about the
“Holy Trinity and the Unity in the Trinity, con-
“ceiv’d that, as the bishop stated it, he had reason
“to suspect he was introducing afresh into the
“Church the heresy of Sabellius the African,” who
*fatebatur unum esse Deum et ita in unam essentiam
Trinitatem adducebat, ut assereret, nullam esse vere
subjectam proprietatem personis, sed nomina mutari
pro eo, atque usus poscant, ut nunc de illo ut Patre,
nunc ut Filio, nunc ut Spiritu Sancto disseratur:*”
and thereupon it seems Arius argued warmly for that
opinion which was contrary to the African, driving
the bishop from one to a second, from a second to a
third, seeming absurdity; which I studiously avoid
the relation of, that in all these things I may not
give occasion for men’s understandings to work by
their memories, and propagate the same errors by the
same means they were first occasion’d. But hereby
Arius was himself blamed as the maintainer of those
absurdities which he affixed to the bishop’s opinion,
as is usual in the heat and wrangle of disputation.
Whereas truth for the most part lyes in the middle,
but men ordinarily look for it in the extremities.

Nor can I wonder that those ages were so fertile in what they call heresies, when being given to meddling with the mysteries of Religion further than human apprehension or divine Revelation did or could lead them, some of the bishops were so ignorant and gross, but others so speculative, acute, and refining in their conceptions, that, there being moreover a good fat bishoprick to boot in the case, it is admirable to me, how all the clergy from one end to t'other, could escape from being or being accounted hereticks. Alexander hereupon, (Soz. l. i. c. 14.,) instead of stilling by more prudent methods this new controversy, took,—doubtless with a very good intention,—a course that hath seldom been successful; makes himself judge of that wherein he had first been the Party, and calling to him some others of his Clergy, would needs sit in publick to have a solemn set disputation about the whole matter. And while Arius was at it tooth and nail against his opposers, and the arguments flew so thick that they darkned the air, and no man could yet judge which side should have the victory; the good bishop, for his part, sate hay now hay, neither could tell in his conscience of a long time, which had the better of it; but sometimes he lean'd on one side and then on the other, and now incouraged and commended those of one Party, and presently the contrary, but at last by his own weight he cast the scales against Arius. And from thenceforward he excommunicating Arius for obstinacy, and Arius writing in behalf of himself and his followers to the bishops, each one stating his own and his adversarie's case with the usual candor of such men in such matters; the bishops too, all over, began to divide upon it, and after them their people; insomuch that Constantine, out of a true

paternal sense and care, found it necessary to send a very prudent and eminent person to Alexandria, to try if he could accommodate the matter, giving him a letter to Alexander and Arius; how discreet, how Christian-like, I never read any thing of that nature equal to it! It is too long for me here to insert, but I gladly recommend my reader to it in the 2o Euseb. *de vita Const.* c. 67, where he begins, "I understand
" the foundation of the controversy to have been this,
" that thou, Alexander, didst inquire of thy priests
" concerning a passage in the Scripture, nay didst ask
" them concerning a frivolous quillet of a question,
" what was each of their opinions: and thou, Arius,
" didst inconsiderately babble what thou neither at
" the beginning couldst conceive, and if thou hadst
" conceived so, oughtest not to have vented, &c."

But the Clergy having got this once in the wind, there was no beating them off the scent; which induced Constantine to think the convening of this Council the only remedy to these disorders. And a woful ado he had with them when they were met, to manage and keep them in any tolerable decorum. It seemed like an ecclesiastical cock-pit, and a man might have laid wagers either way; the two parties contending in good earnest either for the truth or the victory; but the more unconcerned, like cunning betters, sate judiciously hedging, and so ordered their matters, that which side soever prevail'd, they would be sure to be the winners. They were indeed a most venerable Assembly, composed of some holy, some grave, some wise, and some of them learned persons; and Constantine had so charitably burnt the accusations they intended against one another, which might otherwise have depopulated and dispirited the Council, that all of them may be presumed in one or other

respect to have made a great character. But I observe, (Soz. l. i. c. 16,) that these great bishops, although they only had the decisive voices, yet thought fit to bring along with them certain men that were cunning at an argument, to be auxiliary to them, when it came to hard and tough disputation; beside that they had their priests and deacons ready at a dead-lift always to assist them; so that their understandings seem'd to be sequester'd, and for their daily faith, they depended upon what their chaplains would allow them. And in that quality Athanasius there waited upon Alexander, being his deacon, (for as yet it seems archbishops nor archdeacons were invented.) And it is not improbable that Athanasius having so early personated the bishop, and seeing the declining age of Alexander, would be careful that Arius should not step betwixt him and home upon a vacancy, but did his best against him to barr up his way, as it shortly after happened; Athanasius succeeding after the Council in the see of Alexandria. In the mean time you may imagine that *hypostasis*, *persona*, *substantia*, *subsistentia*, *essentia*, *coessentialis*, *consubstantialis*, *ante sæcula coæternus*, &c. were by so many disputants pick'd to the very bones, and those too broken afterwards, to come to the marrow of divinity. And never had Constantine in his life so hard a task as to bring them to any rational results: "meekly and patiently," (Euseb. l. iii. c. 13. *de vitâ Const.*) "list'ning to every one, taking each man's opinion and without the acrimony with which it was delivered, helping each Party where they disagreed, reconciling them by degrees when they were in the fiercest contention, conferring with them apart courteously and mildly, telling them what was his own opinion of the matter:" Which

though some exception persons may alleadge to have been against the nature of a Free Council, yet truly unless he had taken that course, I cannot imagine how possibly he could ever have brought them to any conclusion. And thus this first, great General Council of Nice, with which the world had gone big so long, and which look'd so big upon all Christendom, at last was brought to bed, and after a very hard labour deliver'd of *homooousios*.

They all subscribed to the New Creed, except some*seventeen, who it seems had rather to be hereticks then bishops. For now the anathema's were published, and whoever held the contrary was to be punish'd by deprivation and banishment, all Arian books to be burned, and whoever should be discover'd to conceal any of Arius his writings, to dye for it. But it fared very well with those who were not such fools as to own his opinion. All they were entertain'd by the emperor at a magnificent feast, receiv'd from his hand rich presents, and were honourably dismiss'd, with letters recommending their great abilities and performance to the Provinces, and injoyning the Nicene Creed to be henceforth observed. With that stroke of the pen : (Socr. l. i. c. 6). "For what three hundred bishops have agreed on," (a thing indeed extraordinary) "ought not to be otherwise conceived of than as the "decree of God Almighty, especially seeing the Holy "Ghost did sit upon the minds of such, and so excellent men, and open'd His divine will to them." So that they went I trow with ample satisfaction, and, as they could not but take the emperour for a very civil, generous, and obliging gentleman, so they thought the better of themselves from that day forward. And how budge must they look when

they returned back to their diocesses, having every one of 'em been a principal limb of the Œcumenical, Apostolical, Catholick, Orthodox Council! When the Catachrestical titles of the Church and the Clergy were so appropriated to them by custom, that the Christian people had relinquished or forgotten their claim; when every hare that crossed their way homeward was a schismatic or an heretick, and if their horse stumbled with one of them, he incurred an anathema. Well it was that their journeys laid so many several ways, for they were grown so cumbersome and great, that the emperor's highway was too narrow for any two of them, and there could have been no passage without the removal of a bishop. But soon after the Council was over, Eusebius the bishop of Nicomedia, and Theognis the bishop of Nice, who were already removed both by banishment and two others put in their places, were quickly restor'd upon their petition; wherein they suggested the cause of their not signing to have been only because they thought they could not with a safe conscience subscribe the anathema against Arius, appearing to them both by his writings, his discourses, and sermons that they had been auditors of, not to be guilty of those errors. As for Arius himself, the emperor quickly wrote to him. "It is now a considerable time since I writ to your gravity to come to my tents, that you might injoy my countenance; so that I can scarce wonder sufficiently why you have so long delaid it; therefore now take one of the publick coaches and make all speed to my tents, that having had experience of my kindness and affection to you, you may return into your own country. God preserve you most dear sir." Arius hereupon (with his comrade Euzoius) comes to Con-

stantine's army, and offers him a petition, with a confession of faith that would have pass'd very well before the Nicene Council, and now satisfied the emperor (Socr. l. i. c. 19 & 20.) insomuch that he writ to Athanasius, now bishop of Alexandria, to receive him into the Church ; but Athanasius was of better mettle then so, and absolutely refus'd it. Upon this Constantine writ him another threatening letter : " When you have understood hereby my " pleasure, see that you afford free entrance into the " Church all that desire it ; for if I shall understand " that any who desires to be admitted into the Church " should be either hindered or forbidden by you, I " will send some one of my servants to remove you " from your degree, and place another in your stead." Yet Athanasius stood it out still, though other Churches received him into communion : and the heretick Novatus could not be more unrelenting to lapsed Christians than he was to Arius. But this, joyned with other crimes which were laid to Athanasius his charge, at the Council of Tyre, (though I suppose indeed they were forged) made Athanasius glad to fly for it, and remain the first time in exile. Upon this whole matter it is my impartial opinion that Arius or whosoever else were guilty of teaching and publishing those errors whereof he was accused, deserved the utmost severity which consists with the Christian Religion. And so willing have I been to think well of Athanasius and ill of the other, that I have on purpose avoided the reading, as I do the naming, of a book that I have heard tells the story quite otherwise, and have only made use of the current Historians of those times, who all of them tell it against the Arians. Only I will confess, that as in reading a particular history at

adventure a man finds himself inclinable to favor the weaker party, especially if the conqueror appear insolent, so have I been affected in reading these authors; which does but resemble the reasonable pity that men ordinarily have too for those who though of an erroneous conscience suffer under a Christian Magistrate. And as soon as I come to Constantius, I shall for that reason change my compassion and be doubly engaged on the Orthodox Party. But as to the whole matter of the Council of Nice, I must crave liberty to say, that from one end to the other, though the best of the kind, it seems to me to have been a pityful humane business, attended with all the ill circumstances of other worldly affairs, conducted by a spirit of ambition and contention, the first and so the greatest Ecumenical blow that by Christians was given to Christianity. And it is not from any sharpness of humour that I discourse thus freely of things and persons, much less of orders of men otherwise venerable, but that where ought is extolled beyond reason and to the prejudice of Religion, it is necessary to depreciate it by true proportion. It is not their censure of Arianism, or the declaring of their opinion in a controverted point to the best of their understanding, (wherein to the smallness of mine they appear to have light upon the truth, had they likewise upon the measure), that could have moved me to tell so long a story, or bring myself within the danger and aim of any captious reader, speaking thus with great liberty of mind but little concern for any prejudice I may receive, of things that are by some men idolized. But it is their imposition of a new article or Creed upon the Christian world not being contained in express words of Scripture to be believed with divine faith, under spiritual and civil

penalties, contrary to the privileges of Religion, and making a precedent follow'd and improv'd by all succeeding ages for most cruel persecutions, that only could animate me. In digging thus for a new deduction they undermined the fabrick of Christianity; to frame a particular doctrine they departed from the general rule of their Religion; and for their curiosity about an article concerning Christ, they violated our Saviour's first institution of a Church not subject to any addition in matters of faith, nor liable to compulsion either in belief or in practice. Farr be it from me in the event, as it is from my intention, to derogate from the just authority of any of those Creeds or Confessions of faith that are received by our Church upon clear agreement with the Scriptures; nor shall I therefore, unless some men's impertinence and indiscretion hereafter oblige me, pretend to any further knowledge of what in those particulars appears in the ancient Histories. But certainly if any Creed had been necessary, or at least necessary to have been imposed, our Saviour Himself would not have left His Church destitute in a thing of that moment. Or however, after the Holy Ghost, upon His departure, was descended upon the Apostles, and they "the elders and brethren" (for so it was then) were assembled in a legitimate Council at Jerusalem, 'it would have seemed good to the Holy Ghost and them' to have saved the Council of Nice that labour. Or, at least the Apostle Paul 2 Cor. xii. 2, and 4. "who was caught up into Paradise, and heard unspeakable words, which it is not lawful for any man to utter," having thereby a much better opportunity than Athanasius to know the doctrine of the Trinity, would not have been wanting, "through the abun-

dance of that revelation," to form a Creed for the Church, sufficient to have put that business beyond controversy. Especially seeing heresies were sprung up so early, and he foresaw others, and therefore does prescribe the method how they are to be dealt with, but no Creed that I read of.

Shall any sort of men presume to interpret those words, which to him were "unspeakable," by a gibbrish of their imposing, and force every man to cant after them what it is not lawful for any man to utter? Christ and His Apostles speak articulately enough in the Scriptures, without any Creed, as much as we are or ought to be capable of. And the ministry of the Gospel is useful and most necessary, if it were but to press us to the reading of them, to illustrate one place by the authority of another, to inculcate those duties which are therein required, quickning us both to faith and practice, and showing within what bounds they are both circumscribed by our Saviour's doctrine. And it becomes every man to be able to give a reason and account of his faith, and to be ready to do it, without officiously gratifying those who demand it only to take advantage; and the more Christians can agree in one confession of faith the better. But that we should believe ever the more for a Creed, it cannot be expected. In those days when Creeds were most plenty and in fashion, and every one had them at their fingers ends, 'twas the Bible that brought in the Reformation. 'Tis true, a man would not stick to take two or three Creeds for a need, rather then want a living, and if a man have not a good swallow, 'tis but wrapping them up in a Liturgy, like a wafer, and the whole dose will go down currently; especially if he wink at the same time and give his "assent and consent" without

ever looking on them. But without jesting, for the matter is too serious.—Every man is bound to “work out his own salvation with fear and trembling,”—[Philip. ii. 12.]—and therefore to use all helps possible for his best satisfaction; hearing, conferring, reading, praying for the assistance of God’s Spirit; but when he hath done this, he is his own expositor, his own both minister and people, bishop and diocess, his own Council; and his conscience excusing or condemning him, accordingly he escapes or incurs his own internal anathema. So that when it comes once to a Creed, made and imposed by other men as a matter of divine faith, the case grows very delicate, while he cannot apprehend, though the Imposer may, that all therein is clearly contained in Scripture, and may fear being caught in the expressions to oblige himself to a latitude or restriction, further then comports with his own sense and judgment. A Christian of honour, when it comes to this once, will weigh every word, every syllable; nay further, if he consider that the great business of this Council of Nice was but one single letter of the alphabet, about the inserting or omitting of an iota, there must be either that exactness in the form of such a Creed, as I dare say no men in the world ever were, or ever will be able to modulate; or else this scrupulous private judgment must be admitted, or otherwise all Creeds become meer instruments of equivocation or persecution. And I must confess, when I have sometimes considered with myself the dulness of the Nonconformists; and the acuteness on the contrary of the Episcopalians, and the conscientiousness of both, I have thought that our Church might safely wave the difference with them about ceremonies, and try it out upon the Creeds, which were both the most

honorable way, and more suitable to the method of the ancient Councils; and yet perhaps might do their business as effectually. For one that is a Christian in good earnest, when a Creed is imposed, will sooner eat fire than take it against his judgment. There have been martyrs for reason, and it was manly in them; but how much more would men be so for reason religionated and christianized! But it is an inhumane and unchristian thing of those faith-stretchers, whosoever they be, that either put men's persons or their consciences upon the torture, to rack them to the length of their notions; whereas the Bereans are made gentlemen and innobled by patent in the Acts, because they would not credit Paul himself,—whose writings now make so great a part of the New Testament,—until they had “searched the Scripture dayly whether those things were so, and therefore many of them believed.”—[Acts xvii. 11.] And therefore, although where there are such Creeds, Christians may for peace and conscience-sake acquiesce while there appears nothing in them flatly contrary to the words of the Scripture; yet when they are obtruded upon a man in particular, he will look very well about him, and not take them upon any humane authority. The greatest pretense to authority is in a Council. But what then? shall all Christians therefore take their formularies of divine worship or belief, upon trust, as writ in tables of stone, like the Commandments deliver'd from heaven, and to be obeyed in the instant, not considered; because three hundred and eighteen bishops are met in Abraham's great Hall, of which most must be servants, and some children, and they have resolv'd upon't in such a manner? No, a good Christian will not, cannot atturn and indenture his conscience over,

to be represented by others. It is not as in secular matters, where the States of a kingdom are deputed by their fellow subjects to transact for them, so in spiritual; or suppose it were, yet 'twere necessary, as in the Polish constitution, that nothing should be obligatory as long as there is one dissenter, where no temporal interests, but every man's eternity and salvation are concerned. The soul is too precious to be let out at interest upon any humane security, that does or may fail; but it is only safe when under God's custody, in its own cabinet. But it was a General Council. A special 'general' indeed, if you consider the proportion of three hundred and eighteen to the body of the Christian Clergy, but much more to all Christian mankind. But it was a General Free Council of bishops. I do not think it possible for any Council to be free that is composed only of bishops, and where they only have the decisive voices; nor that a Free Council that takes away Christian liberty. But that, as it was founded upon usurpation, so it terminated in imposition. But 'tis meant that it was free from all external impulsion. I confess that good meat and drink, and lodging, and money in a man's purse, and coaches and servants, and horses to attend them, did no violence to 'em, nor was there any false article in it. And discoursing now with one and then another of 'm in particular, and the emperor telling them this is my opinion, I understand it thus, and afterwards declaring his mind frequently to them in publick; no force neither! Ay! but there was a shrewd way of persuasion in it. And I would be glad to know when ever, and which free General Council it was that could properly be called so; but was indeed a meer imperial or ecclesiastical machine, no free agent, but wound up, set on going, and let

down by the direction and hand of the workman. A General Free Council is but a word of art, and can never happen but under a fifth monarch, and that monarch too, to return from heaven. The Animadverter will not allow the second General Council of Nice to have been free, "because it was overawed by an empress," and was guilty of a great fault (which no Council at liberty, he saith, could have committed) the decree for worshipping of images. At this rate a Christian may scuffle however for one point among them, and chuse which Council he likes best. But in good earnest I do not see but that Constantine might as well, at this first Council of Nice, have negotiated the image worship, as to pay that superstitious adoration to the bishops; and that prostration to their Creeds, was an idolatry more pernicious in the consequence to the Christian faith, then that under which they so lately had suffered persecution. Nor can a Council be said to have been at liberty, which lay under so great and many obligations. But the Holy Ghost was present where there were three hundred and eighteen bishops, and directed them, or three hundred! Then, if I had been of their Counsel, they should have sate at it all their lives, lest they should never see Him again after they were once risen. But it concerned them to settle their *quorum* at first by His dictates; otherwise no bishop could have been absent, or gone forth upon any occasion but He let him out again; and it behoov'd to be very punctual in the adjournments. 'Tis a ridiculous conception, and as gross as to make Him of the same substance with the Council. Nor needs there any stronger argument of His absence, then their pretense to be actuated by Him, and in doing such work. The Holy Spirit! If so many of

them, when they got together, acted like rational men, 'twas enough in all reason, and as much as could be expected.

But this was one affectation among many others, which the bishops took up so early, of the stile, privileges, powers, and some actions and gestures peculiar and inherent to the Apostles, which they misplaced to their own behoof and usage; nay, and challenged other things as apostolical, that were directly contrary to the doctrine and practice of the Apostles. For so because the Holy Spirit did in an extraordinary manner preside among the Holy Apostles at that legitimate Council of Jerusalem,—[Acts xv.]—they, although under an ordinary administration, would not go less, whatever came on't; nay, whereas the Apostles, in the drawing up of their decree dictated to them by the Holy Spirit, said therefore no more but thus: "The Apostles, elders, and brethren, send greeting unto the brethren of, &c. Forasmuch as, &c. it seemed good to the Holy Ghost and us, to lay upon you no greater burthen then these necessary things; that ye abstain from, &c. from which if ye keep yourselves, you shall do well. Fare ye well;" [Acts xv. 22.] this Council denounces every invention of its own (far from the apostolical modesty and the stile of the Holy Spirit) under no less then an anathema. Such was their arrogating to their inferior degrees the style of Clergy, till custom hath so much prevailed, that we are at a loss how to speak properly either of the name or nature of their function. Whereas the Clergy, in the true and apostolical sense, were only those whom they superciliously always call the laity; the word *clerus* being never but once used in the New Testament, and in that signification, and in

a very unlucky place too—[Peter i. 5, 3,]—where he admonishes the priesthood, “that they should not lord it or domineer over the Christian people,” *clerum Domini*, or the Lord’s inheritance. But having usurp’d the title, I confess they did right to assume the power. But to speak of the priesthood in that stile which they most affect, if we consider the nature too of their function, what were the Clergy then but laymen disguis’d, drest up perhaps in another habit? Did not St. Paul himself, being a tent-maker, rather than be idle or burthensome to his people, work of his trade, even during his apostleship, to get his living? But did not these, that they might neglect their holy vocation, seek to compass secular employments, and lay offices? Were not very many of them, whether one respect their vices or ignorance, as well qualified as any other to be laymen? Was it not usual as oft as they merited it, to restore them, as in the case even of the three bishops, to the lay-communion? And whether, if they were so peculiar from others, did the imposition of the bishops’ hands, or the lifting up the hands of the laity conferr more to that distinction? And Constantine, notwithstanding his complement at the burning of the bishops’ papers, thought he might make them and unmake them with the same power as he did his other lay-officers. But if the inferior degrees were the Clergy, the bishops would be the Church: although that word in the Scripture-sense is proper only to a congregation of the faithful. And being by that title the only men in ecclesiastical Councils, then when they were once assembled, they were the Catholick Church, and, having the Holy Spirit at their devotion, whatsoever Creed they light upon, that was the “catholick faith, without believing

of which no man can be saved." By which means there rose thenceforward so constant persecutions till this day, that, had not the little invisible Catholick Church, and a people that always search'd and believ'd the Scriptures, made a stand by their testimonies and sufferings, the Creeds had destroy'd the faith, and the Church had ruined the Religion. For this General Council of Nice, and all others of the same constitution, did, and can serve to no other end or effect, then for a particular order of men by their usurping a trust upon Christianity, to make their own price and market of it, and deliver it up as oft as they see their own advantage.

For scarce was Constantine's head cold, but his son Constantius, succeeding his brothers, being influenced by the bishops of the Arian Party, turn'd the wrong side of Christianity outward, inverted the poles of heaven, and Faith (if I may say so) with its heels in the air, was forced to stand upon its head, and play gambols, for the divertisement and pleasure of the *homoiousians*. Arianism was the divinity then in mode, and he was an ignorant and ill courtier or churchman, that could not dress, and would not make a new sute for his conscience in the fashion. And now the orthodox bishops (it being given to those men to be obstinate for power, but flexible in faith;) began to wind about insensibly, as the heliotrope flower, that keeps its ground but wrests its neck in turning after the warm sun, from daybreak to evening. They could now look upon the Synod of Nice with more indifference, and all that pudder that had been made there *homoousios* and *homoiousios*, &c. began to appear to them, "as a difference only arising from the inadequation of languages;" till by degrees they were drawn over, and rather than lose their

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bishopricks, would join, and at last be the headmost in the persecution of their own former Party. But the deacons, to be sure, that steer'd the elephants, were thorow-paced; men to be reckon'd and relied upon in this or any other occasion, and would prick on to render themselves capable and episcopable, upon the first vacancy. For now the Arians in grain, scorning to come behind the clownish *homoousians*, in any ecclesiastical civility, was resolved to give them their full of persecution. And it seem'd a piece of wit rather than malice, to pay them in their own coyn; and to burlesque them in earnest, by the repetition and heightning of the same severities upon them, that they had practised upon others. Had you the *homoousians* a Creed at Nice? We will have another Creed for you at Ariminum and at Seleucia. Would you not be content with so many several projects of faith consonant to scripture, unless you might thrust the new word *homoousios* down our throats, and then tear it up again, to make us confess it? Tell us the word, ('twas *homoiousios*) we are now upon the guard, or else we shall run you thorow. Would you anathemize, banish, imprison, execute us, and burn our books? You shall taste of this Christian fare, and as you relish it, you shall have more on't provided. And thus it went, Arianism being triumphant. But the few sincere or stomachful bishops, adhering constantly, and with a true Christian magnanimity, — especially Athanasius, thorow all sufferings, unto their former confessions, expiated so, in some measure, what they had committed in the Nicene Council.

Sozomen, (l. iv. c. 25.) first tells us a story of Eudoxius, who succeeded Macedonius in the bishoprick of Constantinople; that in the cathedral of

Sancta Sophia, heing mounted in his episcopal throne, the first time that they assembled for its dedication, in the very beginning of his sermon to the people (those things were already come in fashion) told them, *Patrem impium esse, Filium autem pium* ; at which which when they began to bustle, "Pray be quiet," saith he ; "I say, *Patrem impium esse, quia colit neminem, Filium vero pium quia colit Patrem* ; at which they laughed as heartily, as before they were angry. But this I only note to this purpose, that there were some of the greatest bishops among the *Homoiousians*, as well as the *Homoousians*, that could not reproach one another's simplicity, and that it was not impossible for the 'many,' to be wiser and more orthodox than the 'few,' in divine matters. That which I cite him for as most material, is his remark upon the imposition then of contrary Creeds : "which verily," saith he, "was plainly the "beginning of most great calamities, for-as-much as "hereupon there followed a disturbance, not unlike "those which we before recited, over the whole "empire ; and likewise a persecution equal almost to "that of the heathen emperors, seized upon all of all "Churches. For, although it seemed to some more "gentle for what concerns the torture of the body, "yet to prudent persons it appeared more bitter and "severe, by reason of the dishonor and ignominy. "For both they who stirred up, and those that were "afflicted with this persecution, were of the Christian "Church. And the grievance therefore was the "greater and more ugly, in that the same things "which were done among enemies, were executed "between those of the same tribe and profession : "but the holy Law forbids us to carry ourselves in "that manner, even to those that are without, and

"aliens." And all this mischief sprung from making of Creeds, with which the bishops, as it were at Tilting, aim'd to hit one another in the eye, and throw the opposite Party out of the saddle. But if it chanced that the weaker side were ready to yield, (for what sort of men was there that could better manage, or had their consciences more at command at that time, than the Clergy?) then the Arians would use a yet longer, thicker, and sharper lance for the purpose (for there were never vacancies sufficient), that they might be sure to run them down, over, and thorow, and do their business. The Creed of Ariminum was now too short for the design; but, saith the Historian, they affix'd "further articles like labels to it, pretending to have made it better, and so sent it thorow the empire with Constantius his proclamation, that who ever would not subscribe it, should be banished." Nay, they would not admit their own beloved *similis substantia*, but to do the work thoroughly, the Arians renounc'd their own Creed for malice, and made it an article, *Filium Patri tam substantia, quam voluntate dissimilem esse*. But that is a small matter with any of them, provided thereby they may do service to the Church, that is their Party. So that one (seriously speaking) that were really orthodox, could not then defend the truth or himself, but by turning old Arian, if he would impugn the new ones; such was the subtilty. What shall I say more? As the arts of glass coaches and perriwigs illustrate this Age, so by their trade of Creed-making, then first invented, we may esteem the wisdom of Constantine's and Constantius his empire. And in a short space, as is usual among tradesmen, where it appears gainful, they were so many that set up of the same profession, that they

could scarce live by one another. Socr. l. ii. c. 32, therefore uses these words: "But now that I have *tandem aliquando* run through this labyrinth of so many Creeds, I will gather up their number;" and so reckons nine Creeds more, besides that of Nice, before the death of Constantius (a blessed number!) And I believe, I could, for a need, make them up a dozen, if men have a mind to buy them so. And hence it was that Hilary, then bishop of Poitiers, represents that state of the Church pleasantly yet sadly: "Since the Nicene Synod," saith he, "we do nothing but write Creeds. That while we fight about words, whilst we raise questions about novelties, while we quarrel about things doubtful and about authors, while we contend in parties, while there is difficulty in consent, while we anathematize one another, there is none now almost that is Christ's. What a change there is in the last year's Creed! The first decree commands, that *homousios* should not be mentioned. The next does again decree and publish *homousios*. The third does by indulgence excuse the word *ousia* as used by the Fathers in their simplicity. The fourth does not excuse, but condemn it. It is come to that at last, that nothing among us, or those before us, can remain sacred or inviolable. We decree every year of the Lord, a new Creed concerning God; nay, every change of the moon our Faith is alter'd. We repent of our decrees, we defend those that repent of them; we anathematize those that we defended; and while we either condemn other men's opinions in our own, or our own opinions in those of other men, and bite at one another, we are now all of us torn in pieces." This bishop sure was the author of *The Naked Truth*, and 'twas he that "implicitly

“condemned the whole Catholic Church, both East
“West, for being too presumptuous in her defini-
“tions.”

It is not strange to me, that Julian, being but a reader in the Christian Church, should turn Pagan ; especially when I consider that he succeeded emperor after Constantius. For it seems rather unavoidable that a man of great wit, as he was, and not having the grace of God to direct it and shew him the beauty of religion, through the deformity of its governours and teachers ; but that he must conceive a loathing and aversion for it. Nor could he think that he did them any injustice, when he observed that, beside all their unchristian immorality too, they practised thus, against the institutive law of their Galilean, the persecution among themselves for religion. And well might he add to his other severities, that sharpness of his wit, both ‘exposing’ and ‘animadverting’ upon them, at another rate than any of the modern practitioners, with all their study and inclination, can ever arrive at. For nothing is more punishable, contemptible, and truly ridiculous, than a Christian that walks contrary to his profession ; and by how much any man stands with more advantage in the Church for eminency, but disobeys the laws of Christ by that privilege, he is thereby, and deserves to be, the more exposed. But Julian, the last heathen emperor, by whose cruelty it seemed that God would sensibly admonish once again the Christian Clergy, and show them by their own smart, and an heathen hand, the nature and odiousness of persecution, soon died, as is usual for men of that employment, not without a remarkable stroke of God’s judgement.

Yet they, as if they were only sorry that they had

lost so much time, upon his death, strove as eagerly to redeem it, and forthwith fell in very naturally into their former animosities. For Jovianus being chosen emperor in Persia, and returning homeward,—Socr. l. iii. c. 20,—the bishops of each Party, in hopes that theirs should be the imperial Creed, strait [mounted] to horse, and rode away with switch and spur, as if it had been for the plate, to meet him; and he that had best heels, made himself cock-sure of winning the Religion. The Macedonians, who dividing from the Arians, had set up for a new heresie concerning the Holy Ghost, (and they were a squadron of bishops) petition'd him, that those who held *Filium Patri dissimilem*, might be turn'd out, and themselves put in their places; which was very honestly done and above-board. The Acacians, that were the refined Arians, but, as the Author saith, “had a notable faculty of addressing themselves to the inclination of whatsoever emperor,” and having good intelligence that he balanced rather to the *consubstantials*, presented him with a very fair insinuating subscription, of a considerable number of bishops to the Council of Nice. But in the next emperor's time they will be found to yield little reverence to their own subscription. For in matter of a Creed, a note of their hand, without expressing the penalty, could not, it seems, bind one of their order. But all that Jovianus said to the Macedonians, was, “I hate contention, but I lovingly imbrace and “reverence those who are inclined to peace and “concord.” To the Acacians, who had wisely given these the precedence of application, to try the truth of their intelligence, he said no more “(having “resolv'd by sweetness and persuasions to quiet all “their controversies”) but, “that he would not

“molest any man, whatsoever Creed he follow’d, but “those above others he would cherish and honour, “who should show themselves most forward in “bringing the Church to a good agreement.” He likewise call’d back all those bishops who had been banished by Constantius and Julian, restoring them to their Sees. And he writ a letter in particular to Athanasius, who, upon Julian’s death, had enter’d again upon that of Alexandria, to bid him to be of good courage. “And these things coming to the ears “of all others, did wonderfully assuage the fierceness “of those who were inflam’d with faction and contention ;” so that, the Court having declared itself of this mind, the Church was in a short time, in all outward appearance, peaceably disposed ; the emperor by this means having wholly repressed all their violence. “Verily,” concludes the Historian, “the “Roman Empire had been prosperous and happy, “and both the State and the Church ” (he put them too in that order) “under so good a prince, must “have exceedingly flourished, had not an immature “death taken him away from managing the government : for after seven months, being seized with a “mortal obstruction, he departed this life.” Did not this Historian, trow you, deserve to be handled ; and is it not, “now the mischief is done, to undo the “charm, become a *duty* to *expose both him and “Jovianus ?* By their ill chosen principles what “would have become of the prime and most necessary article of faith ? Might not the old dormant “heresies all of them safely have revived ?

But that ‘mortal obstruction’ of the bishops was not by his death (nor is it by their own to be) removed. They were glad he was so soon got out of their way, and God would yet further manifest their

intractable spirit, which not the persecution of the heathen emperor Julian, nor the gentleness of Jovianus the Christian, could allay or mitigate by their afflictions or prosperity. The divine Nemesis executed justice upon them, by one another's hand; and so hainous a crime as for a Christian, a bishop, to persecute, stood yet in need, as the only equal and exemplary punishment, of being revenged with a persecution by Christians, by bishops. And whoever shall seriously consider all along the succession of the emperors, can never have taken that satisfaction in the most judicious representations of the scene, which he may in this worthy speculation of the great order and admirable conduct of [God's] wise providence, through the whole contexture of these exterior, seeming accidents, relating to the ecclesiasticals of Christianity.

For to Jovianus succeeded Valentinian, who in a short time took his brother Valens to be his companion in the Empire. These two brothers did, as the Historian observes,—Socr. 1. iv. c. 1.—alike, and equally take care at the beginning, for the advantage and government of the State, but very much disagreed, though both Christians, in matter of religion; Valentinian (who chose the Western part of the Empire, and left the East to his brother) as he imbraced those of his own Creed, so yet he did not in the least molest the Arians; but Valens not only labour'd to increase the number of the Arians, but afflicted those of the contrary opinion with grievous punishments. And both of 'm, especially Valens, had bishops for their purpose. The particulars of that heavy persecution under Valens, any one may further satisfy himself of in the writers of those times; and yet it is observable, that within a little space while he pursued the

orthodox bishops, he gave liberty to the Novatians, (who were of the same Creed, but separated from them, as I have said, upon discipline, &c.) and caused their churches, which for a while were shut up, to be opened at Constantinople. To be short, Valens (who out-lived his brother, that died of a natural death,) himself in a battle against the Goths, could not escape neither the fate of a Christian persecutor. "For the Goths having made application to him, he," saith Socrates, "not well foreseeing the consequence, admitted them to inhabit certain places of Thracia, pleasing himself that he should by that means always have an army ready at hand against whatsoever enemies; and that those foreign guards would strike them with a greater terror, more by far than the *militia* of his subjects. And so, slighting the ancient veterane *militia*, which used to consist of bodies of men raised proportionably in every Province, and were stout fellows that would fight manfully; instead of them he levied money, rating the country at so much for every souldier." But these new inmates of the emperor's soon grew troublesome, as is customary, and not only infested the natives in Thracia, but plunder'd even the suburbs of Constantinople, there being no armed force to repress them. Hereupon the whole people of the city cried out at a publick spectacle, where Valens was present, neglecting this matter: "Give us arms, and we will manage this war ourselves." This extreemly provok'd him, so that he forthwith made an expedition against the Goths; but "threatened the citizens if he [re]turn'd in safety, to be reveng'd on them both for those contumelies, and for what under the tyrant Procopius, they had committed against the Empire; and that he would raze to

“the ground and plow up the city. Yet before his departure, out of fear of the foreign enemy, he totally ceas’d from persecuting the orthodox in Constantinople. But he was kill’d in the fight; or flying into a village that the Goths had set on fire, he was there burnt to ashes,” to the great grief of his bishops, who had he been victorious, might have reviv’d the persecution. Such was the end of his impetuous reign and rash counsels, both as to his government of State, in matters of peace and war, and his manage of the Church by persecution.

His death brings me to the succession of Theodosius the Great, then whom no Christian emperor did more make it his business to nurse up the Church, and to lull the bishops, to keep the house in quiet. But neither was it in his power to still their bawling and scratching one another, as far as their nails (which were yet more tender, but afterwards grew like tallons) would give them leave. I shall not further vex the History, or the reader, in recounting the particulars; taking no delight neither myself in so uncomfortable relations, or to reflect beyond what is necessary upon the wolfishness of those which seem’d, and ought to have been, the Christian pastors, but went on scattering their flocks, if not devouring; and the shepherds smiting one another. In his reign the second General Council was called, that of Constantinople, and the Creed was there made, which took its name from the place: the rest of their business, any one that is further curious, may observe in the Writers. But I shall close this with a short touch concerning Gregory Nazianzen, then living, than whom also the Christian Church had not in those times (and I question whether in any succeeding) a bishop that was more a Christian,

more a gentlemen, better appointed in all sorts of learning requisite, seasoned under Julian's persecution, and exemplary to the highest pitch of true religion and practical piety. The eminence of the vertues, and in special of his humility (the lowliest but the highest of all Christian qualifications) raised him under Theodosius, from the parish-like bishoprick of Nazianzum, to that of Constantinople, where he fill'd his place in that Council. But having taken notice in what manner things were carried in that as they had been in former Councils, and that some of the bishops muttered at his promotion; he of his own mind resign'd that great bishoprick, which was never of his desire or seeking, and, though so highly seated in the Emperor's reverence and favor, so acceptable to the people, and generally to the Clergy, whose unequal abilities could not pretend or justify an envy against him; retired back more content to a solitary life to his little Nazianzum. And from thence he wrote that letter to his friend Procopius, wherein, p. 814, upon his most recollected and serious reflexion on what had faln within his observation, he useth these remakable words: "I have resolved with myself (if I may tell you of the "Naked Truth,) never more to come into any "assembly of bishops; for I never saw a good and "happy end to any Council, but which rather increased the mischieves. For their obstinate contentions and ambition are unexpressible."

It would require too great a volume to deduce, from the death of Theodosius, the particulars that happen'd in the succeeding reigns about this matter. But the reader may reckon that it was as stated a quarrel betwixt the *Homoousians*, and the *Homoiousians*, as that between the Houses of York and

Lancaster ; and there arose now an emperor of one line, and then again of the other. But among all the bishops, there was not one Morton, whose "industrious brain could or would" (for some men always reap by division) "make up the fatal breach betwixt" the two Creeds. By this means every Creed was grown up to a Test, and, under that pretence, the dextrous bishops step by step hooked within their verge, all the business and power that could be catch'd in those turbulences, where they mudled the water and fished after. By this means they stalked on first to a spiritual kind of dominion, and from that inroached upon and into the civil jurisdiction. A bishop now grew terrible ; and (whereas a simple layman might have frightened the devil with the first words of the Apostles' Creed, and 'I defie thee Satan') one Creed could not protect him from a bishop, and it required a much longer, and a double and treble Confession, unless himself would be deliver'd over to Satan by an 'anathema.' But this was only an ecclesiastical sentence at first, with which they marked out such as sinned against them, and then whoop'd and hollow'd on the Civil Magistrate, to hunt them down for their spiritual pleasure. They crept at first by Court insinuations and flattery into the prince's favor, till those generous creatures suffer'd themselves to be back'd and ridden by them, who would take as much of a free horse as possible ; but in persecution, the clergy as yet wisely interposed the Magistrate betwixt themselves and the people, not caring so their end were attained, how odious they rendred him ; and you may observe, that for the most part hitherto, they stood crouching, and shot either over the emperor's back, or under his

belly. But in process of time they became bolder and open-fac'd, and persecuted before the sun at mid-day. Bishops grew worse, but bishopricks every day better and better. There was now no Eusebius left to refuse the bishoprick of Antiochia, whom therefore Constantine told, "that he deserved the bishoprick of the whole world for that modesty." They were not such fools as Ammonius Parotes, I warrant you, in the time of Theodosius. "He,"—Socr. l. vi. c. 30,—“being seized upon by some that would needs make him a bishop, when he could not perswade them to the contrary, cut off one of his ears, telling them that now, should he himself desire to be a bishop, he was by the law of priesthood incapable; but when they observ'd that those things only obliged the Jewish priesthood, and that the Church of Christ did not consider whether a priest were sound or perfect in limb or body, but only that he were intire in his manners, they return'd to seize on him again. But when he saw them coming, he swore with a solemn oath, that, if to consecrate him a bishop, they laid violent hands upon him, he would cut out his tongue also; whereupon they, fearing he would do it, desisted.” What should have been the matter, that a man so learned and holy should have such an aversion to be promoted in his own order; that, rather than yield to be a compelled or compelling bishop, he would inflict upon himself as severe a martyrdom, as any persecutor could have done for him? Sure he saw something more in the very constitution, than some do at present. But this indeed was an example too rigid, and neither fit to have been done, nor to be imitated, as there was no danger. For far from this they followed the precedent rather of Damasus and

Ursinus, which last—Socr. l. iv. c. 24—“in Valentinian’s time, persuaded certain obscure and abject bishops” (for there were it seems of all sorts and sizes) “to create him bishop in a corner, and then” (so early) “he and Damasus,” who was much the better man, waged war for the bishoprick of Rome, to the great scandal of the Pagan writers; who made remarks for this and other things upon their Christianity, and to the bloodshed and death of a multitude of the Christian people. But this last I mention’d, only as a weak and imperfect essay in that time, of what it came to in the several ages after, which I am now speaking of, when the bishops were given, gave themselves over, to all manner of vice, luxury, pride, ignorance, superstition, covetousness, and monopolizing of all secular employments and authority. Nothing could escape them; they meddled, troubled themselves and others, with many things, every thing, forgetting that “one, only needful.”—[St. Luke x. 42.] Insomuch that I could not avoid wondering often that among so many Churches, that with paganick rites they dedicated to Saint Mary, I have met with none to Saint Martha. But above all, imposition and cruelty became inherent to them, and the power of persecution was grown so good and desirable a thing, that they thought the Magistrate scarce worthy to be trusted with it longer, and a meer novice at it, and either wrested it out of his hands, or gently eased him of that and his other burdens of government. The sufferings of the Laity were become the royalties of the Clergy; and, being very careful Christians, the bishops, that not a word of our Saviour’s might fall to the ground, because He had foretold how men should be persecuted for His name’s sake, they undertook to see it done effectually

in their own Provinces, and out of pure zeal of doing Him the more service of this kind, enlarged studiously their diocesses beyond all proportion: like Nostradamus his son, that to fulfil his father's prediction of a city in France that should be burned, with his own hands set it on fire. All the calamities of the Christian world in those ages, may be derived from them, while they warm'd themselves at the flame; and, like Lords of Misrule, kept a perpetual Christmas. What, in the bishop's name, is the matter? How came it about that Christianity, which approved itself under all persecutions to the heathen emperors, and merited their favour so far, till at last it regularly succeeded to the monarchy, should under those of their own profession be more distressed? Were there some Christians then too, that feared still, lest men should be Christians, and for whom "it was necessary," not for the Gospel reason, "that there should be heresies?"—[1 Cor. xi. 19.] Let us collect a little now also in the conclusion, what at first was not particulariz'd, how the reason of State and measure of government stood under the Roman emperours, in aspect to them. I omit Tiberius, mention'd in the beginning of this affray. Trajane, after having persecuted them, and having used Pliny the second in his Province to that purpose, upon his relation that they lived in conformity to all lawes but that which forbade their worship, and in all other things were blameless and good men, straitly by his Edict commanded that none of them should be farther enquired after. Hadrian, in his Edict to Minutius Fundanus, proconsol of Asia, commands him that, "If any accuse the Christians, and can prove it, that they commit any thing against the State, that then he punish

“them according to the crime; but if any man
“accuse them, meerly for calumny and vexation, as
“Christians, then, i’faith, let him suffer for’t; and
“take you care that he feel the smart of it.” Ant-
oninus Pius writ his Edict, very remarkable, if there
were place here to recite it, to the States of Asia
assembled at Ephesus; wherein he takes notice of his
father’s command that, “unless the Christians were
“found to act any thing against the Roman Empire,
“they should not be molested,” and then commands,
“that, if any man thereafter shall continue to trouble
“them, *tanquam tales*, as Christians, for their worship,
“in that case, he that is the informer, should be
“exposed to punishment, but the accused should be
“free and discharged.” I could not but observe that
among other things in this Edict, where he is speak-
ing, “It is desirable to them that they may appear;
“being accused, more willing to die for their God
“then to live;” he adds, “It would not be amiss to
“admonish you concerning the earthquakes, which
“have, and do now happen, that when you are
“afflicted at them, you would compare our affairs
“with theirs. They are thereby so much the more
“incouraged to a confidence and reliance upon God,
“but you all the while go on in your ignorance, and
“neglect both other gods, and the religion towards
“the immortal, and banish and persecute them
“unto death.” Which words of that emperour’s fall
in so naturally with what, it seems was a common
observation about earthquakes, that I cannot but to
that purpose take further notice, how also Gregory
Nazianzen, in Or. ii. *contra Gentiles*, tells, besides the
breakings in of the sea in several places, and many
fires that happen’d, of the earthquakes in particular,
which he reckons as symptomes of Julian’s persecu-

tion. And to this I may add—[Socr. l. iii. c. 10.]—who in the reign of Valens, that notorious Christian persecutor, saith, at the same time there was an earthquake in Bithynia, which ruined the city of Nice (that same in which that General Council was held under Constantine), and a little after there was another. “But although these so happened, the minds of Valens and of Eudoxius, the bishop of the Arians, were not at all stirred up unto piety, and a right opinion of religion:” for “nevertheless they never ceased, made no end of persecuting those who in their Creed dissented from them. Those earthquakes seemed to be certain indications of tumult in the Church.” All which put together, could not but make me reflect upon the late earthquakes, great by how much more unusual, here in England, thorow so many counties since Christmas, at the same time when the Clergy, some of them, were so busy in their cabals, to promote this (I would give it a modester name then) persecution, which is now on foot against the Dissenters; at so unseasonable a time, and upon no occasion administered by them, that those who comprehend the reasons, yet cannot but wonder at the wisdom of it. Yet I am not neither one of the most credulous nickers or applyers of natural events to humain transactions; but neither am I so secure as the learned Dr. Spencer, nor can walk along the world without having some eye to the conjunctures of God’s admirable providence. Neither was Marcus Aurelius (that I may return to my matter) negligent as to this particular. But he, observing, as Antoninus had, the earthquakes, that in an expedition against the Germans and Sarmatians, his army being in despair almost for want of water, the Meletine (afterwards from the event call’d the

thundering) legion, which consisted of Christians, kneel'd down in the very heat of their thirst and fight, praying for rain, which posture the enemies wondring at, immediately there brake out such a thundering and lightning, as together with the Christian valour, routed the adverse army, but so much rain fell therewith, as refreshed Aurelius his forces that were at the last gasp for thirst; he thenceforward commanded by his letters, "that upon pain of death none should inform against the Christians," as Tertullian, in his apology for the Christians, witnesses. But who would have believ'd that even Commodus, so great a tyrant otherwise, should have been so favourable as to make a law, "that the informers against the Christians should be punished with death?" Yet he did, and the informer against Apollonius was by it executed. Much less could a man have thought that that prodigy of cruelty, Maximine, and who exercised it so severely upon the Christians, should, as he did, being struck with God's hand, publish when it was too late, edict after edict, in great favour of the Christians. But above all, nothing could have been less expected then that, after those heathen emperours, the first Christian Constantine should have been seduced by the bishops, to be, after them, the first occasion of persecution, so contrary to his own excellent inclination. 'Twas then that he spake his own mind, when he said,—(Eufeb. de vita Const. 69.)—"You ought to retain "within the bounds of your private thoughts those "things, which you cunningly and subtly seek out "concerning most frivolous questions." And then much plainer,—(c. 67.)—where he saith so wisely, "You are not ignorant that the philosophers all of "them do agree in the profession of the same

"discipline, but do oftentimes differ in some part of the opinions which they dogmatize in; but yet, although they do dissent about the discipline that each several sect observeth, they nevertheless reconcile themselves again for the sake of that common profession to which they have concurred." But against compulsion in religious matters [he saith] so much every where, that it is needless to insert one passage. And he being of this disposition, and universally famous for his care and countenance of the Christian religion, Eusebius saith these words: "While the people of God did glory and heighten itself in the doing of good things, and all fear from without was taken away, and the Church was fortified, as I may say, on all sides, by a peaceable and illustrious tranquillity, then Envy lying in wait against our prosperity, craftily crept in, and began first to dance in the midst of the company of bishops:" so [he] goes on, telling the history of Alexander and Arius. I have been before large enough in that relation, wherein it appeared that contrary to that great emperour's pious intention, whereas "Envy began to dance among the bishops first," the good Constantine brought them the fiddles. But it appear'd likewise how soon he was weáry of the ball, and towards his latter end, as princes often do upon too late experience, would have redressed all, and return'd to his natural temper. Of the other Christian emperours I likewise discoursed, omitting, that I might insert in this place, how the great heathen philosopher Themistius, in his consular oration, celebrated Jovianus for having given that toleration in Christian religion, and thereby defeated the flattering bishops, which sort of men, saith he, wittily, "do not worship God, but the imperial purple."

It was the same Themistius that only out of an upright natural apprehension of things, made that excellent oration afterwards to Valens, which is in print, exhorting him to cease persecution; wherein he chances upon and improves the same notion with Constantine's and tells him, "That he should not wonder at the dissents in the Christian religion, which were very small, if compared with the multitude and crowd of opinions among the Gentile philosophers; for there were at least three hundred differences, and a very great dissention among them there was about their resolutions, unto which each several sect was as it were necessarily bound up and obliged; and that God seemed to intend more to illustrate His own glory by that diverse and unequal variety of opinions, to the end every each one might therefore so much the more reverence His Divine Majesty, because it is not possible for any one accurately to know Him." And this had a good effect upon Valens, for the mitigating in some measure his severities against his fellow-Christians. So that having cast about, in this summary again, (whereby it plainly appears, that according to natural right and the apprehension of all sober heathen governours, Christianity, as a religion, was wholly exempt from the Magistrates jurisdiction or lawes, farther than any particular person among them immorally transgress'd, as others, the common rules of humain society) I cannot but return to the question with which I begun. What was the matter? How came it about that Christianity, which approv'd itself under all persecutions to the heathen emperours, and merited their favour so far, till at last it regularly succeeded to the monarchy, could, under those of their own profession, be more

distressed? But the answer is now much shorter and certainer; and I will adventure boldly to say, the true and single cause then was the bishops. And they were the cause against reason. For what power had the emperours by growing Christians, more then those had before them? None. What obligation were Christian subjects under to the Magistrates more than before? None. But the Magistrates' Christian authority was, what the Apostle described it while heathen, "not to be a terror to good works, but to evil." [Romans xiii. 3.] What new power had the bishops acquired, whereby they turned every pontificate into a Caiaphat? None neither. 2 Cor. x. 8. Had they been Apostles, "the Lord had but given them authority for edification, not for destruction." [2 Cor. x. 8.] They, of all other, ought to have preach'd to the Magistrate the terrible denunciations in Scripture against usurping upon and persecuting of Christians. They, of all others, ought to have laid before them the horrible examples of God's ordinary justice against those that exercised persecution. But provided they could be the swearers of the prince to do all due allegiance to the Church, and to preserve the rights and liberties of the Church, however they came by them, they would give him as much hope as he pleased in matter of Christianity, and would be the first to solicit him to break the laws of Christ, and ply him with hot places of Scripture, in order to all manner of oppression and persecution in civils and spirituals. So that the whole business how this unchristian tyranny came, and should entitle itself among Christians, against the Christian priviledges, was only the case in Zech. xiii. 6, 7. "And one shall say unto him, what are these wounds

“in thy hands? then he shall answer, those with which I was wounded in the house of my friends.” Because they were all Christians, they thought forsooth, they might make the bolder with them, make bolder with Christ, and wound Him again in the hands and feet of His members. Because they were friends, they might use them more coarsely, and abuse them, against all common civility, in their own house, which is a protection to strangers. And all this to the end that a bishop might sit with the prince in a Junto, to consult wisely how to preserve him from those people that never meant him any harm, and to secure him from the sedition and rebellion of men that neither seek, nor think, any thing more but to follow their own religious Christian worship. It was indeed as ridiculous a thing to the Pagans to see that work, as it was afterwards in England to strangers, where Papists and Protestants went both to wrack at the same instant, in the same market, and when Erasmus said wittily, *quid agitur in Angliâ? Consulitur* (he might have added, though not so elegantly, *comburitur*) *de religione*. Because they knew that Christian worship was free by Christ’s institution, they procured the Magistrate to make laws in it concerning things unnecessary. As the heathen persecutor Julian, introduced some bordering Pagan ceremonyes, and arguing with themselves in the same manner as he did,—(Soz. l. v. c. 16,)—that “if Christians should obey those lawes, they should “be able to bring them about to something further “which they had designed. But if they would not, “they might proceed against them without any hope “of pardon, as breakers of the laws of the Empire, “and represent them as turbulent and dangerous to “the government.” Indeed, whatsoever the Anim-

advertiser saith of the Act of seditious conventicles here in England, as if it were anvill'd after another of the Roman Senate, the Christians of those Ages had all the finest tooles of persecution out of Julian's shop, and studied him then as curiously as some do now Machiavel. These bishops it was who, because the rule of Christ was incompatible with the power that they assumed, and the vices they practiced, had no way to render themselves necessary or tolerable to princes, but by making true piety difficult, by innovating laws to revenge themselves upon it, and by turning makebates between prince and people, instilling dangers of which themselves were the Authors. Hence it is that having awakened this jealousy once in the Magistrate against religion, they made both the secular and the ecclesiastical government so uneasy to him, that most princes began to look upon their subjects as their enemies, and to imagine a reason of State different from the interest of their people; and therefore to weaken themselves by seeking unnecessary and grievous supports to their authority. Whereas if men could have refrain'd this cunning, and from thence forcible, governing of Christianity, leaving it to its own simplicity and due liberty, but causing them in all other things to keep the king's and Christ's peace among themselves and towards others, all the ill that could have come of it would have been, that such kind of bishops should have proved less implemental, but the good that must have thence risen to the Christian Magistrate and the Church, then and ever after, would have been inexpressible.

But this Discourse having run in a manner wholly upon the imposition of Creeds, may seem not to concern (and I desire that it may not reflect upon) our

Clergy, nor the controversies which have so unhappily vexed our Church, ever since the reign of Edward the Sixth unto this day. Only, if there might something be pick'd out of it towards the compromising of those differences (which I have not from any performance of mine the vanity to imagine) it may have use as an argument *a majori ad minus*, their disputes having risen only from that of Creeds, ours from the imposition only of Ceremonies, which are of much inferior consideration: faith being necessary, but ceremonies dispensable. Unless our Church should lay the same weight upon them as the Animadverter has done thorow his whole studious chapter on that subject, and because, p. 34, "this is the time of her settlement, that there is a Church at the end of every mile, that the sovereign powers spread their wings to cover and protect her, that kings and queens are her nursing fathers and nursing mothers, that she has stately cathedrals," there be so many arguments now to make ceremonies necessary; which may all be answered with one question that they use to ask children, '*Where are you proud?*' But I should rather hope from the wisdom and Christianity of the present guides of our Church, that they will (after an age and more, after so long a time almost as those primitive bishops I have spoken of, yet suffered the Novatian bishops in every diocess) have mercy on the Nation, that hath been upon so slender a matter as the Ceremonies and Liturgy so long, so miserably, harass'd. That they will have mercy upon the king, whom they know, against his natural inclination, his royal intention, his many Declarations, they have induced to more severities, then all the reigns since the Conquest will contain if summ'd up together; who may, as Constantine among his private devotions put up

one Collect to the bishops. (Euseb. de vita Const. c. 70)
Date igitur mihi dies tranquillos et noctes curarum expertes.
And it runs thus almost altogether verbatim in that
Historian. "Grant, most merciful bishop and priest,
"that I may have calm days, and nights free from
"care and molestation; that I may live a peaceable
"life in all godliness and honesty for the future by
"your good agreement; which, unless you vouch-
"safe me, I shall wast away my reign in perpetual
"sadness and vexation. For as long as the people of
"God stands divided by so unjust and pernicious a
"contention, how can it be that I can have any ease
"in my own spirit? Open therefore by your good
"agreement, the way to me, that I may continue
"my expedition towards the East; and grant that I
"may see both you and all the rest of my people,
"having laid aside your animosities, rejoicing toge-
"ther, that we may all with one voice give laud and
"glory, for the common good agreement and liberty,
"to God Almighty for ever. Amen." But if neither
the people, nor his majesty enter into their considera-
tion, I hope it is no unreasonable request that they
will be merciful unto themselves, and have some
reverence at least for *The Naked Truth* of History.
which either in their own times will meet with
them, or in the next age overtake them; that they,
who are some of them so old that, as confessors they
wore the scarrs of the former troubles, others of
them so young, that they are free from all motives
of revenge and hatred, should yet joyn in reviving
the former persecutions upon the same pretences,
yea, even themselves, in a turbulent, military, and
uncanonical manner, execute laws of their own pro-
curing, and depute their own inferior Clergy to be
the Informers. I should rather hope to see, not

only that controversy so scandalous, abolish'd, but that also, upon so good an occasion as the Author of *The Naked Truth* hath administered them, they will inspect their Clergy, and cause many things to be corrected, which are far more ruinous in the consequence then the dispensing with a surplice. I shall mention some, too, confusedly as they occur to my pen, at present, reserving much more for better leisure. Methinks it might be of great edification, that those of them who have ample possessions should be in a good sense *multas inter opes inopes*. That they would inspect the canons of the ancient Councils, where are many excellent ones for the regulation of the Clergy. I saw one, looking but among those of the same Council of Nice, against any bishops removing from a less bishoprick to a greater, nor that any inferior Clergy should leave a less living for a fatter. This is, methinks, the most natural use of General or any Councils, to make canons, as it were by-laws for the ordering of their own Society; but they ought not to take out, much less forge any patent to invade and prejudice the community. It were good that the greater churchmen relyed more upon themselves and their own direction, not building too much upon stripling chaplains: that men may not suppose the master (as one that has got a good horse or a fleet hound) attributes to himself the vertues of his creature. That they inspect the morals of the clergy; the moral hereticks do the Church more harm then all the Nonconformists can do, or can wish it. That before they admit men to subscribe the Thirty-nine Articles for a benefice, they try whether they know the meaning. That they would much recommend to them the reading of the Bible. 'Tis a very good

book, and if a man read it carefully, will make him much wiser. That they would advise him to keep the Sabbath ; if there were no morality in the day, yet there is a great deal of prudence in the observing it. That they would instruct those that came for holy orders and livings, that it is a terrible vocation they enter upon, but that has indeed the greatest reward. That to gain a soul is beyond all the acquists of traffick, and to convert an atheist, more glorious then all the conquests of the souldier. That, betaking themselves to this spiritual warfare, they ought to disintangle from the world. That they do not ride for a benefice, as if it were for a fortune or a mistress, but there is more in it. That they take the ministry up not as a trade, and, because they have heard of Whittington, in expectation that the bells may so chime, that they come in their turns to be lord mayors of Lambeth. That they make them understand, as well as they can, what is the grace of God. That they do not come into the pulpit too full of fustian or logick. A good life is a clergyman's best syllogism, and the quaintest oratory ; and 'till they outlive 'm they will never get the better of the fanaticks, nor able to preach "with demonstration of spirit," [I Cor. ii. 4] or with any effect or authority. That they be lowly-minded and no railers.

And particularly, that the archdeacon of Canterbury being in ill humor upon account of his Ecclesiastical Policy, may not continue to revenge himself upon the innocent Walloons there, by ruining their Church, which subsists upon the ecclesiastical power of his majesty, and so many of his royal predecessors.

But these things require greater time, and to enumerate all that is amiss, might perhaps be as endless as to number the people ; nor are they within the

ordinary sphere of my capacity, and our Exposer will think I have forgot him. I shall take my leave of him for the present, being only troubled to find out a complement for so civil a person. It must be thus.

I will not say as Popilius said to Antiochus, nor as Demosthenes said to Æschines, nor as the most learned P. Ærodius, or the jesuite Gaspar Schottus said to the Animadverter, nor as Dolabella said to Cicero, nor as the Christian Cicero said to the English Parliament, nor as the Roman centurion said to the Roman ensign; but I will say something like what Leonas (that presided for Constantius at the Council at Seleucia, when they made an endless disputing to no purpose) said to them, not, *obite igitur in ecclesia nugas agite*, but good Mr. Exposer, what do you loytering like an idle scholar. and 'Animadverting' here in town? Get you home again, or it were better for you, and 'expose' and 'animadvert' as long as you will, at your own College.

But as to a new book fresh come out, intituled, "*The Author of the Naked Truth stripped naked*" (to the fell, or to the skin) that hieroglyphical quibble of the 'great gun,' on the title page, will not excuse bishop Gunning, for his sermon is still expected.

But to the judicious and serious reader, to whom I wish anything I have said may have given no unwelcome entertainment, I shall only so far justify myself, that I thought it no less concerned me to vindicate the Laity from the Impositions that the 'few' would force upon them, then him to defend those Impositions on behalf of the Clergy. And moreover I judged myself most proper for the work, it not being fit that so slight a pamphlet as his should be answered by any man of great abilities. For the rest, I take '*The Naked Truth*' to have been part of

that effect which reverend Mr. Hooker foretold : (Pref. to Eccl. Policy, p. 10.) "The time will come "when three words, uttered with charity and meekness, shall receive a far more blessed reward, then "three thousand volumes written with disdainful "sharpness of wit." And I shall conclude with him in his close, "I trust in the Almighty, that with us "as contentions are now at the highest float, and that "the day will come (for what cause is there of "despair?) when the passions of former enmity "being allaid, men shall with ten times redoubled "tokens of unfainedly reconciled love, shew themselves each to other the same which Joseph and the "brethren of Joseph were at the time of their interview in Egypt." And upon this condition, "let my book also" (yea, myself, if it were needful) "be burnt by the hand of the" Animadverter.

APPENDIX.

DEDICATION OF THE LEGACY

OF

The Right Rev. Father in God HERBERT (CROFT)

Lord Bishop of HEREFORD, to his Diocess.

Licensed January 1678. Published 1679.*

To all within my Diocess, especially those of the City of
HEREFORD.

"DEARLY BELOVED IN THE LORD,

"**T**HIS now a year and a half since in my cathedral I told
"you my sad apprehensions of Popish designs to
"destroy both us and our religion: for though no particular
"discovery could then be made, yet the discourses and actings
"of several Papists in these parts did plainly show they were

“ then preparing that which is now discovered. For they were
“ then providing horse and arms, they posted about day and
“ night, they threatened many, that they must e’er long turn
“ or burn, and some told their friends, that if it came to
“ cutting of throats, they should be saved; which made it
“ evident, not only that they had some bloody design, but
“ thought themselves also sure to effect it. Whereupon I
“ besought you to arm yourselves for the day of tryal, and
“ preached a sermon to that effect; and afterwards, the better
“ to strengthen you against the incursion of Popish supersti-
“ tious doctrines, I preached several sermons, how you were to
“ stick close to the Scriptures, God’s holy word, which was our
“ only rule of faith. And not knowing what kind of pastor
“ you might have after my death, whether a Protestant pastor,
“ not well versed in such matters, or a Popish pastor, wholly
“ devoted to them; I resolved at my decease to leave you these
“ sermons as a legacy. For my great age of seventy-five years
“ past assuring me, according to 2 Peter i. 14, 15, that shortly
“ I must put off this my tabernacle, I will endeavour that you
“ may be able after my decease to have these things always in
“ remembrance. But now I have a new and farther reason to
“ hasten this my legacy to you, because I hear my bloody
“ enemies, the Jesuitical priests, are resolved, as soon as they
“ can find opportunity, to hasten my death. This hath made
“ me speed these sermons to the press, lest I and they fall into
“ their hands, who will give the same speedy end to both.
“ And the truth of what I now deliver to you, I trust, by God’s
“ assisting grace, to seal with my blood, if he call me to it; for
“ then I know he will enable me for it. And though I am a
“ weak carnal worm of myself, not able to do any thing, yet,
“ by God’s powerful grace I may, and I hope I shall be
“ enabled to do all things: for he hath said, I will never leave
“ thee nor forsake thee. And therefore I most humbly and

"most readily commit the keeping of my soul to him in well
"doing, as unto a faithful Creator. His will be done.
"Amen."

• See our *Essay* in Vol. II. on Bp. Croft and this. G.



II.

DEFENCE OF JOHN HOWE

ON

GOD'S PRESCIENCE, &c.

(1678.)

NOTE.

Opposite this is the original title-page of the "Remarks," &c., which very remarkable production has never been before included in any edition of Marvell's works, although it abounds with all his characteristics and its authenticity be indisputable. For the evidence of both, see our Essay in Vol. II. Dr. John Brown of Edinburgh, reprinted it along with Howe's tractate, in his excellent collection of 'Theological Tracts' (3 vols. cr. 8vo. 1853—4: Vol. I. pp. 75—138.) The venerable Editor overlooked a considerable number of misprints and somewhat serious mistakes in his reprint, besides modernization of the orthography and even of the construction. He supposed that only a single exemplar survived (in the Williams' Library). I possess another,—which is my text,—and I have traced at least other three. Its rarity is singular. It must have been among the very last things on which Marvell worked. On the front fly-leaf the 'Imprimatur' is dated 'Apr. 17, 1678.' G.



REMARKS
Upon a Late Disingenuous
DISCOURSE,
Writ by one T. D.

Under the pretence
DE CAUSA DEI,
And of Answering
Mr. *John Howe's* Letter and Postscript
OF
GOD'S PRESCIENCE, &c.

Affirming, as the Protestant Doctrine,
That God doth by Efficacious Influence
universally move and Determine Men
to all their Actions, even to those that
are most wicked.

By a PROTESTANT.

L O N D O N,

Printed and are to be sold by *Christopher Hussey*, at the
Flower-de-luce in *Little-Brittain*. 1678. [8vo]

Imprimatur, Apr. 17, 1678.



REMARKS UPON A LATE DISINGENUOUS DISCOURSE.

WRIT

By one T. D. &c.

QF all vocations to which men addict themselves, or are dedicated, I have alwaies esteemed that of the Ministry to be the most noble and happy imployment; as being more peculiarly directed to those two great ends, the advancement of God's glory, and the promoting of man's salvation. It hath seemed to me as if they who have chosen, and are set apart for that work, did, by the continual opportunity of conversing with their Maker, enjoy a state like that of Paradise; and in this superiour, that they are not also, as Adam, put in "to dress and keep a garden;" [Genesis ii. 15] but are, or ought to be, exempt from the necessity of all worldly avocations. Yet, upon nearer consideration, they likewise appear to partake of the common infelicities of humane condition. For, although they do not, as others, eat their bread in the sweat of their brows (which some Divines account to be, though in

the pulpit, indecent), yet the study of their brain is more than equivalent; and even the theological ground is so far under the curse, that no field runs out more in thorns and thistles, or requires more pains to disincumber it. Such I understand to be those peevish questions which have overgrown Christianity; wherewith men's minds are [not] only rent and intangled, but from whence they can no more hope for any wholsom nourishment, than to "gather grapes from thorns, or figs from thistles." [St. Matth. vii. 16.] And, (if I may so far pursue the allegory) this curse upon Divinity, as that upon the Earth, seems to have proceeded also from tasting that forbidden fruit, of the "tree of knowledge of good and evil." [Gen. ii. 9.] For, in general, many Divines, out of a vain affectation of learning, have been tempted into enquiries too curious, after those things which the wisdom of God hath left impervious to humane understanding further than they are revealed. And hence, instead of those allowed and obvious truths of faith, repentance, and the new creature, (yet these too have their proper weeds that pester them,) there have sprung up endless disputes concerning the unsearchable things of God, and which are agitated by men, for the most part, with such virulence and intricacy, as manifest the subtilty and malice of the serpent that hath seduced them. But, more particularly, that very knowledge of good and evil, the disquisition of the causes from whence, and in what manner they are derived, hath been so grateful to the controversial, female appetite, that even the Divines have taken of it as "a fruit to be desired to make them wise," [Gen. iii. 6.] and given to their people, and they have both eaten, at the peril of God's displeasure and their own happiness. Whereas, that second chapter

of Genesis contains the plain history of good and evil, and (not to mention so many attestations to it of the Old and New Testament) what other comment needs there, for what belongs to good, than that, James i. 17, that it is from God only, "that every good giving, and every perfect thing descendeth?" And, as to evil, that of St. James is sufficient conviction, cap i. v. 13. 14, "Let no man say when he is tempted, I was tempted of God. God cannot be tempted with evil, neither tempteth He any man; but every man is tempted when he is drawn aside by his own lusts and enticed." Or that of the same apostle, cap, iv. v. 1, "From whence come wars and fightings among you?" (and even that logomachia, I fear, with which this question is vexed,) "Come they not hence? even from your lusts that fight in your members."; And there is no examining Christian but must find both these truths evidently witnessed by his own conscience.

Nevertheless, the Theologants of former and later times, not content with what is held forth in Scripture, have attempted to clamber and palm up higher, by the philosophy of that School where each of them hath first practised, and have drawn God's prescience and predetermination upon this occasion, into debate: arguing upon such points as no man, unless he were prior and precedent to the First Cause, can have the understanding to comprehend and judge of: and most of them do but say and unsay; and while, in words they all deny God to be the Author of sin, yet in effect, and by the manner of their reasoning, they affirm it; I therefore, being both apprehensive of the danger of such arguments, and more particularly conscious of my own weakness, shall not presume to interpose my opinion in the differences

about this matter, further than to say,—That if men by this fancied “opening of their eyes,” [Gen. iii. 7.] have attained to see more clearly, and acknowledge the wickedness of their own actions, it resembles the modesty of our First Parents, discerning their “nakedness:” but if men shall also assert a predeterminative concurrence of God to our evil, it seems to have too much of original perverseness, and of that fallen shortness of reason, whereby they have found a nudity in the Creator, and did implicitly reject their fault upon Him, for the “serpent that He had made,” and the “woman that He had given.” [Genesis iii. 12.]

But if any man there be, that can reconcile this controversie, and so many more that arise out of it; (for all the most important doctrines of Christianity serve on the one side, and all the fiercest questions of Religion on the other, depending for truth and falsehood upon the success of this engagement), if he can distinguish all those ill consequences, dull distinctions, and inconsistent notions, which have been levied in this quarrel, and reduce each party within the due limits of Scripture and saving knowledge; such a person indeed deserves all commendation. And such an one I thought I had met with, nor yet see reason, notwithstanding all the late attempts upon him, to alter my opinion; in a book entitled, “The Reconcilableness of God’s Prescience of the sins of Men, with the Wisdom and Sincerity of His Counsels, Exhortations, and whatsoever other means He uses to prevent them; in a Letter to the Honourable Robert Boyl, Esquire;” and in a “Postscript to the late Letter of the Reconcilableness of God’s Prescience, &c., by John Howe, the Author of that Letter.”

Yet there was one passage in the close of his "Letter," p. 154, which seem'd, as I thought, to lye open to censure; where he askt pardon, as "having hudled it up mostly in the intervals of a troublesome long journey." It seem'd a piece too well elaborate to have been perfected amidst the hurry of the road, the noise of inns, and the nausea of the packet-boat. And how could he hope, after saying this, in so captious an Age as we live, to escape some reflexion? but that at least men would inquire whether he went by stage-coach, or on horseback: both which are professed enemies to meditation and judgment? (for it is propable he had not that ancient accomodation of horse-litters, wherein, without any impediment to their thoughts, men travelled with all the privilege and equipage of a closet,) whether he had not lost his way or fallen among thieves, and how he found himself after his journey? with all the questions men are subject to at their arrival home, and which even when ask'd in civility, yet are troublesome. He might, had it not been for the jogging, have remembered how unfortunate most Writers have been in such excuses, and what advantage ill-natur'd men have taken to misinterpret them. So he that apologiz'd for using a forein tongue was told, that no man had prohibited him his native language in his own country. Others, alledging that they had at the same time a fit of the stone, gout, or other distemper, have been taxed, as lying under no obligation of publishing their infirmities, but who might, however, have cur'd themselves of that of writing. And he that pretended to treat at once of a serious, while he was amused with "a more comfortable importance," was advertis'd, that he ought therefore to have so long abstained either

from the one or the other. But, in earnest, this confession of Mr. How's is so far from any such arrogance, that it rather argues his modesty. For, if some can even in riding name all the contrary motions, till they have by memory plaid out a game at chess (which was first invented as an emblem of predetermination), why should it be more difficult, or less allowable, to one of Mr. How's abilities, in the interruptions of travel, to give a mate also to that question? The worst therefore that can be said of him, in allusion either to his "Letter" or his journey, is,—"*at poterat tutior esse domi.*" Yet seeing that this was the greatest fault that I remarked in reading him over, I would not pass it by without notice, lest I might have cause to suspect myself of a partiality, which I desire not that others should exercise in mine own particular.

But for the rest, whereas the things considerable in all Discourses are the subject, the end, the reasoning, the method, and the style; I must profess, that as far as I understand, I have met with few manual treatises, that do in all these respects equal it. For the subject, it appears in the title; than which there was none of greater dignity to be handled, or of greater use, if rightly explain'd and comprehended. And no less is that of predetermination, which he only treats of collaterally; and upon which therefore, in hope to find him less prepared, he hath been attacked in the flank, with most vigour. His end was most commendable, being to make the paths streight, and remove those stumbling-blocks which the asperity of others had laid in the way to Heaven; to rectifie men's apprehensions concerning God, and leave them without pretence for negligence in their duties, or despair of performance; much less for

despight against the Creatour. His arguing then is plain and solid, for evidence, rather than dispute ; nor does he either throw the dust of antique distinctions in the eyes of his readers, to blind them, or yet raise the spectres of ancient authors, or conjure their venerable names, to frighten men out of their senses and understanding ; but declares against all the prejudice or advantage by such proceeding, as unlawful charms and prohibited weapons in the controversy. His method thereafter is direct and coherent, his style perspicuous and elegant : so that it is, in short, a manly discourse, resembling much, and expressing the humane perfection ; in the harmony of language, the symmetry of parts, the strength of reason, the excellency of its end, which is so serious, that it is no defect in the similitude with man, that the Letter contains nothing in it suitable to the property of laughter.

All which put together, and although it does, and must everywhere partake also of humane imperfection, it might have been hoped capable of that civility which men, and especially learned men, but most of all Divines, do usually, or should allow, to one another. That it should not be made ridiculous, being writ in so good earnest ; nor assaulted, being so inoffensive ; much less that it should be defaced, mutilated, stabb'd in so many places, and the Author through it, which is even in writing a kind of felony. Yet this hath been its misfortune in a rencounter with an immodest and hectoring Discourse, pretending to the title, "*De Causa Dei* : or a Vindication of the Common Doctrine of Protestant Divines concerning Predetermination, viz. The Interest of God, as the First Cause, in all the Actions, as such, of Rational Creatures, from the Invidious Consequences with which it is burthened,

by Mr. John How, in a late Letter and Postscript, of God's Prescience: by T. D," By which first letters, seeing it appears to pass incognito, I will so far observe good manners, as to interpret them only "The Discourse," heartily wishing that there were some way of finding it guilty, without reflecting upon the Author; which I shall accordingly endeavour, that I may both preserve his, whatsoever, former reputation, and leave him a door open to ingenuity for the future. But The Discourse justifies itself as if it had been typified by Paul's withstanding Peter to his face, when he came to Antioch, (so easy is it to patronize humane passions under the pretence of the cause of God, and apostolical example) T. D. p. 23. whereas it rather resembles in the bravery, though not in the occasion, that exploit of Peter's, Matt. xxvi. 51, 52, for which our Saviour, though done in His defence, rebuked him; adding, "They that take the sword, shall perish by the sword:" [St. John xxvi. 52.] and the taking the pen hath seldom better success, if handled in the same manner. I therefore, having had the leisure to read it over, and thereby the opportunity of a second caution, how the unruly quill is to be managed, have thought that I could not at present render a better account of that time to myself or others, than by publishing these remarks; as Mr. How's Letter may serve for a pattern of what is to be imitated, so The Discourse may remain as a mark (the best use it can be put to) of what ought to be avoided in all writing of controversies, especially by Divines, in those that concern Religion. The nature of this matter would admit of no better method, than that the errors observable should be distinguished under several heads; to each of which the particular

instances are referred. The first article that I prefer against The Discourse, is ;

Its trifling and cavilling about words, when they affect not the cause.

First instance. Mr. Howe, on purpose to prevent any such idle practice, had, in the last page of his Postscript, plainly summ'd up the constant sense both of that and his Letter which he would abide by : "That God doth not by an efficacious influence universally move and determine men to all their actions, even those actions which are most wicked." Here was the subject ready stated, against which, if anything, The Discourse ought to have directly apply'd. But instead of that T. D. p. 1. It saith, "Mr. Howe gives us his sense in various terms, and such as seem repugnant to each other. One while that which he denies, is a predeterminative concurrence, and predeterminative concurrence ; another while, 'tis predetermining influence, and a determinative influence, and efficacious influence." This is the same in T. D. as if Its "concurrent wherry-men," p. 27, after they had taken in their fare, should be long pulling off their doublets, and then carry a man to another stairs than they were directed. The one shows that they had but little heart to their labour ; the other, that they knew not the river, unless perhaps they have a design, if they can find a place convenient, to rifle the passenger. For Mr Howe had expressly pitch'd upon that one term of efficacious influence. But as for those other repeated by The Discourse, they were such as Mr. Howe found in the controversie, not of his own making, nor therefore is he accountable for them : but, however, it was his ingenuity to mention them ; and having done so, to bind himself to a point, to one word of the most certain signification, as a

place where any adversary might alwaies be sure to speak with him. Yet It, to find out matter for discourse, and to show Its great reading, tells us, as if that were the business, what Strangius saith, and what Dr. Twisse, concerning predetermination and concurrence; and again what Strangius, of the difference between concurrence and influence, p. 2. and saith that, "as for those two phrases, predeterminative concurrence, and predeterminative concurrence, they are in effect contradictio in adjecto." And so let them be, upon condition that not Mr. Howe, (as The Discourse would have it) but the first inventer may be bound to answer for it. For the truth is, the brothers of dispute do usually so handle their matter, and refine so far, till they want at last either words to express their meaning, or meaning to express in words. And so it hath fared with the imaginers of the predeterminative concurrence and concurrence. 'Tis very well that this scene of debate lies in Oxford (or London), for, upon these terms, it would be impossible at Newmarket, where Præ and Con run their heats, to decide any match without sending for a judge to the next University; and it is less difficult for Pro and Con, or for Pro and Non-con, to set their horses together. Yet suppose, as The Discourse affirms, that this predeterminative concurrence or concurrence, had been words of Mr. Howe's own choosing; whereas he on the contrary rejects them for that of efficacious influence, the impropriety therein had not been greater, than of that phrase which T. D. p. 25. uses, and had right to, simultaneous concurrence, which is, if I mistake not, as much as to say, conconcurrence.

The same (if greater be the same) "trifling and cavilling about words that affect not the cause," it is to say, T. D. p. 2. "As for that latter phrase, *influence*

which Mr. Howe makes equipollent with the former *concourse* in these words, Post. p. 29. 'I here affect not the curiosity to distinguish these two terms, as some do;' I had rather he should hear Strangius again than me, blaming his not affecting 'that curiosity of distinction,' and then It cites Strangius de Vol. Dei. lib. i. c. 2. p. 59, assigning the difference between them. This is a trivial litigation about words, where the thing intended is sufficiently understood (or rather is intelligible), and, whether it be said influence or *concourse* makes no more to the business, than the impropriety objected to predetermining or previous *concourse*, which any indifferent Reader can see to have been spoken generally, of a priority of the supposed influence on God's part, not in time, but in nature and causality. Strangius, indeed, writing a large treatise concerning that subject, distinguished all the terms more accurately: but Mr. Howe, it being there done to his hand, and writing on the by, only two or three pages, had not the space or the occasion to enlarge upon them. And it is an infirmity which Mr. Howe, I observe, is much subject to, that he seldom useth any notional terms or distinctions, where he can make men comprehend him better without them; and at that indeed he hath a singular faculty. His very saying that he "affected not, there, the curiosity to distinguish those two terms, as some do," shows it; but withall, that he was not ignorant of them, and that he could also distinguish when he saw reason, and in time and place convenient. The Discourse might with more cause have accused him of ambiguity, and raised scruples about his curiosity; for that is taken in many several significations. As for example, sometimes it is used for a commendable exquisiteness in things considerable, and worth the

labour. Otherwhiles it is described, "Quoties plus diligentiae quam oportebat impendimus rebus, vel nostris, vel alienis. Nostris, quum minima quaeque disquirimus et nullius frugis; alienis, quum de rebus caeterorum occultioribus non satis cum pudore perscrutamur aut interrogamus." So not Strangius, nor Doctor Twisse, but Cicero. Which that I may do equal right to The Discourse in translating Latine, is to say, "That is called curiosity, when men use an impertinent diligence in things relating to themselves or others: to themselves, when they are busie about every trifle, and what is of no moment: to others, when they exercise a scrutiny, or ask questions beyond modesty, concerning their private affairs." And I had rather It should hear Cicero again, "than me blaming It for this latter sort of curiosity: "Reperiam multos, vel innumerabiles potius, non tam curiosos, nec tam molestos quam vos estis." That is, 'I could find many or rather innumerable men, neither so troublesome nor so curious as you are.' And Quintilian explains it further: "Est etiam quae parergia vocatur, supervacua, ut sic dixerim, operositas: ut a diligente curiosus, et a religione superstitio distat," i. e. 'There is also that which is called parergia, a superfluous and laborious nicety; as a curious man differs from a diligent, or superstition from religion.' But besides all this, *curiosus* signifies an Informer: in which sense, I suppose, both Mr. Howe and T. D. would be loath to accept it. Yet perhaps I may gratifie them in the authority or quotation. Suet. Aug. c. 27. "Nam et pinarium equitem Romanum, quam concionante se admissa turba pag-norum, apud milites, subscribere quaedam animadvertisset, curiosum et speculatorem ratus, coram confodi imperavit." Which text, if a little help'd in

the translating, might serve them to notable purpose 'but however so it is, that taking the knight to be a spy and an informer, he caused him forthwith to be slain in his presence.' And lastly in the code, Tit. de Curiosis de Stationariis: curiosus is a postmaster, if Mr. Howe be dispos'd at any time to take another "long troublesome journey," and do not "disaffect also that curiosity." It had been much more to the purpose to have learnt these several acceptations of curiosity, than to have exercised it in the worst sense, in such needless disquisitions, when a question stated in other terms was in expectation every minute to be disputed.

But to say that in those, "I here affect not the curiosity to distinguish those two terms of concurrence or influence, as some do," was to make the latter phrase "influence equipollent with the former concurrence," is gratis, or rather *ingratus dictum*, and ought not to have been but upon the consultation first with Mr. Howe, to have had his concurrence; no nor then neither. For should Mr. Howe be never so much of opinion, as he seems otherwise, that they are equipollent, yet it can never be true that these words do infer it. As suppose that I should say, 'I affect not here the curiosity to distinguish betwixt the candor and the acuteness of The Discourse in this particular,' do I therefore think them equipollent, or that one of them hath not the stronger ingredience? though indeed there is little of either.

Another (for this hath been too pregnant to say a second) instance to the same head is where The Discourse, p. 26. tells us; "It is an unaccountable inadvertency, (for to salve his honour, so I will call it, rather than a slip of judgment,) to produce cursing and swearing for instances of actions downright, or for the substance of them evil, &c. This indeed is

curiosity in the highest degree of perfection, if (for I must be aware too of such exactness) there be degrees of perfection. And a heavy charge it is, which I know not whence it could light upon Mr. Howe, but that the curious are likewise given for the most part to be censorious, where they have no reason. For Mr. Howe, Post. pp. 33-4, examining an argument used by some for God's predeterminative concurrence to wicked actions, because there are no actions of man on earth so good, which have not some mixture of sin in them, &c. See Postscript p. 32.) saith, "This argument must be thus conceived: that if God concur by determinative influence to the imperfectly good actions of faith, repentance, love to Himself, prayer; therefore to the acts of enmity against Himself, cursing, idolatry, blasphemy, &c. And is it not a mighty consequence, if to actions that are good *quoad substantiam*, therefore to such as are in the substance of them evil? We ourselves can in a remoter kind concur to the actions of others. Because you may afford yourself your leading concurrence to actions imperfectly good, therefore may you to them that are downright evil? because to prayer, therefore to cursing and swearing? and then ruine men for the actions you induced them too? You'll say, God may rather, but sure He can much less do so than you. How could you be serious in the proposal of this question?" For this argument had been proposed by way of question, and I have on purpose set down Mr. Howe's answer at length, that it might be evident, without further brangling, how little, I mean how no, cause there was for this animadversion upon him, speaking expressly of such cursing and swearing only as is evil *quoad substantiam*. For certainly those "acts of enmity against

God Himself," which Mr. Howe there enumerates, cursing, and then idolatry, blasphemy, &c. are, and were so understood by him, and by all but such as take care to the contrary, as much evil in themselves as that adultery which The Discourse itself owns to be so, p. 72. "because no end or circumstance can make it good." So that this ado is made for Mr. Howe's not saying profane cursing and swearing; indeed a very hainous and notorious omission; even as it would be for a man, so often as he uses the words *and* or *the*, not to distinguish or tell his Reader, that he intends and in an exegetical sense, or the in an emphatical; or whether in their ordinary capacity. How "unaccountable soever this inadvertency" were in Mr. Howe, it is well The Discourse did not call our Saviour to account, Matth. v. 34, for forbidding swearing in general terms, nor St. James, cap. v. v. 12, for the same as to swearing, or c. iii. v. 9, 10, because the apostle does not there descant upon cursing more distinctly, and add prophane to its character. But had The Discourse done so, it would have been obvious to every man, that the pen deserv'd the same brand that is set upon the tongue in that chapter. I wonder how in this lyncean perspicacity It oversaw a more remarkable error of Mr. Howe's about "actions in their substance evil;" where in the same pages 33, 34, he writes *goad substantiam*, which could not be Mr. Howe's inadvertency; for in that paragraph he also spells consequence and qestion in the like manner, and therefore must by the same consequence have been a slip of his judgment. But, had It continued to be so unmercifully accurate, Mr. Howe might have told It Its own; where p. 27. It mentions that "evil act of Adam's eating a tree" (for I see we are all mortal), which is a phrase of very

hard digestion. Other proofs of this head I reserve till further occasion, two or three instances upon each, being like so many witnesses sufficient for Its conviction. The second article follows.


Its ignorance and confusion about the matter that is in controversy.

First instance. The Discourse, p. 3. saith : "The ambiguity of Mr. Howe's phrases removed, and the sense of them being brought to a certainty, I assert the contradictory to his proposition : the term efficacious suiting well enough, if Mr. Howe intend by it an infallibility of the event, or the certain production of those actions which God hath an influence upon." Now, for the better understanding of this, it is fit to observe that Mr. Howe's proposition is this : "God doth not by an efficacious influence universally move and determine men to all their actions, even those actions that are most wicked." They that assert the contradictory, must therefore affirm that God does, and much good may it do them. But The Discourse in the words before cited, capitulates that Mr. Howe should by efficacious intend infallibility, &c. It might almost as well have said transubstantiation, which we shall meet with p. 35. hereafter.

Now it is indeed fit that a Respondent should gratify his Opponent as far as may consist with civility and safety. But here arises a case of conscience ; Whether a man may give another leave, that desires it, to speak non-sense. I say no. For non-sense and idle words are of the same notion. But if he be one that I have no power over, and whom I can by no amicable means hinder from speaking non-sense, I, after using all good indeavours, am excused. But here the case is stronger, where one shall not only take the liberty himself, but oblige me too to

speaking non-sense. To this I say, that to the best of my understanding, I never will, nor ought to do it in respect to any man. Yet no less a favour or favours, doth The Discourse demand of Mr. Howe, in requiring that the term efficacious may be expounded by infallibility, that is, in effect, the most potent influence by no influence; for what influence hath infallibility upon the actions of another, or upon anything? And this, if it should yet obtain it of Mr. Howe, yet would consist as ill with his own following words, or certain production; wherein he more than implies that infallibility and certain production are all one: whereas a man may certainly and infallibly know what he never produces, and some too, we see, produce what they never understand. But if The Discourse shall still opiniatre in this matter, let It, to try how well it suits, strike efficacious, for experiment, out of the question, and insert instead of it infallibility and certain production, and then see if there be any sense in it or grammar.

Second instance. The Discourse p. 9. pretends to give a definition of predetermination. Predetermination, It saith, "is thus defin'd; A transient action of God, which excites every creature to act." Now it is generally known, that the two most perfect creatures in all logick, are a demonstration and a definition. How good The Discourse is at the first shall afterwards be demonstrated. But as to a definition, it alwaies consists, as being a dialectick animal, of a body, which is the genus, and a difference, which is the soul of the thing defined; but this will in neither appear to be perfect or rational. For the genus here is action, and yet a few lines below It saith, that "predetermination is to be conceived of



per modum principii, under the notion of a principle, or cause of the creatures acting, but concur only *per modum actionis*." Predetermination was but even before under the genus of action, and now of cause ; so that The Discourse hath been very liberal indeed of body to the definition, having given it two rather than fail, though commonly we account such births to be errors of nature and monstrous. Had The Discourse interposed some pages, it might have only argued a default of memory ; but this inconsistency at one sight, and before Its pen could be taken off, shows that defect not to have been, as with some persons, recompensed in judgment. And then for the difference that is assigned in this definition, it happens here, as usually where there is most body, that there is least soul. For there is nothing else left to be the difference, but, "whereby God excites every creature to act." If this be all, The Discourse might indeed very well say, p. 7. that Mr. Howe would "be forc'd to grant predetermination ;" for how could he possibly avoid it, when the antagonist defines it in Mr. Howe's own words ? who saith, Postscript, p. 45. "In reference to sinful actions ; by this influence God doth not only sustain men who do them, and continue to them their natural faculties and powers whereby they are done ; but also, as the First Mover, so far excites and actuates those powers, as that they are apt and habile for any congenerous action, to which they have a natural designation, and whereto they are not sinfully disinclin'd." Whereby "God excites the creature to act," saith The Discourse ; whereby "God excites and actuates those powers to," &c., saith Mr. Howe very fully here, and in all other places to the same sense ; so that if The Discourse either understood Mr. Howe or

Itself, either Its own definition, or the common question, what place was there left for arguing, unless to debate for debate's sake? Usually when both parties say the same thing, there is an end of the discourse, but however of the dispute: there is, as far as I see, no doubt to be made but Mr. Howe, as he hath, will grant this predetermination even without "being forced," but yet upon condition, and it is but reasonable that The Discourse will retract Its own foregoing words, p. 5. "This act of God is called predetermination, because it limits the creature to this action rather than to that." This indeed will serve The Discourse for argument either of discourse or dispute with Itself, being definition in effect against definition to prevent monstrosity, supplying hereby two souls to the two bodies. But till It be better agreed with It, and can come to a clearer understanding with Itself, no third person needs or can be interested in the contest further than as a spectator of some strange sight for his money, like the double child from Sussex.

Third instance. The Discourse cites Mr. Howe, Postscript, p. 71. for having there said concerning "God's exciting man to act" those foregoing words that I come last from mentioning. But those words are not p. 41., but 45., and the mistake in the citation is probably an error only of the printer's. Though indeed in that p. 41. Mr. Howe with much perspicuity declares the same sense and opinion which he gives in other expressions, p. 45. For p. 41. he saith, "It hath been the care and designment of the divine wisdom so to order the way of dispensation towards the several sorts of creatures, as not only not, ordinarily, to impose upon them what they could not be patient of, but so as that their powers

and faculties might be put upon the exercises whereof they were capable, and to provide that neither their passive capacity should be overcharged, nor their active be unemployed." But the words repeated and excepted against are to be found in his p. 45. and upon them it is that The Discourse fixes this unreasonable and ill interpretation and censure; "If by exciting and actuating the powers he means that God reduces them to act, he hath taken a large jump from Durandus to Twisse:" and so goes on to prove that ill-favour'd and worse conceiv'd suggestion. It ought sufficiently to have prevented this usage that Mr. Howe's Letter, p. 43 hath said, "That which hath too apparently had greatest actual efficacy with many in asserting predetermination, hath been the authority of this or that man of reputation, and the force of that art of imputing a doctrine already under a prejudicial doom to some or other ill-reputed former Writer, I profess not to be skill'd in the use of that sort of weapons." And therefore, not being himself the aggressor, but challenged and defied by another, he ought to have had the choice of them. What signifies Durandus here, but to call a man ill names instead of coming to the point? and what Dr. Twisse, but to wear mail, or bring a second when Mr. Howe comes naked and single? It is not what this or that man, but what Truth saith, that is to be regarded; what liberty soever The Discourse here takes to the contrary. It can by no means be made true, that Mr. Howe by these words, "God as the first mover so far excites and actuates those powers, as that they are apt and habile for any congenerous action," professes himself of Doctor Twisse's opinion, no more than that he is of Durandus's after having thus declared his own as clearly as it is possible for

any man's meaning to be minuted or explain'd. For Durandus holds only a meer conservation of the faculty, Doctor Twisse a predetermination. But Mr. Howe, to avoid Durandus on the one hand, saith, "that in reference to sinful actions (for of these is the question) God doth not only sustain men who do them, and continue to them their natural faculties and powers," (which was all Durandus pretended to), "but also so far excites and actuates those powers, as that they are apt and habile for any congenerous action," &c., whereas, if he would have spoke with Doctor Twisse, he must have said, "but also excites and actuates those powers determinately to this or that action," which would have differ'd the whole breadth of heaven from Mr. Howe's hypothesis. And certainly such an actual influence as Mr. Howe describes, added to the natural faculty, is, if men look near, very distinguishable from meer conservation of that faculty on the one, and predetermination on the other side. For a faculty conserved, as a faculty in *actu primo*, (as men call it), includes no such hability and present promptitude in itself to action, as Mr. Howe proposes; since then it could never suffer a privation of it but what were irrecoverable. Whereas common experience shews faculties may be sometimes unapt for action, and may be supposed always so, if every moment when they act they be not rendred apt by a superadded influence, which may habilitate them for action, without determining them to this or that. So that all the confusion herein objected to Mr. Howe, is to be referred to that head upon which I have charged it; and the "great jump" is no more than what brain-sick passengers, being carried alongst by the wind and sea, in the heaving of their vessel imagine of the

trees and steeples. For he is still in the same place, but no man knows whither away The Discourse may be driven, or what port It is bound to, and whether It do not sail without steerage, compass, or anchor.

A fourth instance of Its ignorance and confusion about the matter in controversie, is Its varying, and that so often and so materially, the terms of the question. First of all It told us that It asserted the contradictory of Mr. Howe's proposition; which must be therefore by undertaking to prove (as was said formerly) "That God doth by efficacious influence universally move and determine men to all their actions, even those actions that are most wicked," T. D. p. 3. Yet immediately after having joyned issue upon this, It hath a second device, p. 4, and "better likes Strangius his state of the question, viz. Whether God does determine or predetermine all creatures to all and each of their actions." And then, thirdly, p. 5, It tells us more fully what the question is, and how Its predetermination is to be understood, explaining it thus (though not fully enough), viz., "an act of God's by which He limits the creature to this action rather than to that." Such an act The Discourse hath granted at last, and 'twere to be reasonably expected, that, after having transformed the question thus oft to Its own understanding and convenience, this contradictory at least to Mr. Howe's proposal should be adhered to as far as it goes, and maintained: for otherwise what occasion was there, or what imployment is there left for this spirit of contradiction? unless to rattle through the air, make vain apparitions, or in a calm day on a sudden to stir up a tempest. But if this be The Discourse's anti-proposition, I that intermeddle not as an Opinionist either way, but endeavour only to comprehend as far

as I can Its meaning, shall for that purpose put a case in Its own terms.

Suppose a man to meet with some afflicting calamity which tends to provoke, among other his passions, that of aversion or hatred. He considers this or that man may have contributed to his calamity: he considers also that God may have had an hand in bringing it upon him: he considers, perhaps, (and is yet undetermined, till God at least determine him,) whether to put forth one act of hatred toward this man or another, toward that man or another, toward God, or whether only to hate the evil itself that afflicts him. (For it cannot be that he should hate this man with the same act of hatred with which he hates another man, nor can he hate God by the same act whereby he hates either of them, or the afflicting evil that hath befallen him.) At last he is limited to this rather than another action, and apprehending with that prophane person, 2 Kings vi. 33, "Behold this evil is from the Lord, what shall I wait for the Lord any longer?" he pours out his hatred against God Himself. The question now is, who limits him to this action rather than to another? Shall we say it is God? The Discourse, holding the affirmative, must say it is God. This is indeed a dreadful representation of the case, but a true one.

Nor is it therefore to be wondred, the question being so frightful, that The Discourse starts and runs away from it so often; and after all this, p. 9. would forget that "predetermination is an act by which God limits the creature to this action rather than that," and undertakes to define it, exclusively to those words, (for the definition includes the whole nature of the thing defined) no more but "a transient action of God which excites every creature to act."

And yet, fourthly, considering that the cause required no less; after taking breath, and comforting Its spirits, The Discourse returns again in part to the question, telling us in the bottome of the same page, 9, "That it is in plain words whether God does move men to all their natural actions, and so to one rather than another." And thus now we have a fourth state of the question, but yet very different from the first; the affirmative of which was undertaken to be defended. In short, the main controversy is about determining; but this fourth question does not so much as mention it either in word or in sense. For the determiniung in Mr. Howe's proposition imports and is so express'd, not only a moving men, but an efficacious moving them. (There are many motions which may be ineffectual.) Nor only a moving them to this action rather than to that, but also to do this wicked action (for of such is the controversie) rather than forbear it. What kind of practice is this? It is a worse thing to adulterate truth than money. The terms of the question are the standard. But at this rate no man can know what is *meum* or *tuum*, which is his own hypothesis, and which his adversarie's, while what he issued in currant sense and weight is return'd him clipp'd or counterfeit. But the observation of this manner of dealing hath put me upon another thought much differing, and which at first perhaps may seem something extravagant.

The camel is a beast admirably shap'd for burthen, but so lumpish withall, that nothing can be more inept for feats of activity. Yet men have therefore invented how to make it danse, that, by how much unnatural, the spectacle might appear more absurd and ridiculous. Its keeper leads it upon a pavement so thoroughly warmed, that the creature, not able to

escape nor abide it, shifts first one foot, and then another to relieve itself, and would, if possible, tread the air on all four, the ground being too hot for it to stand upon. He in the meantime traverses and trips about it at a cooler distance, striking some volunteer notes on his Egyptian kit, like a French dancing-master. But, knowing that his scholar is both in too much pain, and too dull to learn his measures, he therefore upon frequent observation accords a tune to its figure and footing, which comes to the same account. So that, after daily repeating the lesson in private, they seem both at last to be agreed upon a new Arabick saraband. Having thus far succeeded, he tries next whether what he taught by torture be not confirm'd by custom, and if a cool hearth may not have the like effect. The camel no sooner hears his fiddle, but, as if its ears burned with the musick, and it's memory were in its feet, the animal bestirs forthwith it's long legs, and, with many an antick motion, and ill-favour'd *coupe*, gratifies the master's patience and expectation. When he finds, upon constant experiment, that it never fails him, he thenceforward makes it publick, and, having compounded with the Master of the Revels, shows it, with great satisfaction to the vulgar, every Bartholomew-fair in Grand Cairo. I would not too much vex the similitude, but was run upon this by a resemblance it hath with some, who, not being fram'd at all for controversie, and finding the question too hot for them, do, by their flinching and shuffling from it, represent a disputation, till it is grown habitual to them, and they change ground as often, and have the same apprehension of the sound of an argument, as the camel of an instrument.

And yet The Discourse hath a fifth loose foot to

clap on at need, as if four had not sufficed to praevaricate with, p. 11. where It exercises Its uncouth nimbleness in syllogizing: but never was anything more ridiculously awkward. Mr. Howe had, Letter, p. 35, mentioned an argument used by those who hold the affirmative of predetermination; "That it necessarily belongs to the original and fountain-Being to be the First Cause of whatsoever being; and consequently, that what there is of positive being in any the most wicked action, must principally owe itself to the determinative productive influence of this First and Sovereign Cause; otherwise it would seem that there were some being that were neither *primum* nor *a primo*." This was as plain and distinctly laid out as possible, but must forsooth be cast into a logical figure, where the officiousness argues the fraud, as of those who make false plate imbezilling part of the metal, and yet make the owner pay moreover for the fashion. This is The Discourse's syllogism: "All positive beings are effects of the First Cause. All sinful actions" (for, It adds, "this is our limitation,") "are positive beings; *ergo*, All sinful actions, as actions, are effects of the First Cause." So that here, by a syllogistical legerdemain, that term so essential in their argument, as cited by Mr. Howe, the "determinative productive influence of the First and Sovereign Cause," is cleanly conveyed away out of sight; the proposition undertaken to be maintained, that "God doth by an efficacious influence universally move and determine men to all their actions, even those actions that are most wicked;" or, as It lately varied, "limits men to this action rather than to that," is turned out of doors by its own foster-father, the keeping of it being grown it seems too chargeable; and all now that is inferred

is only that "all sinful actions, as actions, are effects of the First Cause." And what is that to the purpose? If Mr. Howe must neither be allowed the use of his own weapons, nor upon the ground which they both were agreed on, it appears that his Challenger, notwithstanding all Its bravades, had no design, or but little disposition to meet him. The whole of this may in a just sense be granted without prejudice to Mr. Howe's cause. For it matters not that they are effects, unless it be also said and proved that they are "effects produced by God's determinative influence." Yet how much powder is spent without doing the least execution! First a categorical, then an hypothetical syllogism fired at him, then forces him to distinguish, which is among disputants next to crying quarter, but will not give it him; runs him through with three replies to his distinction, and leaves him dead upon the place. While the proposition is all this while untouch't, Mr. Howe is out of gunshot, and his adversary (if one that only skirmishes with himself, deserves to be called so) is afraid to take aim, and starts meerly at the report of his own musquet. Thus hath The Discourse five several times altered the property of the question; which is my fourth instance of Its ignorance and confusion about the matter in controversy; unless it ought to be interpreted as an argument rather of a strong brain, after so many times, and suddenly turning round, not to have faln down senseless.

A fifth instance to the same head, Mr. Howe, Letter, pp. 36, 37, 21, had said, "It seems infinitely to detract from the perfection of the ever-blessed God, to affirm that He was not able to make a creature of such a nature, as, being continually

sustained by Him, and supplied with power every moment suitable to its nature, should be capable of acting, unless what He thus enables He determine (that is, for it can mean no less thing, impel) it to do also." To this The Discourse replies, p. 15. "If we should take liberty of judging things by their appearance at first sight, without giving ourselves the trouble of a strict disquisition" (take whether you will, the liberty or the trouble, only talk not so magisterially) "we might easily be seduced into an imagination that it does no less infinitely detract from the divine perfection to affirm; that God was not able to make a creature of such a nature, as that it might continually sustain itself, without a supply of power every moment from God. For that opinion seems to tie God to a shorter tedder" (how trivial and irreverently spoken!) "than an ingenious artificer who can raise an edifice that shall last many years without any need of his help for reparations." Compare now these two together, and mark what this reasoning of The Discourse amounts to. Mr. Howe conceives (else it were very hard) that a creature may act, being enabled by a continual supply of power from God every moment. Therefore quoth It, a creature may be, without being sustained or supplied from God any moment. But this perhaps was only to show how ingenious Its first apprehensions, and how candid are Its first inclinations; and whether It were "easily seduced" Itself, or had a mind to seduce others, It likes this conceit so well that It cannot yet let it go, but subjoins immediately; "And this I the rather take notice of, because I find it the sentiment of the most acute Suarez," &c. But, whereas others find their second thoughts to be the more judicious, Its

judging thus at first sight seems more accurate than Its second seeming: They, *ib.* "who deny God's immediate operation in every action of the creature, (which Mr. Howe seems to do in his answer now under discussion) will doubtless be compelled to deny that the creature does depend immediately upon the actual influence of God." So It quotes the most acute Suarez, Met. Disp. 20. This is a most exemplary and primitive charity, whereby The Discourse hath sold all its own acuteness to give it to the poor Suarez; so that it hath reduced Itself to that desperate and utmost dulness, as herein to say, "They who deny what Mr. Howe seems by this answer to do," that is as much as to say, They who suppose with Mr. Howe that a creature may act being inabled by God every moment, without being impelled, (which he above, and always modestly asserts,) will doubtless be "compell'd to deny" that the creature depends immediately upon the actual influence of God, which is tantamount in sense, which useth to be the meaning, as to say, It seems to be denied that the creature does depend, because it is affirmed to depend. Ought not bills to be put up for men affected with so peculiar a distemper? I cannot in the whole Common Prayer find any that is proper for this occasion.

Another instance (for they do so multiply on me in reading, that I forget to number them, and yet they are so signal in their kind, that they are not to be omitted) is p. 96. and onwards: the vain attempt to reconcile God's predetermining by efficacious influence to wicked actions with His wisdom and sincerity by the same mediums that were used by Mr. Howe to reconcile His prescience of them; yet this is undertaken to be done from p. 96. for several pages

forward, and with the same confidence which is alwaies necessary to such as promise impossibilities. But it is in the meantime an high contempt of all other men, and presumption of one's own understanding that can imbolden to such an argument. Who is there, unless Adam gave him his name, but sees the difference between having an influence upon men's wicked actions, and having no influence, which prescience, as such, cannot signifie him to have that foreknows? But nevertheless Mr. Howe hath expressly enough asserted, and explained the influence God hath on all humane actions.

For further instance, see what The Discourse saith, p. 61. and so along, struggling to bring the immediate concurrence, which Mr. Howe speaks of and avows, under the same prejudice with predetermination, which he disclaims and argues against: for all that idle indeavour might have been saved and prevented by a small supplement of understanding or memory. For Mr. Howe alwaies distinguishes (and so might any ordinary capacity for him, should he have trusted either that or men's common ingenuity) between concurring, though never so immediately, by an influence which doth but enable to an action, and by that which doth determine to it, or impell. If any man do but carry this about with him, as Mr. Howe does thorow his whole troublesome journey, it is a certain remedy against all gauling, at least by this argumentation.

One thing I could not but remark here, p. 61. of The Discourse in passing, how jovial It is and buck-som,—which is just the humour of tyrants, bloodily cruel,—and yet at the same time full of dissoluteness and laughter: “I will pause a little, with the Reader's leave, and try my skill what answer I can

excogitate for Mr. Howe, which will not be a common friend to us both" (pleasant) "as we have been hitherto one to another, and I hope shall remain notwithstanding this publick contest." Dear Damon, doubtless. But I perceive not that Mr. Howe hath yet had any contest with you, nor, if I can persuade him, is he likely to have for the future, but will avoid you for several reasons. Is this your friendship? what then, and how terrible is your malice? The ancient contests of friendship, and which made some pairs so illustrious, were which of them should die for the other, not which should cut the other's throat. The utmost that I have observed upon such publick contests, or that I think a man is bound to in Christianity, hath been to pardon such a friend, and bid him do his office. Here is to be seen or play'd T. D. indeed, or "Amity a la Mode." But go on. "This distinction is an open friend to us, and to which therefore upon all fit occasions we pay our respects." This is prity, and most softly said, as if it were by the Great Mogul lying upon a silken bed, and leaning upon cushions. And besides, 'tis a new invention, being the first time this that ever I heard of a man that contracted friendship with a distinction; but most wise men, (and so I think should Mr. Howe), have been used to distinguish with whom they contract it. To proceed, speaking of determination and concurrence, these are the words: "But that it waits a fitter time to speak out her mind, she could say that she conceives not how she can compel the will," &c. (Of this compelling the will, I shall have occasion also to speak out my mind hereafter). What use was to be made of a she in this place, I cannot well imagine. At last The Discourse grows perfectly wanton; "If immediate

concurrence thinks herself disobliged to satisfy an inquisitive curiosity as to the modus or manner how she joyns with the creature in an action to which sin does necessarily adhere," &c. What would a man think of this? A female! An *immediate concurrence*! What sport were here prepar'd for that which is by our moderns called wit, but is no more than the luxuriant sterility of land not broken up or manured! In the meantime, if The Discourse be really at so much ease, as It would seem by this way of talking, 'tis but a security of understanding, like that of conscience wherewith guilty persons confirm and deceive themselves for the present.

I shall now come to the last instance of this article. Not that I want abundance of more, or might not produce the whole book in evidence, but because it were time that I came to some period: and lest The Discourse should think I avoided Its main strength, I shall there examine It where It pretends to no less than demonstration. For never was there thing so dreadfully accoutred and armed *cap-a-pe* in logic, categorical and hypothetical syllogisms, majors, minors, enthymems, antecedents, consequents, distinctions, definitions, and now at last demonstration, to pin the basket: terms that good Mr. Howe as a meer novice is presum'd to be unacquainted with, and so far from being able to endure the ratling of The Discourse's armour, that as those Roman legions once bragg'd, even the sweaty smell of Its armpits would be sufficient to rout him. But some creatures are as safe by their weaknesse, as others by their strength, from being medled with by a considerable adversary. I that cannot boast of any extraordinary faculty for disputation, nor yet confess myself void of common understanding, am therefore the most proper perhaps

to try the force of this demonstration ; and whether The Discourse be not therein as feeble, as it was lately short in definition. It, p. 25, quotes Mr. Howe, Postsc. p. 28. that he does "really believe God's immediate concurrence to all actions of His creatures both *immediatione virtutis et suppositi*, yet not determinative to wicked actions;" then The Discourse proceeds: "We shall adventure a demonstration that it implies a contradiction for God to make a creature that can act without predetermination, i.e. applying it to action, and to one rather than to another action. And 'tis this, That such a creature would be but *ens secundarium*, a second being, not *causa secunda*, a second cause, or, (which is all one) God should be but *ens primum*, not *causa prima*, the First Being, not the First Cause," which It proves thus: "1. If God does concur only by simultaneous" (an elegant term of The Discourse's own production) "concurrence, and not by predetermination, or previous motion, then God cannot be the cause of the actions of the creatures, as they proceed from them: but the consequent is absurd, and It presumes Mr. Howe will not own it." What Mr. Howe may do, being thus hard put to it, I will not undertake: but surely there was never anything affirm'd with less truth or sense than The Discourse here doth, that "God should be the cause of the actions of the creatures, as those actions proceed from them." One would think the creatures themselves should be the causes of the actions as they "proceed from them;" (for how otherwise are they causes at all of those actions?) and God the cause of those actions as they "proceed from Him." Now how they proceed from Him, Mr. Howe hath sufficiently shown his own conception of it, viz. "as they are done by a sufficient influence, which God imme-

diately affords to enable the creature to do them, not to determine it thereto." And is not God to be entitled a *causa prima* as well as *ens primum*, in reference to what is done by His influence in the way before expressed? Whereas, if God be the cause of the actions of the creatures, as those actions proceed from *them*, the action must be done by His influence alone, and then He should not be *causa prima*, because then there were no *causa secunda*. But this was only sure The Discourse's demon-, and the next that follows Its -stration.

Mr. Howe had, as before cited, Postsc. p. 28. avowed Gods' immediate concurrence to all actions of His creatures, both *immediatione virtutis et suppositi*. Upon which concession of his It argues thus, (with this prelusory vaunt, p. 26. "He is twice killed that is killed with his own weapon," so that no less than sudden death is to be expected in the case,) "If there be an immediate concurrence, then there is a predetermination or putting the creature upon action before it acts: or else the creature is the first mover of itself to action." This is so unimaginably dull an argument, that really it requires a proportionable dulness in the reader, or an extraordinary acuteness to comprehend it, and how it should be deduced from Mr. Howe's concession of immediate concurrence. For the argument so put receives not the least strength, not any, from that concession of Mr. Howe's, but rather from his non-concession, and that he hath not yielded enough, and as much as The Discourse would have him, which pretends that immediate concurrence alone is not sufficient to exclude the creature from being the first mover of its own actions. For, whether immediate concurrence be granted, or not granted, the case is all one as to this argument while so much is

not granted whereby "an account may be given how God and the creature join in one individual action rather than another," as *The Discourse* would have it, p. 27. if Mr. Howe could have been persuaded to be thus demonstrated out of his reason.

The illustration of Its "plausible consequence," as it 'tis called, p. 27. may perhaps be noted, and shall hereafter in its due place, but the demonstration carries the bell away, and I must yet follow its tinkling. And thus it goes on, pp. 27, 28. "An account how the particular actions of any creature's will come to be determined, upon the exclusion of predetermination, I know none can be given." And how is this proved? for sure to affirm it is not demonstration. Why thus: "Not by chance:" (unless this saying so be an instance that it may in some cases) nobody dream'd of any such thing; but this was put in, I suppose, only for more harmony, and to run division. A good slight it is, by proving first a thing which no man denies, to make it more credible that the argument upon the subject in controversy will be as cogent. For the question is upon Its second member, "Not by the creature's self-determining power," and here *The Discourse's* main strength comes upon trial. "For that, as such, is indeterminate as to the acts to which we conceive it must be some way or other determined." Admirably good! So it is indeed till the creature, as Mr. Howe conceives, have determined it self; and so it will be too if God be to determine it, indeterminate till he have determined it. But if the creature do determine it self (which if it never do, how does *The Discourse* call it "self-determining power?") then I hope It is not indeterminate. So that the whole stress of the cause which was to prove that the creature so influ-

enced and actuated by God immediately for any congenerous action," as Mr. Howe hath exprest it) cannot determine itself, is left in the lurch, and no demonstration hath been given hitherto, but of that confusion and ignorance with which I have charged The Discourse in this article, about the matter in controversie.

But it argues further, pp. 28, 29, and with the same demonstration, from a second concession (it were methinks more ingenuous, to call it a declaration or assertion) of Mr. Howe's of God's immediate concurrence and predetermination to the production of good actions, and the necessity thereof, pretends to infer the necessity of God's immediate concurrence and predetermination likewise to all (that is, even to the most wicked) actions. But this, beside the ridiculousness, is so odious an undertaking, that any pious man, should he be superior in the contention, would repent of his victory. I shall here wave it; but if The Discourse pride it self herein, I give It the joy as It deserveth.

This demonstration I had assigned as the last instance of this head; but I think I may be dispensed with to add another, it being an act of charity. For there are yet behind six articles more, some of them of a more criminal and hainous nature than those two that hitherto I have insisted on.

1. Its falsifications and fictions of what Mr. How hath not said.

2. Its injurious perverting of what he hath said.

3. Its odious insinuations concerning what there is no colour to object against.

4. Its insolent boasting and self-applause upon no occasion.

5. Its gross absurdities, inconsistencies, self-contradictions, and unsafe expressions.

6. The wrath and virulence of Its spirit.—And oftentimes it chances that one and the same instance is applicable, and may be reduced to several of these heads. But therefore, as oft as I can impute any thing which might receive an higher accusation to Its ignorance, confusion or dulness (which it is least in any man's self-determining power to remedy) I rather chuse to state it upon this more innocent account. And that hath been the cause which hath swell'd this head beyond equality: my intention being to be briefer on those that follow. I say therefore, that it is out of charity that I here attribute Its indifference between the *modus* of God's prescience, and God's supposed predetermination to wicked actions to Its stupidity rather than any other article, or make a new one for it on purpose. The thing is thus.

Mr. Howe (Letter, pp. 47, 48, 49, 50), had, taking notice of an argument which some use from God's prescience for His predetermination, said, among other things, very piously, "This supposed indetermination of the humane will, in reference especially to wicked actions, is far from being culpable of inferring that God cannot therefore foreknow them," &c. And after, upon consideration what others had endeavoured towards explaining or perplexing this matter, modestly adds, "For my own part, I can more easily be satisfied to be ignorant of the *modus* or *medium* of His knowledge, while I am sure of the thing, &c. It cannot therefore be so affrightful a thing to suppose God's foreknowledge of the most contingent future actions, well to consist with our ignorance how He foreknows them, as that we should

think it necessary to overturn and mingle heaven and earth rather than admit it." But The Discourse, pp. 32, 33. signifies, and then by quoting some of these words would confirm it, that we need not be more solicitous, and are no more concerned to satisfy our selves of the *modus* of predetermination to sinful actions, so as to separate them from the sinfulness of them, (for to hold the conclusion is with It demonstration,) than about the *modus* of God's prescience of them. Which must argue (whatever else) a palpable shortness of discourse to think there is no odds betwixt a thing so plainly reveal'd in the Word of God as His prescience is, and so agreeable to all rational apprehension, and a notion so altogether unrevealed as this universal predetermination yet appears, and so contrary, if not to the whole scope and design of divine revelation, yet to all common understanding and genuine sense of right reason. But whensoever there shall be so clear proof made that there is such a thing as The Discourse's predetermination, as may soon be brought of prescience, when it shall be as duly stated among the divine attributes, then, and not till then, ought men to practise the same devout resignation of their reasoning about it, as Mr. How hath laudably done in that of prescience: but in the meantime it may be handled not as *causa Dei*, but *causa hominis*, it is lawful to plead against it, and not to pay men's belief, but to afford their charity to its abettors.

There was one called Antipheron, whose name therefore seems rather to have been given him by the people from a natural defect they observed in him than by his godfathers: he had a peculiar shortness of sight, but which turned him to account, and saved him the expense of sending to Malamocco

or Lambeth to the glasshouse. He needed not so much as contemplate himself in Polyphemus his mirrour, the water. He carried his looking-glass alwaies with him; the next air supplied all, and serv'd him not only to breath, but to see his face in, without any danger of staining or breaking it. A great convenience thus to be able every minute to blow himself a new looking-glass. But how happy were it, if, what the shortness of his sight, the dulness of men's minds could have the same effect, to object to them continually their own image, and make it unnecessary for others to represent them. Then might The Discourse also have excused me from this labour, and upon reflexion with itself, have discern'd its own unfitness and ignorance to manage this or any other controversie.

For want of such an immediate inspection on Its own defects, Its natural undistinctness seems to perceive faults in others, and, to find a mote in their eye, neglects the beam in Its own.—[St. Matthew vii. 3.] It overlooks so gross a practice as in its p. 47. to translate out of Strangius into English Doctor Twisse's argumentation about the same prescience of God of future contingencies, undertaking still to demonstrate, p. 46. (that is the word) that this foreknowledge depends upon the divine decree, while in the meantime It never gives us, though the book was in Its hand, Strangius his full and articulate answer to it in the same place, lest any man should know of it; but, to conceal Its own disability for any reply to it, challenges Mr. Howe to answer Doctor Twisse's irrefragable argument over again. But, p. 16., in Mr. Howe It can find two "unpardonable faults in a man of learning and ingenuity."

First, anticipation; for, he having, (Letter, p. 21.) said, "unless He determine (that is to say, for it can mean no less thing *impel*,") that is the word-accused, "the creature to do it:" this is made so hainous, that I thought at first it had been the anticipation of the revenue, but, when all comes to all, I see it is nothing but the explaining a word of less obvious import by another more obvious: and nothing is more usual in The Discourse it self, and among men of learning. And The Discourse it self adds here in the same minute "impelling, i. e. compelling (for that is Mr. Howe's sense of the term, as will appear ere long.)" which is methinks as early, and a more perverse anticipation than Mr. Howe is unpardonable for, by how much It does by these last words own that impel, unless It signify compel, is allowable, but affirms that in Mr. Howe's sense it is compel, as will appear ere long, which is moreover false, and therefore I will be so subtle as to take out my pardon in time for calling this anticipation; for indeed that which neither is, nor ever can appear, ere long or short (as for Mr. Howe to mean compel) cannot be anticipated.

But the second unpardonable fault of Mr. Howe's is his "immodest begging the question;" and wherein? "I may well call it so," (quoth The Discourse), "because he knows we neither can nor will grant his argument without ruining our hypothesis." This is all the proof assigned of his begging the question. I do indeed confess that Mr. Howe was much to blame in urging an argument to the ruine of their precious hypothesis; but I think it falls not under that predicament of begging, though this does of robbing the question; and however his crime is more excusable, because, in common probability, Mr. Howe, having

writ his Letter and Postscript before The Discourse replied to him, might be ignorant that it was Its dear hypothesis. For my part I take the very first title of the book, "De Causa Dei," to be more notoriously guilty both of anticipation and begging the question, than that Mr. Howe could have anything upon either account herein justly imputed or objected to him.

The third article, of which I shall catalogue some, it being endless to enumerate all the instances.

Its many strange falsifications and fictions of what Mr. Howe hath not said, and then discoursing of them as if they were said.

As for a first instance. In Its Epistle, p. 10. Mr. Howe is accused of having "denyed God's immediate concurrence to all actions," because, Letter, p. 36. he saies, (not as The Discourse cites it, "it sufficiently salves," but) "it may well be thought sufficiently to salve the rights ('and priviledges,' omitted) of the First Cause, that no action can be done but by a power derived from it, which, in reference to forbidden actions, intelligent creatures may use or not use as they please." Is anything said here that implies any denial of immediate concurrence? Why may not that power derived be immediate to the action? Is anything said to the contrary, or which accords not well with what is pretended to be said *ex opposito*? But to make this accusation good It conceals another passage in the very same paragraph: "Besides that it seems infinitely to detract from the perfection of the ever-blessed God, to affirm He was not able to make a creature of such a nature, as, being continually sustained by Him, and supplied with power every moment suitable to its nature, should be incapable of acting, unless whatsoever He thus enables He determine it to do also." So that the charge is

founded meerly on Mr. Howe's not having used the express word 'immediate' concurrence in that sentence, and in concealing disingenuously what he had expressed, and what fully includes 'immediate concurrence' in the sense that he afterwards asserts and explains it, Postscr. p. 23. to be both *immediatione virtutis*, and *suppositi* to "all actions, though not determinative to wicked actions." Although it would be something ridiculous to say, that The Discourse read one part of this with Its eyes shut, and the other part with Its eyes open; yet 'tis more false that Mr. Howe did there, or any where else, deny God's immediate concurrence; and 'tis the best excuse of which this (otherwise forgery) is capable.

Second instance. It feigns in the same p. 10. that Mr. Howe hath, (Postscr. p. 39.) affirm'd predetermination to all actions." It were strange if he should, but it is pretended to be proved by these his words; "The active providence of God about all the actions of men, consists not meerly in giving them the natural powers whereby they can work of themselves, but in a real influence upon those powers." This is (to speak the most softly, and indeed more softly than the thing will admit) an unkind interpretation, after what Mr. Howe hath been quoted to say in my former instance: but especially, if The Discourse can or would be pleased to consider (after Its invidious and deceitful generality in citing Letter, from p. 32. to 50. and the Postscript, without assigning one word) that Mr. Howe's asserting here of God's real influence upon men's natural powers does not at all imply that predetermination, which he there all along opposes. For can there be no influence but such as is determining? He hath shown there both may be and is. How often is there

such influence by the operation of common grace as doth not determine ?

Third instance. In the same p. 10. because Mr. Howe hath (Letter, p. 32.) said, "Some actions of the creatures are in themselves most malignantly wicked," and (Letter, p. 46.) "intrinsecally evil:" therefore It, falsely enough, reproaches him to have by these words "denied that all actions have in them a natural goodness." Whereas Mr. Howe here speaks of actions as they are morally evil or wicked, that is, as specified by direction to an undue object. Is not such a specifying direction *intrinsecal* ? Is not the specification of everything intrinsecal to it ? And so are not such actions truly said to be evil in themselves which so specified can by no circumstances be made good ? But Postscr. p. 36. (which is produced to argue him of inconsistency) he owns that "there is not any action so sinful, but hath some natural good as the substrate matter thereof," abstractly and physically considered, and yet so they can never be produced by God nor man, but concreted with their individuating circumstance ; nor doth the affirming the one infer the denial of the other. If it did, The Discourse itself hath, done the same thing, p. 72. "Thus some actions are said to be in themselves evil, when they are evil in regard of their object, &c. Thus the hatred of God and adultery are in themselves evil," &c. But I suppose 'twould judge it hard-dealing to say that It denies (though it be an hard saying to affirm) that natural good which is the substrate matter thereof, and which alwaies at a dead lift It hath recourse to.

Fourth instance. From Mr. Howe's having (Letter, p. 33.) said, "Nothing is more apparently a simple and most strictly natural impossibility, than to do an

action whereto the agent is determined by an infinite power ;” It, (Epist. p. 11,) hath the ridiculous grossness to charge Mr. Howe with there affirming that predetermination forces the will ; as if nothing could make a thing naturally impossible to a man but force. He cannot make a new sun ; but what force hinders him ? This is indeed force, or rather fraud ; for otherwise it is impossible to deduce it. But whether of them be used against a chosen adversary, makes it seems no scruple in a conscience diverted with disputation.

Another instance. It calumniates Mr. Howe, p. 87. to have “asserted the positivity of sin,” and there calls it, “the foundation of his hypothesis,” proceeding with great pains to disprove it, “borrows one argument,” to load him with ; “from the most learned Dr. Barlow, the now renowned bishop of Lincoln ;” urges the minor, then the major ; and draws up a whole process, as if it were in the Spiritual Court, against him, and T. D. were become his chancellor. There is none in England, nor especially Mr. Howe, as I imagine, but would reverence the authority of that excellent person in all points of learning or controversy. But The Discourse is too bold to make use of his power without his commission, in a case where Mr. Howe hath not said one word to affirm such positivity.

A further instance. With the same truth, that is, falshood, It feigns, and that often, that Mr. Howe, by God’s having irresistible influence upon the will, means “God’s forcing of the will unto the most wicked actions.” As for example, p. 39. from Mr. Howe’s, p. 40. “Irresistibly, that is in his sense forcibly.” Whereas Mr. Howe there objects to his adversaries, their holding such an irresistible deter-

mination of the will, but forcing of it nowhere. Yet at what expense of learning, and with how much loss of ink and ingenuity does The Discourse argue that the will cannot be forc'd! which Mr. Howe, having denied that irresistible influence, must of necessity disown for its further absurdity, had he thought his adversaries guilty of it. But he appears to me to have been far from imagining it of them, nor could any but The Discourse have imputed it to him as his sense, that God does by force whatsoever He does irresistibly. What law of reason is there, or how can The Discourse justify such a falsification but by custom?

If that shall be a sufficient plea, It will never want instances further to warrant the practice. As in this following (forgery I may not call it, having to do with such exactness, but) rasure. Mr. Howe, having been upon the argument of the will of God concerning those that perish, had (Letter, p. 45) said, "The resolve of the divine will in this matter, was not concerning the event," what he shall do, (i. e. abstractly and singly, as these next following words shew) "but concerning his duty what he should, and concerning the connexion between his duty and his happiness." Hereupon what does mean The Discourse? p. 116. It refers to those words of his p. 112. and recites a further passage of his Letter (pp. 115-116) to argue them of repugnancy these to the former, but to that purpose conceals Mr. Howe's last clause, "but concerning his *duty* what he should, and concerning his *connexion* between his duty and his happiness," which being taken in, as it ought, there could have been no pretence of inconsistency. And it adds, that Mr. Howe's answer (Letter p. 116) "that 'imperfection is no way imputable to the

divine will merely for not effecting every thing whereto it may have a real propensity,' is no answer to the objection:" upon this strange pretence, that "a real propensity of will is no will," as if it were a thing impossible that propensity should be either habitual or actual.

So also for continual instance. The Discourse, pp. 118. 119, feigns a question to have been proposed by Mr. Howe, "Whether it be fitting for God efficaciously to overpower all men into a compliance with the overtures He makes to them in common:" and then It creates also an answer for him: "It is not fit for God to overpower men without making any overtures to them at all;" and, to make a song of three parts, judiciously decides: "the answer is not fitted to the question." I must confess that upon some former experiments I doubted of the rectitude of Its judgment, but I was not wary enough to suspect a falshood, which must be so notorious, as that there should be no such question or answer. But in good truth none there is that I can find of Mr. Howe's mark: the question no where in terms, but the answer neither in terms nor sense, nor anything like it. So that The Discourse is not to be allowed in any Court either as a competent judge or a legal witness, but may deserve to be tryed for a criminal before any logick-tribunal. Nor needs there any other evidence against It for conviction, than those very words of Mr. Howe, that It there hath cited: "Grace sometimes shews itself in preventing exertions, and in working so heroically as none have beforehand [in the neglect of its ordinary method] any reason to expect," Letter, p. 138. Now look back upon the supposititious answer, "to whom God makes no overtures at all:" then compare Mr. Howe's

words, "in the neglect of its ordinary methods;" and now let any man judge of the honesty of such an adversary. For [how] can they be said to neglect God's ordinary methods to whom He makes no overtures at all? Nor is the second scheme of Its question and answer which immediately follows any whit better, but guilty of as perfect forgery as the first, and so ill contriv'd, that it neither agrees with the former, nor with the Book, though pretending to be a true copy.

And an instance it is of the same fraud to feign, pp. 119, 120, that Mr. Howe in his Letter hath, abstractly from the more fit course that God hath taken, "determin'd the unfitness of God's giving grace and salvation to all men."

All that Mr. Howe hath said therein amounts only to assert the course which is not taken to be less fit, and that God doth, from the perfect rectitude of His own nature, take that course that was to be taken most wisely, and do that which was most congruous and fit to be done, Letter, p. 149. What can better become us than to judge so of the waies that God hath pitched upon, and wherein we have God's own choice to precede and be a guide to our judgment?

I shall conclude this article with Its quotation, p. 44. out of Dr. Manton's Comment on James i. 13. p. 101, as if that learned divine had affirmed the disputed predetermination by those words. "Many who grant prescience, deny preordination," (viz. quoth The Discourse, the decree whereof predetermination is the execution, so I understand him,) "lest they should make God the Author of sin;" and It forsooth understands him so, but I hope without any obligation to better and sincerer judgments. For what one word is there here that

can imply that preordination to be executed by the way of predetermination? It is no wonder if Mr. Howe be not secure while yet living, when those that are at rest cannot escape so notorious a practice. This is the same as to cut off a dead man's hand to subscribe with it to a forgery. There needed no less it seems, than Doctor Manton's good name, which is like a precious ointment, to give a better odour to those putrid suggestions and expressions of "Protestantism grown of late weary of it self." &c., bestowed on Mr. Howe on this occasion. And yet (for it made me curious) there are witnesses above exception that also Doctor Manton consented with Mr. Howe on this point, and exprest a great sense of the danger of the contrary opinion. And whensoever The Discourse signifies Its doubt of it, I will undertake to make out their evidence.

The fourth article that naturally succeeds the former falsifications.

Its vain but most injurious attempts to pervert what Mr. Howe hath said.

As for a first instance, where, p. 45, It represents Mr. Howe's words, (Letter, pp. 29, 30.) to imply "an affirmation of a foreknowledge of Christ's death antecedent to God's decree concerning it." The words are these, which It ushers in with ("Let us hear, if our patience can bear this exercise, whether Mr. Howe's gloss upon Acts iv. 28. doth not corrupt the text: 'If they had known, they would not have crucified the Lord of glory.'") That is, "God foreseeing wicked hands would be prompt and ready for this tragick enterprize, His sovereign power, and wise counsel concurred with His foreknowledge, so only and not with less latitude, to define or determine the bounds and limits of that malignity than to let it

proceed unto this execution." What common sense or ordinary ingenuity could have found less in these words than that Mr. Howe doth therein at least profess the foreknowledge and the decree to have been *simul et semel*, which is far from affirming the foreknowledge to be antecedent? But Mr. Howe had, moreover, immediately before these words cited, said, "It was a thing which God's hand and counsel had determined before to be done." But this The Discourse conceals, lest Itself should be detected of such a wilful perversion, and the better to make Doctor Twisse's censure (which otherwise had been nothing to the business) take place upon Mr. Howe, p. 46. "Those Jesuitical dictates of the foreseen determination of the humane will before God's decree, are not the dictates of divines disputing but dreaming." There was not any colour in Mr. Howe's words for any such imputation; though I doubt not that Mr. Howe believes God's decree in this case to be but suitable to that agency which he everywhere supposes Him to have in things of that nature.

A second instance of the same dealing is upon Mr. Howe's assertion, Postsc. p. 28. of God's immediate concurrence to all actions of His creatures. For, p. 55. thence It pretends that it follows, and that Mr. Howe implies that "God affords men a leading concurrence to actions downright evil." And yet Mr. Howe had but (Postsc. p. 29.) explain'd and limited that concession, saying, "The concurrence or influence, which I deny not to be immediate to any actions, I only deny to be determinative as to those which are wicked." Agreeably to what he saith also, Postsc. p. 45. But that limitation The Discourse takes not any notice of, pretending not to understand

a difference between inducing men to actions which God will reward, and to those for which He will ruin them. And upon this presumption It falls into the usual fit of boasting vaingloriously over Mr. Howe. For where perversion may go for ingenuity, insolence may also pass for reason.

I cannot but observe also how in pursuit of this subject, because Mr. Howe, Postsc. p. 35. cited Luke vi. 9. with Hosea xiii. 9. to show the difference, and how much more agreeable it was to the nature of God to induce men by determinative influence to imperfectly good actions which yet lead to salvation and blessedness, than to such as are downright evil, and tend to their ruin; It hereupon, p. 58. frames a chain of syllogistical argumentations, all of Its own devising, which yet It hath the face to father upon Mr. Howe. I call it the rather a *chain*, because I remember to have read of one who had so singular a faculty of linking one lye artificially upon another, that they called him at Rome by a new nickname *Catena*: and the dexterity of The Discourse, in almost as sinister a quality, might pretend to the same denomination. The Samoides wear guts about their necks, but swallow them at last down their throats, the same natural links serving them first for ornament, and then for nutriment: and were The Discourse obliged to eat Its own words, and feed upon Its own chain of syllogisms, 'twere a diet, though slender and unclean, yet fit enough for a barbarian. There is nothing can be more savage and inhumane, than to personate Mr. Howe here arguing, "If it be unlawful for man to destroy life, then it is unlawful to God." And then, as if it were a formed dispute, and wherein Mr. Howe maintain'd the affirmative, It denies the antecedent, the consequent. and the con-

nexion of Its own (not, as is pretended, Mr. Howe's) enthymeme, and laboriously proceeds to disprove the whole argument thorow the several members. Let but any man have recourse to that place of the Postscr. p. 35. and consider whether there be any colour thence to suppose that Mr. Howe intended there, or gave any occasion for such arguing; and whether all the blasphemies or heresies that ever were invented, might not be imputed to him with as much reason. I find my self so concern'd hereat (not in behalf of Mr. Howe, but of all common morality among mankind) that I think fit to repress my self, and rather leave the crime to any reader's, or to The Discourse's own censure; for, notwithstanding this and all Its other errours, I conceive It yet to have some intervals both of understanding and conscience.

But a most undecent thing it was for It to trifle in a matter so serious, and it had been far more becoming to have given a clear account of Its own belief in this point, than to have forged arguments for others, create shadows for It self to sport with, and to act in one personage the cause, the judge, the witness, the plaintiff, and the defendant. After all those to and fros, up and downs of so many tedious pages that It obliges us to, if we will go along with it thorow this particular, might I not in recompence crave leave to be solemnly and soberly answered upon two or three questions arising upon this debate for my own better information? First, whether It do not conscientiously believe that God doth punish men for doing actions which in such and such circumstances He hath forbidden them to do? Next, whether it be not manifest that according to Its opinion God must determine men to those actions in

those circumstances, that is in the same circumstances wherein they are done? And lastly, whether that determining influence can be withstood? If It once affirm all these, as I see no tolerable evasion in endeavour'd but that It holds them all *pro confesso*, how can It with all Its logick and metaphysicks extricate It self from maintaining that absurdity that God ruines men for what He hath induc'd them to, that is not simply to destroy life (as It vainly strives to shift off the business), but to destroy it upon such terms? And then how frivolous will all those answers, p. 55. and so forward appear to Mr. Howe's argument mention'd on a former occasion, Postser. p. 33. to 34.: "We our selves can in a remoter kind concur to the actions of others: yet it doth not follow that because we may afford our leading concurrence to actions imperfectly good, that therefore we may afford them to those that are downright evil; because to prayer, therefore to cursing and swearing, and then ruine men for the actions we have induced them to: you'll say, God may rather, but sure He can much less do so than you." Now The Discourse calls this (and would blame it upon that account, as comparing God and the creature) Mr. Howe's argument *a pari*; but it is, methinks, *a fortiori*, and therefore more reverent. If a well natur'd man would not do so, it is much more disagreeable to God's nature.

In all these things Mr. Howe (and 'tis that makes me like him the better) declares his own sense plainly, however, while the other never speaks out, unless to give ill words, and seems to search not for the truth, but meerly for contention.

The last evidence of this article shall be where It, p. 111. takes occasion to say, Mr. Howe, p. 106. "professes his dislike of the common distinction of

voluntas beneplaciti et signi, in this present case" [viz. to explain how God wills the salvation of all, and yet only of some] "under which such as coined, and those that have much used it, have only rather (I doubt not) concealed a good meaning, than expressed an ill one," Thus far it quotes Mr. Howe, but there stops and saith, "the rest is not worth the trouble of transcribing;" but I therefore suspect the more that it is worth it, and out of some cunning fetch omitted, and shall the rather take that trouble upon me. "It seems, I confess, by its more obvious aspect, too much to countenance that ignominious slander, which prophane and atheistical dispositions would fasten upon God and the course of His procedure toward men, &c., as though He only intended to seem willing of what He really was not; that there was an appearance to which nothing did *subesse*. And then why is the latter call'd *voluntas*, unless the meaning be, he did only will the sign, which is false and impious," &c. But upon the former quotation out of Mr. Howe, wherein he only excepts against the distinction "in the present case," and signifies that a good meaning was intended by it; The Discourse, p. 116. represents him as meaning the same thing with Dr. Twisse, (who also notes the impropriety of the latter member *voluntas signi*, as improperly called a will, and only signifying man's duty,) and "blaming himself yet in blaming him:" when Mr. Howe had in plain words approved the meaning of the distinction. The gentlest imagination a man can frame to himself hereof, is that its own brain was perverted before Mr. Howe's intention.

The fifth article is :


Its odious insinuations concerning what It hath no colour to object or except against.

Of this I shall give three instances in one paragraph. T. D., pp. 103, 104, where It pretends first to be "at a strange loss for an antecedent to a relative in Mr. Howe's Letter, p. 67, 'Neither yet was it necessary that effectual care should be taken *they* should actually reach all, and be applied to every individual person.'" The loss is indeed a strange one, and I condole it. For It hath herein suffered great damage of eyesight, understanding, memory, and ingenuity,—very sensible disasters, and with great difficulty to be repaired. Mr. Howe's immediate words in the foregoing period were, "that the divine edicts should be of an universal tenor as they are, the matter of them being of universal concernment, and equally suitable to the common case of all men." Now add to these words as it follows in that place, "neither yet was it necessary they should actually reach all," and then say whether any man else would not have seen that the *they* here was relative to the divine edicts: beside that the whole tract of the foregoing argument leads and refers continually to them. But then, when after a long loss It hath, casting about even to Postsc. pp. 35 and 40, "out of love to Mr. Howe's person and the truth," hit it at last to be the divine edicts "of which possibly Mr. Howe meant it," yet then It suggests from those words of his "neither yet was it necessary," (that is, to the purpose Mr. Howe was speaking of, the vindicating of God's wisdom and sincerity, as any sober reader will easily see) as if they were thought not at all necessary. If this be candour, what is blackness? It is as much as to say, that, unless it be necessary for the vindication of

God's wisdom and sincerity to provide that every man should have a Bible and read it, it is no way necessary for man's salvation.

The second instance in the same paragraph is to quote Mr. Howe's Letter, p. 69, "And thus how easily, and even *naturally*, (by messengers running from nation to nation, some to communicate, others to enquire after the tidings of the gospel,) would the gospel soon have spread itself through the world;" and hereupon to suggest as if Mr. Howe thought "the seeds of the gospel were in men by nature." Unless understanding and wilful ignorance be the same thing, no man could have avoided the sense of the word *naturally* here, to be, easily, and of course. But if that term had been intended in the strict sense (though the mollifying of it by that particle, *even*, shows it was not), how could the inquiry after a thing new, and said to be of common concernment, [but] be natural, although the thing itself were not?

And the third is: whereas Mr. Howe had, Letter, pp. 75, 76, 77, enumerated many instances of God's clemency and bounty to men in general, and added that, "they might by these understand God to have favourable propensions towards them; and that though they have offended Him, he is not their implacable enemy, and might by His goodness be led to repentance," that hereupon The Discourse, p. 104, having nothing to allege against any particular of what is there said, brings in Mr. John Goodwin to have writ somewhat of the like import in his "Pagan's Debt and Dowry," and the like quotations of it afterwards from Mr. Hoard, which is all for spight, but nothing to the purpose. Could It have laid down an antithesis to anything that Mr. Howe here said, 'tis probable It would



have gone that way to work, and not have used this pagan invention of baiting Mr. Howe in the skins of others ; or daubing him over with pitch to serve for torch-light, and put out the light of the gospel. But 'tis more probable It would have proceeded both waies ; for Its zeal for the truth seems not greater than Its animosity against Mr. Howe, whencesoever it arises. But It durst not adventure to say that Mr. Howe hath made Mr. John Goodwin's ill use of this notion. Had there been any such thing The Discourse seems not in humour to have passt it over, and that calumnious figure of *meliora spero*, hoping the best of him, but suggesting the worst, would have been changed to a plain accusation. If It would have dealt fairly, here was the proper place to have spoken out, and have told us distinctly Its own opinion in so weighty a matter. Does It know what God (though most unobliged) might do to furnish such with what might be sufficient, if they seriously desired such mercy at His hands ? Will It think Itself bound to tear Rom. ii. 4. out of Its Bible because John Goodwin hath cited it ? Or, will it adventure to be the heathens' compurgator at the day of judgment, that they have no more considered the tendency of the divine goodness ?

These indeed would have been worthy achievements, and proper to one of so great enterprise ; but to throw upon Mr. Howe an undeserved obloquy of other men's names in this manner, how base a thing was it ! considering besides how Its own name (though hitherto studiously concealed) might, in the vicissitude of human affairs, serve men hereafter for a more infamous quotation.

I shall add no more than p. 108, Its citing Mr. Howe's Letter, p. 89, 90, "That which God's declar-

ations do amount to is, &c., that, if they which finally perish, neglect to attend to those external discoveries of the Word, &c., they are not to expect He should overpower them by a strong hand, and save them against the continual disinclination of their own wills ;” upon which It saith, “I am not able to make sense of the last words, for I understand not what overcoming by a strong hand (in a sinner’s case) God can make use of that leaves the will under disinclination to salvation.” What reason or occasion do Mr. Howe’s words give for making this puzzle ? Could It not understand that some men are so unreasonable as to expect salvation, while yet at the same time they are dissaffected to the means of it ? And that some, because they dislike the ordinary means, please themselves with a hope that God will at last cast use some extraordinary, to overcome that disaffection ?

The sixth article.

*Its most unseemly and insolent bozstings and self-applauses
upon no occasion.*

Yet therefore the more frequent, as his “killing Mr. Howe with his own weapon,” p. 26, in Its argument about Mr. Howe’s two concessions, the vanity whereof as to the first I have before noted : and now as to what It brags of against the second as a “triumphant evidence,” I shall no less show It’s impertinency. The argument is Its own, p. 30, “If it be the indetermination of the powers to individual actions that makes an excitation of them, to one rather than to another, necessary.” Stay here: It takes this for granted, and as It is in Itself destitute of strength, so It leaves it very unkindly without any proof or assistance to shift as well as it can. Whereas It knows that ’tis said on the opposite part, “That it

is not indetermination merely (which the self-determining power of the will can remove) but aversion to good actions (which gracious habits do lessen, but not remove) that makes God's holy determining influence necessary." Now let It go on, "and the possibility of action contained in the power that makes the reducing of that possibility to action no less necessary to good actions." If there be any sense in this, it is very recondite, and would require a spirit that can discover hidden treasure. Can possibility of action make action necessary? It must be as false as it is true, that an argument can be drawn from power to act, affirmatively. Indeed, should It have said, where there is only a possibility of action, that possibility must be reduced to action, before there can be any action, it were true but then it is one of these things that are *nimis vera*, and which it is ridiculous to put into any proposition, much more where it is to no purpose, as here it is manifestly to none: for we are still left as uncertain, as if no such thing had been said, what is it that must reduce that possibility to action. But that it should be added, "no less necessary to good actions," is beyond the power of witchcraft to understand what It should mean here. Doth It pretend to be discoursing with any one that thought determination to good actions less necessary? I thought Its present part was to oppose one that said it was more necessary. And yet this most insignificant scheme of discourse is shut up with a *quod erat demonstrandum*, and with the phantasmagoria of claiming to it evidence equal to what the apostle's words carry, Rom. xi. 36. For it was to those words that Mr. Howe's Letter, p. 62. gave those "lofty epithets" of "triumphant evidence" which The Discourse cavils at, and borrows, with no

mind to restore them, to adorn the street pageantry of this pitiful argument.

Another instance may be Its jovial rant, p. 37. "What is now become of Mr. Howe's thin sophistry, and collusive ambiguity?" &c. It is necessary to read upon this occasion from Its p. 32, l. 12. at least to p. 37. l. 14. for it is too long to insert here such a parcel of stuff, but there you may have it. Its business here is to defend the predeterminers' opinion against the charge of God's necessitating men to sin, and of attempting to alleviate it by God's being above Law, but man under it. Let me conjure any reader by the most potent charms of perswasion, by all that is ridiculous in Its whole book, or in mine, but to peruse at leisure how miserably those points are there along managed. It owns at first that it is "an hard province to answer to all the objections," then softens it, as fire mollifies clay, and at last, after having confessed and begged, comes off with that glorious exaltation over Mr. Howe's thin sophistry. It were needless to exemplifie all the like passages, where it arrogates commendation to itself beyond what any friend, and vilifies Mr. Howe below what any other enemy, would offer at, both equally undeserved.

The seventh article.

Its very gross absurdities, self-contradictions, and inconsistencies, to which may be added diverse unsafe expressions, not a little reflecting on God and religion.

As first, p. 18. It discourses concerning the security of good angels by God's determining influence, which no man that I know will quarrel for, and by which I doubt not It supposes their immutability, but, p. 20. speaking of man, It saith, that "God made him mutable (and how could He do otherwise,

unless He should have made him a God ?)" What then? doth It conceive that the good angels are gods? Suchlike was Its absurdity, p. 27. of the necessity of predetermination, because God's immediate concurrence could not determine Adam's will. Than which, what can be more notorious? the controversie being, Whether God doth determine men to wicked actions, but Its argument to this effect, that, if God do not determine men to such wicked actions by concurrence, He doth it, as elsewhere It calls it, by pre-course. Whereas, It should have known the thing denied by Mr. Howe to be, that God doth by efficacious influence determine to them at all. And so Its argumentation there signifies only that if God do not determine to them, He doth determine to them.

A third instance is where, p. 40. Mr. Howe having, (Letter, pp. 17. 47.), said that the "argument from the pretended impossibility of God's foreknowing sinful actions, if He did not determine the agent to them, will not infer, that if He determine not to them, He cannot foreknow them, but only that we are left ignorant of the way." It collects thence, p. 41. (and "thinks Mr. Howe hath much overshot himself") "that he universally denies our knowledge of the way how God foretells future contingencies." Whereas Mr. Howe, Letter, p. 35. stated their argument in express words, "that it were otherwise impossible God should foreknow the sinful actions of men," and here, 47. only saith, "the argument infers so much and no more," as to "wicked actions," yet It makes this an universal denial as to all actions. Hereby it is easie to judge, which of the two is the better archer, or came nearer the mark; which shot home, and which over.

That for a fourth is what you please to call it, p. 70. but a pretty innocent thing of the like nature. "Irresistible imports;" It saith, "a relation of the action of the agent to some resistance," which is pleasant, by how much impossible to imagine how that which cannot be resisted imports that which is resisted.

But this p. 76. is a most refined absurdity, while in the same place it taunts Mr. Howe for "gratifying his own unscholastick humour. *Something* is said to be impossible respectively, as if a man will fly *that* he should have wings." But this among duller men hath hitherto been thought an instance of what is quite contrary, to wit, of hypothetical necessity. And if It should find It self hereafter obliged to fly from Its adversary, I suppose that it would think a pair of wings to be pertinent and highly convenient, if not necessary.

I have before upon occasion, and in passing, noted how he undertakes to prove that there are no actions of free agents evil in themselves, when nevertheless it had, p. 72. affirmed the hatred of God and adultery to be in themselves evil.

Such is that too elsewhere touched, p. 62. where It cites Mr. Howe (Postsc. p. 36.) intimating that some actions are evil *quoad substantiam*, that is, morally evil or wicked; and It would have it to be a contradiction to own that any such have natural good in them. How wisely! As if it were not possible for the same action to be morally evil, and naturally good. Or did It never hear of the substance of an act in the moral sense? And doth not a forbidden action use to be called evil in the substance of it? When, if the action be not forbidden, but commanded, and only the undue manner or end

forbidden, as in Its own substance of almsgiving for vainglory, it is said to be good, *quoad substantiam* ? It is to be wondred that It summoned not here Its logick to prove that an action hath no substance ; but that would have spoiled Its learned note that follows, where Mr. Howe, (Postsc. p. 36.) to the question, "Is there any action so sinful, that hath not some natural good as the substrate matter thereof ?" answers, "True, and what, shall it therefore be inferred, that God must by a determinative influence produce every such action, whatsoever reason there be against it ? One might better argue thence the necessity of His producing every hour a new world, in which there would be a great deal more of positive entity, and natural goodness." It hereupon undertakes, p. 65. to prove that there is "as much entity and natural goodness in a sinful action, as there would be in myriads of worlds, should God create every hour a new world ;" and saith, that "to deny this were unworthy a philosopher : " and Its proof is, "If *substantia non recipit magis et minus* or if *ens et bonum sit convertibile*, then an action hath as much entity as a world."

But how much doth It reflect upon God and that religious sense which we ought to cherish of Him, p. 27. when It makes God to have determined innocent Adam's will to the choice of eating the fruit that was forbidden him ? This seem'd so horrid at first, that It self startles a little at it, interposing in a parenthesis, "(suppose before the prohibition past upon it)," and yet, because Its cause required no less, and appetite gathers with eating, It takes courage afterward to assert God's predetermination of Adam's will to the act of eating, which was not till after the prohibition : and to "illustrate" (as it

pretends) so black a thing, it parallels God's moving him to that act rather than to another, "with a writing-master's directing his scholar's hand." If the cause be not to be defended upon better terms than so, what Christian but would rather wish he had never known writing-master, than to subscribe such an opinion; and that God should make an innocent creature in this manner to do a forbidden act, for which so dreadful a vengeance was to insue upon him and his posterity?

No less pregnant with impious absurdity is it to assert, pp. 29, 30. the equal necessity of predetermining influence to wicked actions as to good; and that dangerous insinuation, p. 19. that God's promises convey no right to them to whom they are made. For, "'tis a ruled case," It says, "in the Schools, that God cannot properly be said [to be] a debtor to His creatures;" and then adds of Its own, "no, not when He hath passed a promise to them," and pursues this so far as to say, "If He should (to suppose an impossibility)" which, considering what follows, had been therefore better omitted, "break His word, He would be but *mendax, non injustus*, and puts it too in English, "a lyer, not unjust." What dispensation have some men to speak at this rate, or what dangerous points do they run themselves upon, and their readers! I remember there is a picture before that "Ruler of the case" his book with this addition, "*bene scripsisti de me Dive Thoma.*" But let God be true and *just* to His word, and every man (that saith otherwise) a lyer.

For the last I shall only transcribe a few lines of Its idle harangue, p. 35. in which I know not whether the malice against Mr. Howe, or irreverence towards our Saviour do predominate thorow the

whole absurdity. "We might also observe upon his rhetorical amplifications of his argument, that he seems to be no ill-willer to transubstantiation: for if the natural notions of God's goodness should be infinitely dearer to us than our senses, I see not why the notion of God's sincerity that He means as He speaks, should not challenge a share in our endearments, and so why *hoc est corpus meum*, should not assure us that the bread is transubstantiated, though our senses, &c., join in a common testimony against it." Viciously and wantonly said, as if God, where-soever He speaks in a figure, were guilty of insincerity.

The eighth and last article against The Discourse shall be

The virulence of Its spirit.

Whereof one instance may suffice, p. 122. where, closing the book, It saith, "that Mr. Howe's doctrine opens a wide door for atheism, and reckons him, *by strong implication*, among those who acknowledge God in words, but deny Him in deed:" whereas, what is it that Mr. Howe hath denied, but "that God doth determine men by efficacious influence to those very actions which He forbids, and for which He will punish them?"

But I spare my hand, The Discourse all along boiling over, foaming, frothing, and casting forth the like expressions, which I refrain to enumerate, that I may not incur the fate of him that stirs the Indians' poison-pot, who when he falls down dead with the steam and stench, they then throw the doors open, and dip their arrows.

I should now therefore have concluded, were there not something yet in Its Prefatory Epistle so sordid,

that I reserved it for behind, as the most proper place it could be applied to. Nor shall I therein only have marshall'd It according to Its dignity, but do hope moreover, as the head of the viper is a specifick against its venom, so to find out a remedy against the book in the preface; wherein it shows so peculiar a malice and despiht to Mr. Howe, and insinuates the same to the reader, as requires a particular preservative. And, had I not already been at the pains of the foregoing remarks, here was, I see, a more compendious occasion, but sufficient to have administred me the same observations. For all the other faults that I have objected against the bulk of The Discourse might as easily have been discovered in Its preface, as a good physiognomist can by the moles in the face assign all those that are upon any other part of the body. But among them all Its superlative dulness is here especially the more manifest (as usually happens in such cases) by how much It endeavours most at acuteness and elegancy: so palpable, that even It self could not be wholly insensible of it; but pp. 3, 4. feelingly confesses both in Latine and English, that in reading Mr. Howe's Letter and Postscript, "*obstupuit steteruntque comæ*;" and a double "astonishment" under which It laboured. This doubtless it was, like the disaffections derived from the head to the nerves, which propagated that horrid stupidity that I have already noted thorow Its whole treatise. But that quality is here so exalted, (nature, it seems, having given It that torpor for a defence,) that in touching it thus lightly, I perceive a numness to strike up thorow my pen into my faculties, and shall therefore point at some particulars, rather than adventure to handle them.

Mr. Howe had in passing, (Postsc. p. 22) glanced upon an improper redundancy of words used by a former adversary, "The divine independent will of God;" as he might with good reason take notice of it, being as much sense as to have said the humane dependent will of man. But hereupon The Discourse, p. 9. having for revenge turn'd over his whole Letter and Postscript to find out the like absurdities, highly gratulates It self in three instances, but all of them curtail'd from the coherence to make for the purpose. One, (Letter, p. 47.) "In which sense how manifest it is that the perfect" (all this omitted) "rectitude of God's own holy gracious nature" ("is an eternal law to Him" omitted). The second, (Letter, p. 59.) "God satisfies Himself in Himself, and takes highest complacency in the perfect goodness congruity, and" (all this omitted) "rectitude of His own most holy will and way;" and for these Mr. Howe is arraigned upon a crime, by a Greek word of law called *pleonasme*. The third is "actions malignantly wicked" (which The Discourse saith is the same as "wickedly wicked,") Postscript, pp. 22 and 62. as It quotes, but is in Letter, 32; and here, It leaves out also the word *most*, which would have spoiled the exception taken against it; for what Mr. Howe there saith is, "even those actions that are in themselves *most* malignantly wicked." Are there not some actions, some men, more malignantly wicked than others? Or will The Discourse apply Its old end of Latine here—" *aliquando bonus dormitat Homerus*" to "Paulus," Rom. vii. 14. "sin, exceedingly sinful?" It was time, therefore, in all reason to conclude this exercise with saying, "But these are childish criminations, unfit to be bandied from hand to hand by sober persons;" owning Itself at once to

have been guilty herein of an intemperate, inept, and unmanly kind of procedure.

Neither can I pass by unregarded that new invention of rearing up pillars to men's infamy ; but which have sometimes,—and may now also,—be turned to the disgrace of the architect. It cuts out, pp. 10, 11 several lines here and there, out of the whole Letter and Postscript, to post them up in columns, and Mr. Howe upon them as a common notorious self-contradictor ; whereas, if any man will take the pains to restore those sentences to their first situation and coherence, (as I have formerly done,) there will not be found the least inconsistency in them. But if this practice be allowable, there is not any chapter in the Bible out of which It may not with the same integrity extract either blasphemy or nonsense ; though I am far from suspecting The Discourse of such an undertaking. For indeed It assigns the true reason, (and fit to be inscribed over the portico,) "*non est ingenii mei hosce nodos dissolvere*," and as faithfully translates it : I "have not the wit to untie these knots," which is now the third publick confession of Its stupidity in the Preface. Yet will I not do It the affront to ascribe it either to Its modesty, ingenuity, or self-conviction ; for It intended them doubtless all to the contrary. Only the same dulness, that first occasioned Its errors and mistakes, did likewise lead It to these ominous expressions, and like those that discern not the back from the edge, to wound Itself in cutting at the adversary.

Its dulness, therefore, or as it is expressed, p. 8. "the consciousness of Its own disabilities," being so oft attested under Its own hand, and to which, if necessary, It might have another thousand witnesses, I shall not further pall my reader on this subject, but

return rather from this digression to my first design of obviating that in the Preface, which hath all the marks upon it of malice, except the wit wherewith that vice is more usually accompanied. Of that the very title is an argument. "De Causa Dei, or a Vindication of the Common Doctrine of Protestant Divines concerning Predetermination, &c., from the Invidious Consequences with which it is burthened by Mr. John Howe, in a late Letter and Postscript of God's Prescience. By T. D." Who would have thought that T. D. should have become the defender of the faith, or that the cause of God were so forlorn, as to be reduced to the necessity of such a champion? It seems much rather to be the fallacy of "*non causa pro causa*," and usurped only the better to prepossess against Mr. Howe such readers as would be amused by the frontispiece. The cause of God! Turn, I beseech you, its whole book over, and show me anything of that decorum with which that should have been managed. What is there to be found of that gravity, humility, meekness, piety or charity requisite to so glorious a pretence? (graces wherewith God usually assists those that undertake His quarrel, and with which Mr. Howe on all occasions appears to be abundantly supplied.) But a perpetual eructation there is of humane passions, a vain ostentation of mistaken learning, and a causeless picking of controversie.

To that title, under which Mr. Howe is so injuriously proscribed, succeeds forsooth an Epistle Dedicatory, "To the Reverend Mr. John Howe, Author of the late Letter and Postscript of God's Prescience." An additional civility and compellation invented by The Discourse only for greater mockery. And a many fine words It bestows upon him at first, to misca

him presently with the more emphasis, praises the author, and then the book; but no otherwise than, as a person to be degraded is brought forth in publick attired in all his formalities, to be stripped of them again with further ignominy.

Nay, even Mr. Boyle himself cannot wholly escape Its commendation; which I do not object as if anything could be well said of him that is not due to his merit. But there are a kind of sorcerers that praise where they intend to do most mischief. And the occasion, the place, the manner, the person that gives the commendation make alwaies a difference, and cause a great alteration in that matter. Nor is it less here. For, Mr. Howe having taken the pen on this subject, as The Discourse also observes, upon that honourable gentleman's command, the officious mentioning of Mr. Boyle, p. 1. seems as if it had a mind to try his mettle; or at least would reproach him for having employed one so unfit for the service, and that was to be so shamefully (or rather shamelessly) treated for his performance.

But the sum of all Its malice, whereby It endeavours to outlaw Mr. Howe, not only from Mr. Boyle's patronage, but from all Protestant protection, is to represent him under a Popish vizard. As, p. 2. "Old Popish arguments drest up *a-la-mode*." "An averment of the old Popish calumny." "An affidavit of a pontifical accusation." "Trampling (p. 4.) on the venerable dust which was sometimes animated by truly heroick souls, and bore the names Zuinglius, Calvin, Beza, Perkins, Pemble, Twisse, Davenent, Ames," &c. Then p. 12. still objects to him the opinion of Durandus, though Mr. Howe had in his postscript so fully vindicated himself against it, that his first accuser hath let it fall out of perfect ingenuity: draws "a

parallel between his and the Papists' arguments against predetermination :” and, p. 13, erects another pair of columns to that purpose, betwixt which Mr. Howe is to look as through a pillary. After this, p. 14. saith, “the point under debate between It and Mr. Howe, is a stated controversy between the Papists and Protestants.” “Gives It self a little pleasure mixed with disdain,” that because there was no smith to be found throughout all the land of Israel, he was fain to go down to the Philistines to sharpen his ax and his mattock, 1. Sam. xiii. 19, 20. “Imitates Bradwardin’s piety, therefore intituling Its book *de Causa Dei*, the cause of God being that which It designs to secure from the impetuous assaults of its adversaries, among which it is heartily sorry Mr. Howe should be number’d as to this instance. This kind of proceeding does argue rather the strength of malice, than of the cause. For although we live under a rationall jealousie alwaies of Popery, yet whatsoever is said by any author of that persuasiou, is not forthwith therefore to be clamorously rejected. Have not there constantly been among them, men fit to be owned for holy life, good sense, good learning? And in many points we agree with them, and shall in all, whensoever our eyes shall be shut, or theirs shall be opened. The Discourse had indeed done something to the purpose, could it have shown the doctrine of predetermination to be one of those discriminating causes upon which we have made a separation from that church, that it is an article of faith in which our creeds differ, and that it were a fit test to be imposed upon them in order to their speedy conviction.

Which last, if It can bring about for them, so that they may be acquitted upon renouncing this doctrine imputed to them, (instead of the transubstantiation

which Mr. Howe, too, escaped so narrowly,) I presume they would, notwithstanding all the popery, take it for an high obligation. For, indeed, whereas The Discourse affirms this of predetermination to be "a stated controversy betwixt the Papists and the Protestants;" the Papists against the Protestants for it; there is not through Its whole book, a more notorious falshood. For this debate arose first among the Papists, some of them being of one, others of the contrary opinion; so that the controversie was stated betwixt themselves. But that which is now T. D.'s was first the Dominican doctrine, and I wonder therefore the less if It continue herein the Dominican spirit: since, and from that original, the same argument hath indeed been also diffused among the Protestants, and they likewise have differed about it with one another; but it was never taken, in holding it either way, to be the Protestant character. The predeterminative concurrence is not to be found in any Confession of the several Reformed Churches; but this matter hath been left entire to every man's best judgment, and one party is as much Papist in it as the other. What two men of equal capacity can argue against predetermination, but they must have the same apprehensions in some measure, in matters so obvious? and it ought not to be improved to either's prejudice, no more than for two to speak the same words in discoursing of one subject. Charron, whose wisdom, p. 1; Bradwardine, whose piety, p. 14; and especially Cæsar Borgia, whose chalk, p. 15, T. D. makes use of, were none of the best Protestants: and yet I am far from taxing It therefore of Popery, "or giving myself a little pleasure mixed with disdain," that it was fain to go down to them to sharpen Its hoe or Its mattock.

Let It rather solace It self in that lordly posture of mind ; nor will I envy It, especially, seeing to take that satisfaction in a thing which It makes so criminous, is the only joy of which I think the evil spirits are capable.

And as to Its saying, p. 2. "that Mr. Howe avers the old popish calumny, that by the Protestant doctrine God is made the author of sin ;" and, p. 4. "that he tramples upon the venerable dust, &c. of Zuinglius, Calvin, Beza, Perkins, Pemble, Davenant, Twisse, Ames, &c.;" it proceeds from the same malice, and may therefore receive the same answer. For I have shown, first, that this predetermination is not the stated doctrine of Protestants, nor hath there yet any General Council of them been held, where T. D. hath presided ; but if there should at any time hereafter, It is so unhappy and singular in expressing Its sense in this matter, that I much fear lest the plurality of votes should affix the dangerous Greek name to Its religion. And as to those worthies whom It cites by rote, It draws them indeed within the reach of both old and new calumny, by pretending they were of Its opinion : whereas one may safely affirm at adventure, that they were all of them too well inlightned to have ever thought or spoken after Its manner. What It may have extorted from them by necromancy, I know not ; but they had not the happiness to have read Its "De Causa Dei" in their lifetime : nor do I think that death corrupts men's minds as their bodies. Of these, whom The Discourse enumerates, Calvin and Beza have been reproachfully charged by Bellarmine and other Romanists, as making God the author of sin : but yet there is not to be found in all their works an assertion of God's determinative

concurrence. How far some of the rest of them have taken scope on this subject, I have no obligation here more than The Discourse, to particularize: neither did Mr. Howe name any man, as being the fairer way by much, arguing only against the opinion. But seeing T. D. hath made bold with Bishop Davenant, I will ask no better, for that truly venerable dust which It hath stirred will flie in T. D.'s eyes, if I be not mistaken. "Dissert. de Predestinatione et Reprobatione," it is thus, "*Deus, agens ex decreto praedestinationis, operatur haec priora (scil. fidem, sanctitatem, perseverantiam) per influxum gratiae efficacis, at ex decreto reprobationis nihil agit quo deterior efficiatur reprobatus;*" that is, for it is well worth the translating, "God, acting according to His decree of predestination, works these things in the first place (viz. faith, holiness and perseverance) by the influence of efficacious grace; but, according to His decree of reprobation He acts nothing by which the reprobate should be made worse." Methinks, as T. D. will have the bishop to be of Its, so, in all reason, It should be also of the bishop's opinion; and if It intends no more, as Mr. Howe no less than is here said, I cannot see why there might not be an end of The Discourse, and of this controversie.

But, however, I hope that I may have done a good work, if, upon sight of these unexpected remarques, Mr. Howe, though fitted doubtless for a much better and fuller reply, would deliberate before he makes this adversary so considerable as to blot paper on Its occasion. Let it, in the meantime, venditate all Its street adages, Its odd ends of Latine, Its broken shreds of poets, and Its musty lumber of schoolmen. Let It enjoy the ingenuity of having unprovoked

fallen upon a person, "whose parts It acknowledged," for whom It "had such an affection," with whom It "had so many years academical society," and so "long friendship:" but whom It now "must number among God's adversaries." Let It value It self upon these things: for all these considerations do heighten the price of an assassinate. But may Mr. Howe still continue his sobriety, simplicity, and equality of temper; glorifying God rather in the exercise of practical Christian virtues, than affecting the honour of a speculative question. But if he had a mind to be vindictive, there is no way to despise the adversary more sensibly, than, as clamorous women, by giving them no answer. Till men grow into a better humour, and learn to treat of Divinity more civilly, they are unfit for conversation.

Another, I see, who is now his third aggressor, hath already assaulted him, though less barbarously, in "A Letter to a Friend," &c. Yet even he introduces his book with Job xiii. 7. "Wilt thou speak wickedly for God, and talk deceitfully for him?" What shall Mr. Howe do in this case? Is the Bible therefore to be turned into a libel? and shall he "search the Scriptures" to find out a text equally cutting? He need not go far, were he of that mind, to retaliate. easie were the parallel betwixt Job's three friends (to whom those words were spoken) and three such comfortable gentlemen! And why may not Mr. Howe nick them as well out of Job xii. v. 3, 4. "But I have understanding as well as you; I am not inferior to you: yea, who knoweth not such things as these? I am as one mocked of his neighbour, who calleth upon God and He answereth him: the just upright man is laughed to scorn." Or, if he would be yet severer, the same, ch. xiii. 4, 5. will hit them

home : " But ye are forgers of lies ; ye are all physicians of no value. O that you would altogether hold your peace, and it should be your wisdom." And then at last to determine the whole dispute, he might conclude with Job xlii. 7. " The Lord said to Eliphaz the Temanite, My wrath is kindled against thee, and against thy two friends ; for ye have not spoken of Me the thing that is right as my servant Job hath." After all which, what more seasonable, in order to reconciliation, than the verse following ? " Go to my servant Job, and offer up for yourselves a burnt-offering, and my servant Job shall pray for you ; for him will I accept : lest I deal with you after your folly, in that you have not spoken of Me the thing that is right, as my servant Job hath." But the Word of God is not so to be turned into the reproach of man, though the allusion may seem never so happy ; nor have I instanced thus far otherwise than to show the frivolousness, though too usual, of that practice.

But therefore I would advise Mr. Howe, though not to that excusable sullenness and silence with which some have chastised the world for having used them unworthily ; nor to that tacite contempt of his adversaries, in which he were hitherto justifiable ; yet that, having made a laudable attempt, of which several good men are it seems not capable, he would for peace' sake either wholly surcease this contest, or forbear at least till they have all done. For it is more easie to deal with them all than single ; and were they once imbodied, come to a consistence among themselves, or had agreed who should speak for them, they had right to his answer. But until then, Mr. Howe is no more obliged in whatsoever is called honour, reason, or conscience, than if every hair of T. D.'s that stands an end, should demand particular

satisfaction. It is the same for a divine, as he, to turn common disputant, as for an architect to saw timber, or cleave logs; which, though he may sometimes do for health or exercise, yet to be constant at it, were to debase and neglect his vocation. Mr. Howe hath work enough cut out of a nobler nature, in his "Living Temple," in which, like that of Solomon, there is "neither hammer, nor axe, nor any tool of iron to be heard," [1 Kings vi. 8,] nothing that can offend, all to edify. And this I heartily wish that he may accomplish: but therefore, as he hath not hitherto sought, so that he would avoid all contention; lest, as David, for having been a man of blood, was forbid to build the temple, (1 Chron. xxii. 8.) so he, as being a man of controversie.

As for myself, I expect in this litigious age, that some or other will sue me for having trespassed thus far on theological ground: but I have this for my plea, that I stepped over on no other reason than (which any man legally may do) to hinder one divine from offering violence to another. And, if I should be molested on that account, I doubt not but some of the Protestant clergy will be ready therefore to give me the like assistance.

Finis.

III.
ACCOUNT
OF
THE GROWTH OF POPERY
AND
ARBITRARY GOVERNMENT IN ENGLAND.
1678.

NOTE.

This drastic and in every-way characteristically masterly and brilliant 'Account' of the 'Growth of Popery and Arbitrary Government' is an advance on the 'Short Historical Essay' added to "Mr. Smirke, &c." It produced a prodigious impression, and Rewards were offered by the Government for the discovery of its (anonymous) Author. Marvell laughed in his sleeve at the assumed ignorance of the Government that *he* was the Author. For details on this, see our Essay in Vol. IId.; also on its place in History. Our text is the careful folio issued after Marvell's death later in 1678—the first having appeared earlier. The title-page is given opposite.

G.



AN
ACCOUNT
OF THE
G R O W T H
OF
P O P E R Y ,
AND
ARBITRARY GOVERNMENT
IN
E N G L A N D .

More Particularly from the Long *Prorogation*, of *November*, 1675, Ending the 15th of *February* 1676,
till the Last Meeting of *Parliament* the 16th of
July 1677.

By ANDREW MARVELL, ESQ.;

Printed at *Amsterdam* And Recommended to
the Reading of
all *English* Protestants.

[1678 folio.]



AN
ACCOUNT OF THE GROWTH OF POPERY,
AND
ARBITRARY GOVERNMENT IN ENGLAND, &c.

THERE has now for divers years a design been carried on to change the lawful Government of England into an absolute Tyranny, and to convert the established Protestant Religion into downright Popery: than both which, nothing can be more destructive or contrary to the interest and happiness, to the constitution and being of the king and kingdom.

For if first we consider the State, the kings of England rule not upon the same terms with those of our neighbour nations, who, having by force or by address usurped that due share which their people had in the government, are now for some ages in the possession of an arbitrary power (which yet no prescription can make legal) and exercise it over their persons and estates in a most tyrannical manner. But here the subjects retain their proportion in the

Legislature; the very meanest commoner of England is represented in Parliament, and is a party to those laws by which the Prince is sworn to govern himself and his people. No money is to be levied but by the common consent. No man is for life, limb, goods, or liberty, at the Sovereign's discretion: but we have the same right (modestly understood) in our propriety that the prince hath in his regality; and in all cases where the King is concerned, we have our just remedy as against any private person of the neighbourhood, in the Courts of Westminster Hall or in the High Court of Parliament. His very Prerogative is no more than what the Law has determined. His Broad Seal, which is the legitimate stamp of his pleasure, yet is no longer currant, than upon the trial it is found to be legal. He cannot commit any person by his particular warrant. He cannot himself be witness in any cause: the balance of publick justice being so delicate, that not the hand only but even the breath of the Prince would turn the scale. Nothing is left to the King's will, but all is subjected to his authority: by which means it follows that he can do no wrong, nor can he receive wrong; and a King of England keeping to these measures, may without arrogance, be said to remain the onely intelligent Ruler over a rational People. In recompense therefore and acknowledgment of so good a Government under his influence, his person is most sacred and inviolable; and whatsoever excesses are committed against so high a trust, nothing of them is imputed to him, as being free from the necessity or temptation; but his ministers only are accountable for all, and must answer it at their perils. He hath a vast revenue constantly arising from the hearth of the

*the King
can do
no wrong but
his ministers
can*

Householder, the sweat of the Labourer, the rent of the Farmer, the industry of the Merchant, and consequently out of the estate of the Gentleman : a large competence to defray the ordinary expense of the Crown, and maintain its lustre. And if any extraordinary occasion happen, or be but with any probable decency pretended, the whole Land at whatsoever season of the year does yield him a plentiful harvest. So forward are his people's affections to give even to superfluity, that a forainer (or Englishman that hath been long abroad) would think they could neither will nor chuse, but that the asking of a supply were a meer formality, it is so readily granted. He is the fountain of all honours, and has moreover the distribution of so many profitable offices of the Household, of the Revenue, of State, of Law, of Religion, of the Navy and (since his present Majestie's time) of the Army, that it seems as if the Nation could scarce furnish honest men enow to supply all those employments. So that the Kings of England are in nothing inferior to other Princes, save in being more abridged from injuring their own subjects : but have as large a field as any of external felicity, wherein to exercise their own virtue, and so reward and incourage it in others. In short, there is nothing that comes nearer in Government to the Divine Perfection, than where the Monarch, as with us, injoys a capacity of doing all the good imaginable to mankind, under a disability to all that is evil.

And as we are thus happy in the constitution of our State, so are we yet more blessed in that of our Church ; being free from that Romish yoke, which so great a part of Christendom do yet draw and labour under. That Popery is such a thing that cannot, but for want of a word to express it, be called a Religion :

nor is it to be mentioned with that civility which is otherwise decent to be used, in speaking of the differences of humane opinion about Divine matters. Were it either Judaism, or plain Turkery, or honest Paganism, there is yet a certain *bona fides* in the most extravagant belief, and the sincerity of an erroneous profession may render it more pardonable: but this is a compound of all the three, an extract of whatsoever is most ridiculous and impious in them, incorporated with more peculiar absurdities of its own, in which those were deficient; and all this deliberately contrived, knowingly carried on, by the bold imposture of priests under the name of Christianity. The wisdom of this fifth Religion, this last and insolentest attempt upon the credulity of mankind, seems to me (though not ignorant otherwise of the times, degrees, and methods of its progresse) principally to have consisted in their owning the Scriptures to be the Word of God, and the Rule of Faith and Manners, but in prohibiting at the same time their common use, or the reading of them in publick Churches but in a Latine translation to the vulgar: there being no better or more rational way to frustrate the very design of the great Institutor of Christianity, who first planted it by the extraordinary gift of tongues, than to forbid the use even of the ordinary languages. For having thus a book which is universally avowed to be of Divine Authority, but sequestering it only into such hands as were interested in the cheat, they had the opportunity to vitiate, suppress, or interpret to their own profit those Records by which the poor people hold their salvation. And this necessary point being once gained, there was thenceforward nothing so monstrous to reason, so abhorring from morality, or so contrary to scripture,

which they might not in prudence adventure on. The idolatry (for, alas ! it is neither better nor worse) of adoring and praying to Saints and Angels, of worshipping Pictures, Images and Reliques, incredible Miracles and palpable Fables to promote that veneration ; the whole Liturgy and Worship of the Blessed Virgin ; the saying of *Pater Nosters* and Creeds to the honour of Saints, and of *Ave Marys* too, not to her honour, but of others. The Publick Service, which they can spare to God among so many competitors, in an unknown tongue, and intangled with such Vestments, Consecrations, Exorcismes, Whisperings, Sprinklings, Censings, and phantasticall Rites, Gesticulations, and Removals, so unbeseeming a Christian Office, that it represents rather the pranks and ceremonies of Juglers and Conjurers. The refusal of the Cup to the Laity ; the necessity of the Priest's intention to make any of their Sacraments effectual ; debarring their Clergy from Marriage ; interdicting of Meats ; Auricular Confession and Absolution, as with them practised ; Penances, Pilgrimages, Purgatory, and Prayer for the dead. But above all their other devices, that Transubstantiall solacism, whereby that glorified Body, which at the same time they allow to be in Heaven, is sold again and crucified daily upon all the Altars of their Communion. For God indeed may now and then do a Miracle, but a Romish Priest can, it seems, work in one moment a thousand impossibilities. Thus by a new and antiscriptural Belief, compiled of Terroures to the Phansy, Contradictions to Sense, and Impositions on the Understanding, their Laity have turned Tenants for their Souls, and in consequence tributary for their Estates to a more than omnipotent Priesthood.

I must indeed do them that right to avow that, out

of an equitable consideration and recompense of so faithful a slavery, they have discharged the people from all other services and dependence, enfranchised them from all duty to God or Man; insomuch that their severer and more learned Divines, their Governors of Conscience, have so well instructed them in all the arts of circumventing their neighbour and of colluding with Heaven, that, were the scholars as apt as their teachers, there would have been long since an end of all either true Piety, or common Honesty, and nothing left among them but authorized Hypocrisy, Licentiousness and Knavery; had not the natural worth of the better sort, and the good simplicity of the meaner, in great measure preserved them. For nothing indeed but an extraordinary temper and ingenuity of spirit, and that too assisted by a diviner influence, could possibly restrain those within any the termes or laws of humanity, who at the same time own the Doctrine of their Casuists or the Authority of the Pope, as it is by him claimed and exercised. He, by his Indulgences delivers souls out of the pains of the other world: so that who would refuse to be vicious here, upon so good security? He, by his dispensation annuls contracts betwixt man and man, dissolves oaths between princes, or betwixt them and their people, and gives allowance in cases which God and nature prohibits. He, as clerk of the spiritual market, hath set a rate upon all crimes: the more flagitious they are and abominable, the better commodities, and men pay onely an higher price as for greater rarities. So that it seems as if the commands of God had been invented meerly to erect an office for the Pope; the worse Christians men are, the better customers; and thus Rome does by the same ✓

policy people its church, as the Pagan Rome did the city, by opening a sanctuary to all malefactors. And why not, if his power be indeed of such virtue and extent as is by him challenged? That he is the Ruler over Angels, Purgatory and Hell. That his Tribunal and God's are all one. That all that God, he can do, *clave non errante*, and what he does is as God and not as man. That he is the universal Head of the Church; the sole interpreter of Scripture and Judge of Controversy. That he is above General Councils. That his Power is absolute and his Decrees infallible. That he can change the very nature of things, making what is Just to be Unjust, and what is Vice to be Virtue. That all Laws are in the Cabinet of his Breast. That he can dispence with the New Testament. That he is Monarch of this World, and that he can dispose of Kingdoms and Empires as he pleases. Which things being granted, that stile of *Optimum Maximum et supremum numen in terris*, or that of *Dominus, Deus noster, Papa*, was no such extraordinary stroke of Courtship as we reckoned: but it was rather a great clownishness in him that treated so mighty a Prince under the simple title of *Vice-Deus*. The exercise of his dominion is in all points suitable to this his pretence. He antiquates the precepts of Christ as things only of good advice, not commanded: but makes it a mortal sin even to doubt of any of his own Religion, and demands under pain of damnation the subjection of all Christians to his Papal authority: the denying of two things so reasonable as blind obedience to this power, and an implicate faith to his doctrine, being the most unpardonable crime, under his dispensation. He has indeed of late been somewhat more retentive than formerly as to his faculty of disposing of king-

domes, the thing not having succeeded well with him in some instances : but he lays the same claim still, continues the same inclination, and though velvet-headed hath the more itch to be pushing. And however in order to any occasion he keeps himself in breath always by cursing one prince or other upon every Maunday-Thursaday ; nor is there any, whether prince or nation, that dissents from his usurpations, but are marked out under the notion of hereticks to ruine and destruction whensoever he shall give the signal. That word of heresy misapplied hath served him for so many ages to justify all the executions, assassinations, wars, massacres, and devastations, whereby his faith hath been propagated ; of which our times also have not wanted examples, and more is to be expected for the future. For by how much any thing is more false and unreasonable, it requires more cruelty to establish it : and to introduce that which is absurd, there must be somewhat done that is barbarous. But nothing of any sect in religion can be more recommended by all these qualities than the Papacy. The Pagans are excusable by their natural darkness, without Revelation. The Jews are tolerable, who see not beyond the Old Testament. Mahomet was so honest as to own what he would be at, that he himself would be the greatest Prophet, and that his was a Religion of the Sword. So that these were all, as I may say, of another allegiance, and if enemies, yet not traytors : but the Pope avowing Christianity by profession, doth in doctrine and practise renounce it : and presuming to be the only Catholick, does persecute those to the death who dare worship the Author of their Religion instead of his pretended Vicegerent.

And yet there is nothing more evident, notwith-

standing his most notorious forgeries and falsification of all writers, than that the Pope was for several hundred of years an honest Bishop as other men are, and never so much as dreamed upon the Seven Hills of that universal power which he is now come to : nay was the first that opposed any such pretension. But some of them at last, growing wiser, by foisting a counterfeit donation of Constantine, and wresting another donation from our Saviour, advanced themselves in a weak, ignorant, and credulous age, to that Temporal and Spiritual Principality that they are seized of. *Tu es Petrus, et super hanc Petram ædificabo Ecclesiam meam.* [St. Matthew xvi. 18.] Never was a Bishoprick and a verse of Scripture so improved by good management. Thus, by exercising in the quality of Christ's Vicar the publick function under an invisible prince, the Pope, like the Maires of the Palace, hath set his master aside and delivered the government over to a new line of Papal succession. But who can, unless wilfully, be ignorant what wretched doings, what bribery, what ambition there are, how long the Church is without an head upon every vacancy, till among the crew of bandying Cardinals the Holy Ghost have declared for a Pope of the French or Spanish Faction ? It is a succession like that of the Egyptian Ox (the living idol of that country) who dying or being made away by the priests, there was a solemn and general mourning for want of a Deity ; until in their conclave they had found out another beast with the very same marks as the former, whom then they themselves adored and with great jubilee brought forth to the people to worship. Nor was that election a grosser reproach to human reason, than this is also to Christianity. Surely it is the greatest miracle of the Romish

Church that it should still continue, and that in all this time the gates of Heaven should not prevail against it.

It is almost unconceivable how princes can yet suffer a power so pernicious, and doctrine so destructive to all government. That so great a part of the land should be alienated and condemned to, as they call it, Pious Uses. That such millions of their people as the clergy, should, by remaining unmarried, either frustrate human nature if they live chastly, or, if otherwise, adulterate it. That they should be privileged from all labour, all publick service, and exempt from the power of all secular jurisdiction. That they, being all bound by strict oaths and vows of obedience to the Pope, should evacuate fealty due to the Sovereign. Nay, that not only the clergy, but their whole people, if of the Romish perswasion, should be obliged to rebel at any time upon the Pope's pleasure. And yet how many of the neighbouring princes are content, or do chuse to reign, upon those conditions; which being so dishonourable and dangerous, surely some great and more weighty reason does cause them submit to. Whether it be out of personal fear, having heard perhaps of several attempts which the blind obedience of Popish zelotes hath executed against their princes. Or, whether aiming at a more absolute and tyrannical government, they think it still to be the case of Boniface and Phocas (an usurping emperor and an usurping bishop) and that, as other cheats, this also is left to be managed by confederacy. But, as far as I can apprehend, there is more of sloth than policy on the princes side in this whole matter: and all that pretence of enslaving men by the assistance of religion more easily, is neither more nor less than when the

Bramine, by having the first night of the bride, assures himself of her devotion for the future, and makes her more fit for the husband.

This reflection upon the state of our neighbours, in respect to religion, doth sufficiently illustrate our happiness, and spare me the labour of describing it further, than by the rule of contraries: our Church standing upon all points in a direct opposition to all the forementioned errors; our doctrine being true to the principles of the first Christian institution, and episcopacy being formed upon the primitive model, and no ecclesiastical power jostling the civil, but all concurring in common obedience to the sovereign. Nor therefore is there any, whether prince or nation, that can with less probability be reduced back to the Romish perswasion, than ours of England.

For, if we respect our obedience to God, what appearance is there that, after so durable and general an enlightning of our minds with the sacred Truth, we should again put out our own eyes, to wander thorow the palpable darkness of that gross superstition? But forasmuch as most men are less concern'd for their interest in heaven than on earth, this seeming the nearer and more certain, on this account also our alteration from the Protestant Religion is the more impossible; when beside the common ill examples and consequences of Popery observable abroad, whereby we might grow wise at the expense of our neighbours, we cannot but reflect upon our own experiments at home, which would make even fools docible: The whole reign of Queen Mary, in which the Papists made fewel of the Protestants: The excommunicating and deprivation of Queen Elizabeth by the Pope, pursued with so many treasons and attempts upon her person by her own

subjects, and the invasion in 'eighty-eight by the Spanish; the two Breves of the Pope, in order to exclude King James from the succession to the crown, seconded by the Gunpowder Treason: in the time of his late Majesty, King Charles the First, (besides what they contributed to the Civil War in England) the Rebellion and horrid Massacre in Ireland, and, which was even worse than that, their pretending that it was done by the King's Commission, and vouching the Broad Seal for their authority; the Pope's Nuncio assuming nevertheless and exercising there the temporal as well as spiritual power, granting out commissions under his own hand, breaking the treaties of peace between the King, and, as they then styled themselves, the confederate Catholics; heading two armies against the Marquess of Ormond, then Lord Lieutenant, and forcing him at last to quit the kingdom: all which ended in the ruine of his Majesty's reputation, government, and person; which, but upon occasion of that Rebellion, could never have happened. So that we may reckon the reigns of our late princes, by a succession of the popish treasons against them. And, if under his present Majesty we have as yet seen no more visible effects of the same spirit than the firing of London (acted by Hubert, hired by Pieddelou, two Frenchmen) which remains a controversie, it is not to be attributed to the good nature or better principles of that sect, but to the wisdom of his Holyness; who observes that we are not of late so dangerous Protestants as to deserve any special mark of his indignation, but that we may be made better use of to the weakning of those that are not of our own religion, and that if he do not disturb us, there are those among ourselves that

are leading us into a fair way of reconciliation with him.

But those continued fresh instances, in relation to the crown, together with the Pope's claim of the temporal and immediate dominion of the kingdoms of England and Ireland, which he does so challenge, are a sufficient caution to the Kings of England; and of the people, there is as little hopes to seduce them; the Protestant Religion being so interwoven as it is with their secular interest. For the lands that were formerly given to superstitious uses, having first been applied to the publick revenue, and afterwards by several alienations and contracts distributed into private possession, the alteration of religion would necessarily introduce a change of property. *Nullum tempus occurrit Ecclesie*. It would make a general earthquake over the nation, and even now the Romish clergy on the other side of the water, snuff up the savoury odour of so many rich abbies and monasteries that belonged to their predecessors. Hereby no considerable estate in England but must have a piece torn out of it upon the title of piety, and the rest subject to be wholly forfeited upon the account of Heresy. Another Chimney Mony of the old Peter-Pence must again be payed as tribute to the Pope, beside that which is established on his Majesty: and the people, instead of those moderate tithes that are with too much difficulty payed to their Protestant pastors, will be exposed to all the exactions of the court of Rome, and a thousand artifices by which in former times they were used to drain away the wealth of ours more than any other nation. So that in conclusion there is no Englishman that hath a soul, a body, or an estate to save, that loves either God, his King, or his Country, but is by all those tenures

bound, to the best of his power and knowledge, to maintain the established Protestant Religion.

And yet, all this notwithstanding, there are those men among us, who have undertaken, and do make it their business, under so legal and perfect a government, to introduce a French slavery, and instead of so pure a religion, to establish the Roman idolatry : both and either of which are crimes of the highest nature. For, as to matter of government, if to murder the King be, as certainly it is, a fact so horrid, how much more hainous is it to assassinate the Kingdom ? and as none will deny, that to alter our Monarchy into a Commonwealth were treason, so by the same fundamental rule, the crime is no less to make that Monarchy absolute. ✓

What is thus true in regard of the State, holds as well in reference to our religion. Former Parliaments have made it treason in whosoever shall attempt to seduce any one, the meanest of the King's subjects, to the Church of Rome : and this Parliament hath, to all penalties by the common or statute law, added incapacity for any man who shall presume to say that the King is a Papist or an Introducer of Popery. But what lawless and incapable miscreants then, what wicked traytors are those wretched men, who endeavour to pervert our whole Church, and to bring that about in effect, which even to mention is penal, at one Italian stroke attempting to subvert the government and religion, to kill the body and damn the soul of our nation. ✓

Yet were these men honest old Cavaliers that had suffered in his late Majestie's service, it were allowable in them, as oft as their wounds brake out at Spring or Fall, to think of a more abritrary government, as a sovereign balsam for their aches, or to imagine that

no weapon-salve but of the moss that grows on an enemy's skull could cure them. Should they mistake this Long Parliament also for rebels, and that, although all circumstances be altered, there were still the same necessity to fight it all over again in pure loyalty, yet their age and the times they have lived in, might excuse them. But those worthy gentlemen are too generous, too good Christians and subjects, too affectionate to the good English government, to be capable of such an impression: whereas those conspirators are such as have not one drop of Cavalier blood, or no bowels at least of a Cavalier in them; but have starved them, to revel and surfeit upon their calamities, making their persons, and the very cause, by pretending to it themselves, almost ridiculous.

Or, were these conspirators on the other side but avowed Papists, they were the more honest, the less dangerous, and the religion were answerable for the errors they might commit in order to promote it. Who is there but must acknowledge, if he do not commend the ingenuity (or by what better name I may call it) of Sir Thomas Strickland, Lord Bellasis, the late Lord Clifford and others, eminent in their several stations? These, having so long appeared the most zealous Sons of our Church, yet as soon as the late test against Popery was enacted, took up the cross, quitted their present employments and all hopes of the future, rather than falsify their opinion: though otherwise men for quality, estate and abilities, whether in war or peace, as capable and well deserving (without disparagement) as others that have the art to continue in offices. And above all his Royal Highness is to be admired for his unparalleled magnanimity on the same account:

there being in all history perhaps no record of any Prince that ever changed his religion in his circumstances. But these persons, that have since taken the work in hand, are such as lie under no temptation of religion ; secure men, that are above either honour or consciences ; but obliged by all the most sacred ties of malice and ambition to advance the ruin of the King and Kingdom, and qualified much better than others, under the name of good Protestants, to effect it.

And because it was yet difficult to find complices enough at home, that were ripe for so black a design, but they wanted a back for their edge ; therefore they applyed themselves to France, that King being indowed with all those qualities, which in a Prince may pass for virtues, but in any private man, would be capital ; and moreover so abounding in wealth that no man else could go to the price of their wickedness ; to which considerations, adding that he is the Master of Absolute Dominion, the presumptive Monarch of Christendom, the declared Champion of Popery, and the hereditary, natural, inveterate enemy of our King and Nation, he was in all respects the most likely (of all earthly powers) to reward and support them in a project every way suitable to his own inclination and interest.

And now, should I enter into a particular retail of all former and latter transactions, relating to this affair, there would be sufficient for a just volume of History. But my intention is only to write a naked narrative of some of the most considerable passages in the meeting of Parliament the 15th of February 1676 : such as have come to my notice, which may serve for matter to some stronger pen, and to such as have more leisure and further opportunity to dis-

cover and communicate to the publick. This in the mean time will, by the progress made in so few weeks, demonstrate at what rate these men drive over the necks of King and people, of religion and government; and how near they are in all human probability to arrive triumphant at the end of their journey. Yet, that I may not be too abrupt, and leave the reader wholly destitute of a thread to guide himself by thorow so intriguing a labyrinth, I shall summarily, as short as so copious and redundant a matter will admit, deduce the order of affairs both at home and abroad, as it led into this Session.

It is well known, were it as well remembred, what the provocation was, and what the success of the war begun by the English in the year 1665 against Holland: what vast supplies were furnished by the subject for defraying it, and yet after all no fleet set out, but the flower of all the royal navy burnt or taken in port to save charges; how the French, during that war, joyned themselves in assistance of Holland against us, and yet, by the credit he had with the Queen Mother, so far deluded his Majesty, that upon assurance the Dutch, neither would have any fleet out that year, he forbore to make ready, and so incurred that notable loss and disgrace at Chatham: how (after this fatal conclusion of all our Sea-champaynes) as we had been obliged to the French for that war, so we were glad to receive the peace from his favour which was agreed at Breda betwixt England, France, and Holland.

His Majesty was hereby now at leisure to remark how the French had, in the year 1667, taken the time of us, and while we were imbroiled and weakned, had in violation of all the most solemn and sacred oaths and treaties invaded and taken a

great part of the Spanish Nether-Land, which had always been considered as the natural frontier of England. And hereupon he judged it necessary to interpose, before the flame that consumed his next neighbour should throw its sparkles over the water. And therefore, generously slighting all punctilios of ceremony or peeks of animosity, where the safety of his people and the repose of Christendom were concerned, he sent first into Holland, inviting them to a nearer alliance, and to enter into such further counsels as were most proper to quiet this publick disturbance which the French had raised. This was a work wholly of his Majesty's designing and (according to that felicity, which hath always attended him, when excluding the corrupt politicks of others he hath followed the dictates of his own royal wisdom) so well it succeeded. It is a thing scarce credible, though true, that two treaties of such weight, intricacy, and so various aspect as that of the defensive league with Holland, and the other for repressing the further progress of the French in the Spanish Netherland, should in five days time, in the year 1668, be concluded. Such was the expedition and secrecy then used in prosecuting his Majesty's particular instructions, and so easy a thing is it for princes, when they have a mind to it, to be well served. The Swedes too shortly after made the third in this concert; whether wisely judging that in the minority of their King reigning over several late acquired dominions, it was their true intrest to have an hand in all the counsels that tended to peace and undisturbed possession, or, whether indeed those ministers, like ours, did even then project in so glorious an alliance to betray it afterward to their own greater advantage. From their joyning in, it ✓

was called the Triple Alliance. His Majesty with great sincerity continued to solicit other princes according to the seventh article to come into the guaranty of this treaty, and delighted himself in cultivating by all good means what he had planted. But in a very short time these counsels, which had taken effect with so great satisfaction to the nation and to his Majesty's eternal honour, were all changed, and it seemed that treaties, as soon as the wax is cold, do lose their virtue. The King in June 1670 went down to meet, after a long absence, Madam, his only remaining sister: where the days were the more pleasant, by how much it seldomer happens to princes than private persons to enjoy their relations, and when they do, yet their kind interviews are usually solemnized with some fatality and disaster: nothing of which here appeared. But upon her first return into France she was dead, the Marquess of Belfonds was immediately sent hither, a person of great honour dispatched thither; and, before ever the inquiry and grumbling at her death could be abated, in a trice there was an invisible league, in prejudice of the triple one, struck up with France, to all the height of dearness and affection. As if upon dissecting the princess there had some State philter been found in her bowels, or the reconciliation with France were not to be celebrated with a less sacrifice than of the blood royal of England. The sequel will be suitable to so ominous a beginning. But, as this treaty was a work of darkness, and which could never yet be understood or discovered but by the effects, so before those appeared it was necessary that the Parliament should after the old wont be gulled to the giving of money. They met the 24th of October 1670, and it is not without much labour that

I have been able to recover a written copy of the Lord Bridgman's speech, none being printed, but forbidden, doubtless lest so notorious a practice as certainly was never before, though there have indeed been many put upon the nation, might remain publick. Although that honourable person cannot be presumed to have been accessory to what was then intended, but was in due time, when the project ripened and grew hopeful, discharged from his office, and he, the Duke of Ormond, the late Secretary Trevor, with the Prince Rupert, discarded together out of the committee for the Foreign Affairs, he spoke thus:

“ MY LORDS, AND YOU THE KNIGHTS, CITIZENS, AND
“ BURGESSES OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,

“ When the two Houses were last adjourned, this
“ day, as you well know, was prefixed for your meet-
“ ing again. The Proclamation since issued requiring
“ all your attendances at the same time shewed not
“ only his Majestie's belief that his business will
“ thrive best when the Houses are fullest, but the
“ importance also of the affairs for which you are so
“ called: and important they are. You cannot be
“ ignorant of the great forces both for land and sea-
“ service which our neighbours of France and the
“ Low Countries have now raised, and have now in
“ actual pay; nor of the great preparations which
“ they continue to make in levying of men, building
“ of ships, filling their magazines and stores with
“ immense quantities of all sorts of warlike provi-
“ sions. Since the beginning of the last Dutch war,
“ the French have increased the greatness and num-
“ ber of their ships so much, that their strength by
“ sea is thrice as much as it was before; and since

“the end of it, the Dutch have been very diligent
“also in augmenting their fleets. In this conjunc-
“ture, when our neighbours arm so potently, even
“common prudence requires that his Majesty should
“make some suitable preparations; that he may at
“least keep pace with his neighbours, if not outgo
“them in number and strength of shipping. For
“this being an island, both our safety, our trade, our
“being, and our well-being, depend upon our forces
“at sea.

“His Majesty therefore, of his princely care for
“the good of his people, hath given order for the
“fitting out of fifty sayl of his greatest ships, against
“the Spring, besides those which are to be for
“security of our merchants in the Mediterranean: as
“foreseeing, if he should not have a considerable
“fleet, whilst his neighbours have such forces both
“at land and sea, temptation might be given to those
“who seem not now to intend it, to give us an
“affront at least, if not to do us a mischief.

“To which may be added, That his Majesty, by
“the Leagues which he hath made, for the common
“peace of Christendom and the good of his king-
“doms, is obliged to a certain number of forces in
“case of infraction thereof, as also for the assistance
“of some of his neighbours, in case of invasion. And
“his Majesty would be in a very ill condition to
“perform his part of the Leagues (if whilst the
“clouds are gathering so thick about us) he should,
“in hopes that the wind will disperse them, omit to
“provide against the storm.

“MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

“Having named the Leagues made by his Majesty,
“I think it necessary to put you in mind, that since

“the close of the late war, his Majesty hath made
“several Leagues, to his own great honour, and
“infinite advantage to the nation.

“One known by the name of the Tripple Alliance,
“wherein his Majesty, the Crown of Sweden and the
“States of the United Provinces are ingaged to
“preserve the Treaty of Aix la Capelle, concerning a
“peace between the two warring princes, which
“Peace produced that effect, that it quenched the
“fire which was ready to have set all Christendom
“in a flame. And besides other great benefits by it,
“which she still enjoys, gave opportunity to transmit
“those Forces against the infidels, which would
“otherwise have been imbrued in Christian blood.

“Another between his Majesty and the said States
“for a mutual assistance with a certain number of
“men and ships in case of invasion by any others.

“Another between his Majesty and the Duke of
“Savoy, establishing a free trade for his Majestie’s
“subjects at Villa Franca, a port of his own upon
“the Mediterranean, and through the dominions of
“that Prince; and thereby opening a passage to a
“rich part of Italy, and part of Germany, which will
“be of a very great advantage for the vending of
“cloth and other our home commodities, bringing
“back silk and other materials for our manufactures
“here.

“Another between his Majesty and the King of
“Denmark, whereby those other impositions that
“were lately laid upon our trade there, are taken
“off, and as great privileges granted to our merchants,
“as ever they had in former times, or as the subjects
“of any other prince or State do now enjoy.

“And another league upon a treaty of commerce
“with Spain, whereby there is not only a cessation

“and giving up to his Majesty of all their pretensions
“to Jamaica, and other islands and countries in the
“West Indies, in the possession of his Majesty or his
“subjects, but withall, free liberty is given to his
“Majestie’s subjects, to enter their ports for victuals
“and water, and safety of harbour and return, if
“storm or other accidents bring them thither;
“privileges which were never before granted by
“them to the English or any others.

“Not to mention the Leagues formerly made with
“Sueden and Portugal, and the advantages which
“we enjoy thereby; nor those treaties now depending
“between his Majesty and France, or his Majesty
“and the States of the United Provinces touching
“commerce, wherein his Majesty will have a singular
“regard to the honour of this nation, and also to the
“trade of it, which never was greater than now it is.

“In a word, almost all the princes in Europe do
“seek his Majestie’s friendship, as acknowledging
“they cannot secure, much less improve their present
“condition without it.

“His Majesty is confident that you will not be
“contented to see him deprived of all the advantages
“which he might procure hereby to his own king-
“doms, nay even to all Christendom, in the repose
“and quiet of it. That you will not be content
“abroad to see your neighbours strengthening them-
“selves in shipping, so much more than they were
“before, and at home to see the government
“struggling every year with difficulties; and not able
“to keep up our navies equal with theirs. He finds
“that by his accounts from the year 1660 to the late
“war, the ordinary charge of the fleet, *communibus*
“*annis*, came to about 500,000*l.* a year, and it cannot
“be supported with less.

“ If that particular alone take up so much, add to
“ it the other constant charges of the government,
“ and the revenue (although the Commissioners of
“ the Treasury have managed it with all imaginable
“ thrift) will in no degree suffice to take off the debts
“ due upon interest, much less give him a funds for
“ the fitting out of this fleet, which by common
“ estimation thereof cannot cost less than £800,000l.
“ His Majesty, in his most gracious speech, hath
“ expressed the great sense he hath of your zeal
“ and affection for him, and as he will ever retain a
“ grateful memory of your former readiness to supply
“ him in all exigencies, so he doth with particular
“ thanks acknowledge your frank and chearful gift of
“ the new duty upon wines at your last meeting :
“ but the same is likely to fall very short in value of
“ what it was conceived to be worth, and should it
“ have answered expectation, yet far too short to ease
“ and help him upon these occasions. And therefore
“ such a supply as may enable to take off his debts
“ upon interest, and to set out this fleet against the
“ Spring, is that which he desires from you, and
“ recommends it to you, as that which concerns the
“ honour and support of the government, and the
“ welfare and safety of your selves and the whole
“ kingdom.

“ MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

“ You may perceive by what his Majesty hath
“ already said, that he holds it requisite that an end
“ be put to this meeting before Christmas. It is so
“ not only in reference to the preparation for his
“ fleet, which must be in readiness in the Spring, but
“ also to the season of the year. It is a time when
“ you would be willing to be in your countries, and

“your neighbours would be glad to see you there, and partake of your hospitality and charity, and you thereby endear yourselves to them, and keep up that interest and power among them, which is necessary for the service of your king and country; and a recess at that time, leaving your business unfinished till your return, cannot either be convenient for you, or suitable to the condition of his Majestie’s affairs, which requires your speedy, as well as affectionate consideration.”

There needed not so large a catalogue of past, present, and future Leagues and Treaties, for even Villa Franca sounded so well (being besides so considerable a port, and that too upon the Mediterranean (another remote word of much efficacy) and opening moreover a passage to a rich part of Italy, and a part of Germany, &c.) that it alone would have sufficed to charm the more ready votes of the Commons into a supply, and to justify the necessity of it in the noise of the country. But indeed the making of that Tripple League, was a thing of so good a report and so generally acceptable to the nation, as being a hook in the French nostrils, that this Parliament (who are used, whether it be war or peace, to make us pay for it) could not have desired a fairer pretence to colour their liberality.

And therefore after all the immense sums lavished in the former war with Holland, they had but in April last, 1670, given the additional duty upon Wines for eight years; amounting to 560,000*l*. and confirmed the sale of the Fee Farm Rents, which was no less their gift, being a part of the publick revenue, to the value of 180,000*l*. Yet upon the telling of this story by the Lord Keeper, they could no longer hold, but gave with both hands now again

a subsidy of one shilling in the pound to the real value of all lands, and other estates proportionably, with several more beneficial clauses into the bargain, to begin the 24th of June 1671, and expire the 24th of June 1672. Together with this, they granted the additional excise upon Beer, Ale, &c. for six years, to reckon from the same 24th of June 1671. And lastly, the Law Bill, commencing from the first of May 1671, and at nine years end to determine. These three bills summed up therefore cannot be estimated at less than two millions and an half.

So that for the Tripple League, here was also tripple supply, and the subject had now all reason to believe that this Alliance, which had been fixed at first by the publick interest, safety and honour (yet, should any of those give way) was by these three grants, as with three golden nails, sufficiently clenched and rivetted. But now therefore was the most proper time and occasion for the conspirators, I have before described, to give demonstration of their fidelity to the French King, and by the forfeiture of all these obligations to their king and countrey, and other princes, and at the expense of all this treasure given to contrary uses, to recommend themselves more meritoriously to his patronage.

The Parliament having once given this mony, were in consequence prorogued, and met not again till the 4th of February 1672, that there might be a competent scope for so great a work as was designed, and the architects of our ruine might be so long free from their busie and odious inspection till it were finished. Henceforward, all the former applications made by his Majesty to induce foreign princes into the guaranty of the treaty of Aix la Chapelle ceased, and on the contrary, those who desired to be

admitted into it, were here refused. The Duke of Loraine, who had always been a true friend to his Majesty, and by his affection to the Tripple League had incurred the French King's displeasure, with the loss of his whole territory, seized in the year 1669 against all laws not only of peace but hostility, yet was by means of these men rejected, that he might have no interest in the Alliance, for which he was sacrificed. Nay even the emperor, though he did his Majesty the honour to address [himself] voluntarily to him, that himself might be received into that Tripple League, yet could not so great a prince prevail but was turned off with blind reason, and most frivolous excuses. So far was it now from fortifying the Alliance by the accession of other princes, that Mr. Henry Coventry went now to Sueden expressly, as he affirmed at his departure hence, to dissolve the Tripple League. And he did so much towards it, co-operating in that Court with the French ministers, that Sueden never (after it came to a rupture) did assist or prosecute effectually the ends of the Alliance, but only arming itself at the expence of the League, did first, under a disguised mediation, act the French interest, and at last threw off the vizard, and drew the sword in their quarrel; which is a matter of sad reflexion, that he, who in his embassy at Breda, had been so happy an instrument to end the first unfortunate war with Holland, should now be made the tool of a second, and of breaking that threefold cord, by which the interest of England and all Christendom was fastned. And, what renders it more wretched, is, that no man better than he understood both the theory and practick of honour; and yet could in so eminent an instance forget it. All which can be said in his excuse, is, that upon his

return he was for this service made secretary of State (as if to have remained the same honest gentleman, had not been more necessary and less dishonourable). Sir William Lockyard and several others were dispatched to other Courts upon the like errand.

All things were thus far well disposed here toward a war with Holland: only all this while there wanted a quarrel, and to pick one required much invention. For the Dutch although there was a *siquis* to find out complaints, and our East India Company was summoned to know whether they had any thing to object against them, had so punctually complied with all the conditions of the peace at Breda, and observed his Majesty with such respect (and in paying the due honour of the flag, particularly as it was agreed in the 19th article) that nothing could be alledged: and as to the Tripple League, their Fleet was then out, riding near their own coasts, in prosecuting of the ends of that treaty. Therefore, to try a new experiment and to make a case which had never before happened or been imagined, a sorry yacht, but bearing the English jack, in August 1671, sails into the midst of their fleet, singled out the admiral, shooting twice, as they call it, sharp upon him. Which must sure have appeared as ridiculous and unnatural as for a larke to dare the hobby. Nevertheless their commander-in-chief, in deference to his Majesty's colours, and in consideration of the amity betwixt the two nations, payed our admiral of the yacht a visit, to know the reason; and learning that it was because he and his whole fleet had failed to strike sail to his small-craft, the Dutch commander civilly excused it as a matter of the first instance, and in which he could have no instructions, therefore proper to be referred to their

masters, and so they parted. The yatch having thus acquitted itself, returned, fraught with the quarrel she was sent for, which yet was for several months passed over here in silence without any complaint or demand of satisfaction, but to be improved afterwards when occasion grew riper. For there was yet one thing more to be done at home to make us more capable of what was shortly after to be executed on our neighbours.

The Exchequer had now for some years by excessive gain decoyed in the wealthy goldsmiths, and they the rest of the nation by due payment of interest, till the king was run (upon what account I know not) into debt of above two millions: which served for one of the pretences in my Lord Keeper's Speech above recited, to demand and grant the late supplies, and might have sufficed for that work, with peace and any tolerable good husbandry. But as if it had been perfidious to apply them to any one of the purposes declared, it was instead of payment privately resolved to shut up the Exchequer, lest any part of the money should be legally expended, but that all might be appropriate to the holy war in project, and those further pious uses to which the conspirators had dedicated it.

This affair was carried on with all the secrecie of so great statesmen, that they might not by venting it unseasonably, spoil the wit and malice of the business. So that all on the sudden, upon the first of January 1671, to the great astonishment, ruine and despair of so many interested persons, and to the terroure of the whole nation, by so arbitrary a fact, the proclamation issued whereby the crown, amidst the confluence of so vast aids and revenue, published itself bankrupt, made prize of the subject, and broke all faith and

contract at home in order to the breaking of them abroad with more advantage.

There remained nothing now but that the conspirators, after this exploit upon their own countrymen, should manifest their impartiality to foreigners, and avoid on both sides the reproach of injustice by their equality in the distribution. They had now started the dispute about the flag upon occasion of the yacht, and begun the discourse of Surinam, and somewhat of pictures and medals, but they handled these matters so nicely as men not less afraid of receiving all satisfaction therein from the Hollanders, than of giving them any umbrage of arming against them upon those pretences. The Dutch therefore, not being conscious to themselves of any provocation given to England, but of their readiness, if there had been any, to repair it, and relying upon that faith of treaties and alliances with us, which hath been thought sufficient security, not only amongst Christians, but even with infidels, pursued their traffick and navigation thorow our seas without the least suspicion. And accordingly a great and rich fleet of merchantmen from Smyrna and Spain, were on their voyage homeward near the isle of Wight, under a small convoy of five or six of their men of war. This was the fleet in contemplation of which the conspirators had so long deferred the war, to plunder them in peace; the wealth of this was that which by its weight turned the ballance of all publick justice and honour; with this treasure they imagined themselves in stock for all the wickedness of which they were capable, and that they should never, after this addition, stand in need again or fear of a Parliament. Therefore they had with great stilness and expedition equipped early in the year, so

many of the King's ships as might, without jealousy of the number, yet be of competent strength for the intended action, but if any thing should chance to be wanting, they thought it abundantly supplied by virtue of the commander. For Sir Robert Holmes had with the like number of ships in the year 1661, even so timely commenced the first hostility against Holland, in time of peace ; seizing upon Cape Verde, and other of the Dutch forts on the coast of Guiny, and the whole New Netherlands, with great success ; in defence of which conquests, the English undertook, 1665, the first war against Holland. And in that same war, he with a proportionable squadron signalized himself by burning the Dutch ships and village of Brandaris at Schelling, which was unfortunately revenged upon us at Chatham. So that he was pitched upon as the person for understanding, experience and courage, fittest for a design of this or any higher nature ; and upon the 14th of March, 1672, as they sailed on, to the number of seventy-two vessels in all, whereof six the convoy ; near our coast, he fell in upon them with his accustomed bravery, and could not have failed of giving a good account of them, would he but have joyned fortunes, Sir Edward Spragg's assistance to his own conduct : for Sir Edward was in sight at the same time with his squadron, and captain Legg making sail towards him, to acquaint him with the design, till called back by a gun from his admiral, of which several persons have had their conjectures. Possibly Sir Robert Holmes, considering that Sir Edward had sailed all along in consort with the Dutch in their voyage, and did but now return from bringing the pirates of Algier to reason, thought him not so proper to ingage in this enterprise before he understood it better.

But it is rather believed to have proceeded partly from that jealousy (which is usual to martial spirits like Sir Robert's) of admitting a companion to share with him in the spoil of honour or profit; and partly out of too strict a regard to preserve the secret of his commission. However, by this means the whole affair miscarried. For the merchant-men themselves, and their little convoy did so bestir them, that Sir Robert, although he shifted his ship, fell foul on his best friends, and did all that was possible, unless he could have multiplied himself and been every where, was forced to give it over, and all the prize that was gotten, sufficed not to pay the chirurgeons and carpenters.

To descend to the very bottom of their hellish conspiracy, there was yet one step more; that of religion. For so pious and just an action as Sir Robert Holmes was employed upon, could not be better accompanied than by the declaration of Liberty of Conscience (unless they should have expected till he had found that precious commodity in plundering the hole of some Amsterdam fly-boat.) Accordingly while he was trying his fortune in battle with the Smyrna merchant-men, on the 13th and 14th of March, 1672, the indulgence was printing off here in all haste, and was published on the 15th as a more proper means than fasting and prayer for propitiating Heaven to give success to his enterprise, and to the war that must second it.

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Decl. of
Indulgence

Hereby, all the penal laws against Papists, for which former Parliaments had given so many supplies, and against Nonconformists, for which this Parliament had paid more largely, were at one instant suspended, in order to defraud the nation of all that religion which they had so dearly purchased,

and for which they ought at least, the bargain being broke, to have been reimbursed.

There is, I confess, a measure to be taken in those things, and it is indeed to the great reproach of humane wisdom, that no man has for so many ages been able or willing to find out the due temper of government in divine matters. For it appears at the first sight, that men ought to enjoy the same propriety and protection in their consciences, which they have in their lives, liberties, and estates: but that to take away these in penalty for the other, is merely a more legal and gentile way of padding upon the road of Heaven, and that it is only for want of money and for want of religion that men take those desperate courses.

Nor can it be denied that the original law upon which Christianity at the first was founded, does indeed expressly provide against all such severity; and it was by the humility, meekness, love, forbearance and patience which were part of that excellent doctrine, that it became at last the universal religion, and can no more by any other means be preserved, than it is possible for another soul to animate the same body.

But, with shame be it spoken, the Spartans obliging themselves to Lycurgus his laws, till he should come back again, continued under his most rigid discipline, above twice as long as the Christians did endure under the gentlest of all institutions, though with far more certainty expecting the return of their Divine Legislator. Insomuch that it is no great adventure to say, that the world was better ordered under the ancient monarchies and commonwealths, that the number of virtuous men was then greater, and that the Christians found fairer quarter under

those than among themselves, nor hath there any advantage accrued unto mankind from that most perfect and practical model of humane society except the speculation of a better way to future happiness, concerning which the very guides disagree, and of those few that follow, it will suffer no man to pass without paying at their turnpikes. All which had proceeded from no other reason, but that men, instead of squaring their governments by the rule of Christianity, have shaped Christianity by the measures of their government, have reduced that straight line by the crooked, and bungling divine and humane things together, have been always hacking and hewing one another, to frame an irregular figure of political incongruity.

For wheresoever either the Magistrate, or the Clergy, or the people could gratify their ambition, their profit, or their phansie by a text improved or misapplied, that they made use of, though against the consent, sense and immutable precepts of Scripture; and because obedience for conscience sake was there prescribed, the less conscience did men make in commanding; so that several nations have little else to shew for their Christianity (which requires instruction only and example) but a parcel of severe laws concerning opinion or about the modes of worship, not so much in order to the power of religion as over it. Nevertheless because mankind must be governed some way and be held up to one law or other, either of Christ's or their own making, the vigour of such humane constitutions is to be preserved untill the same authority shall upon better reason revoke them; and as in the mean time no private man may without the guilt of sedition or rebellion resist, so neither by the nature of the

English foundation can any publick person suspend them without committing an error which is not the less for wanting a legal name to express it. But it was the master-piece therefore of boldness and contrivance in these conspirators to issue this declaration, and it is hard to say wherein they took the greater felicity, whether in suspending hereby all the statutes against Popery, that it might thenceforward pass like current money over the nation, and no man dare to refuse it, or whether gaining by this a precedent to suspend as well all other laws that respect the subject's propriety, and by the same power to abrogate and at last inact what they pleased, till there should be no further use for the consent of the people in Parliament.

Having been thus true to their great design and made so considerable a progress, they advanced with all expedition. It was now high time to declare the war, after they had begun it; and therefore by a manifesto of the seventeenth of March 1672, the pretended causes were made publick, which were, the not having veiled bonnet to the English yatch: though the Dutch had all along, both at home and here, as carefully endeavoured to give, as the English ministers to avoid, the receiving of all satisfaction, or letting them understand what would do it, and the Council clock was on purpose set forward, lest their utmost compliance in the flag at the hour appointed should prevent the declaration of war by some minutes. The detaining of some few English families (by their own consent) in Surynam after the dominion of it was by treaty surrendered up to the Hollander, in which they had likewise constantly yielded to the unreasonable demands that were from one time to another extended from hence to make

the thing impracticable, till even Banister himself, that had been employed as the agent and contriver of this misunderstanding, could not at the last forbear to cry shame of it. And moreover to fill up the measure of the Dutch iniquity, they are accused of pillars, medalls, and pictures: a poet indeed, by a dash of his pen, having once been the cause of a war against Poland; but this certainly was the first time that ever a painter could by a stroke of his pencil occasion the breach of a treaty. But considering the weakness and invalidity of those other allegations, these indeed were not unnecessary, the pillars to add strength, the medals weight, and the pictures colour to their reasons.

But herein they had however observed faith with France though on all other sides broken, having capitulated to be the first that should do it. Which as it was no small piece of French courtesy in so important an action to yield the English the precedence, so was it on the English part as great a bravery in accepting to be the foremost to discompose the state of all Christendom, and make themselves principal to all the horrid destruction, devastation, ravage and slaughter, which from that fatal 17th of March, 1672, has to this very day continued.

But that which was most admirable in the winding up of this declaration, was to behold these words:

“And whereas we are engaged by a treaty to support the peace made at Aix la Chapelle; we do finally declare, that, notwithstanding the prosecution of this war, we will maintain the true intent and scope of the said treaty, and that in all alliances, which we have, or shall make in the progress of this war, we have, and will take care, to preserve

“the ends thereof inviolable, unless provoked to the “contrary.”

And yet it is as clear as the sun, that the French had, by that treaty of Aix la Chapelle, agreed to acquiesce in their former conquests in Flanders, and that the English, Suede, and Hollander, were reciprocally bound to be aiding against whomsoever should disturb that regulation, (besides the league offensive and defensive, which his Majesty had entered into with the States General of the United Provinces) all which was by this conjunction with France to be broken in pieces. So that what is here declared, if it were reconcileable to truth, yet could not consist with possibility (which two do seldom break company) unless by one only expedient, that the English, who by this new league with France were to be the infractors and aggressors of the peace of Aix la Chapelle (and with Holland) should, to fulfill their obligations to both parties, have sheathed the sword in our own bowels.

But such was the zeal of the conspirators, that it might easily transport them either to say what was untrue, or undertake what was impossible, for the French service.

That King having seen the English thus engaged beyond a retreat, comes now into the war according to agreement. But he was more generous and monarchical than to assign cause, true or false, for his actions. He therefore, on the 27th of March 1672, publishes a declaration of war without any reasons. Only, the ill satisfaction which his Majesty hath of the behaviour of the States General towards him, being risen to that degree, that he can no longer, without diminution to his glory, dissemble his indignation against them, &c. therefore he hath

resolved to make war against them both by sea and land, &c. and commands all his subjects, *courir sus*, upon the Hollanders, (a metaphor which, out of respect to his own nation, might have been spared) for such is our pleasure.

Was ever, in any age or nation of the world, the sword drawn upon no better allegation? a stile so far from being 'Most Christian,' that nothing but some vain French romance can parallel or justify the expression. How happy were it could we once arrive at the same pitch, and how much credit and labour had been saved, had the compilers of our declaration, instead of the mean English way of giving reasons, contented themselves with that of the diminution of the English honour, as the French of his glory! But nevertheless, by his ambassador to the Pope, he gave afterwards a more clear account of his conjunction with the English, and that he had not undertaken this war against the Hollanders, but for extirpating of heresie: To the emperour, that the Hollanders were a people who had forsaken God, were hereticks, and that all good Christians were in duty bound to associate for their extirpation, and ought to pray to God for a blessing upon so pious an enterprise: And to other Popish princes, that it was a war of religion and in order to the propagation of the Catholick Faith.

And in the second article of his demands afterward from the Hollanders, it is in express words contained, "That from thenceforward there shall be not only an intire liberty, but a publick exercise of the Catholick Apostolick Roman Religion throughout all the United Provinces. So that wheresoever there shall be more than one church, another shall be given to the Catholicks: that where there is none, they shall

“be permitted to build one; and till that be finished, “to exercise their divine service publickly in such “houses as they shall buy, or hire for that purpose. “That the States General, or each Province in “particular, shall appoint a reasonable salary for a “curate or priest in each of the said churches, out of “such revenues as have formerly appertained to the “church, or otherwise.” Which was conformable to what he published now abroad, that he had entered into the war only for God’s glory; and that he would lay down arms straightways, would the Hollanders but restore the true worship in their dominions.

But he made indeed twelve demands more, and notwithstanding all this devotion, the article of commerce, and for revoking their placats against wine, brandy, and French manufactures was the first, and took place of the Catholick Apostolic Roman Religion. Whether all these were therefore only words of course, and to be held or let loose according to his occasions, will better appear when we shall have heard that he still insists upon the same at Nimeguen, and that, although deprived of our assistance, he will not yet agree with the Dutch but upon the terms of restoring the true worship. But, whatever he were, it is evident that the English were sincere and in good earnest in the design of Popery; both by that declaration above-mentioned of indulgence to the recusants, and by the negotiation of those of the English Plenipotentiaries (whom for their honour I name not) that being in that year sent into Holland pressed that article among the rest upon them, as without which they could have no hope of peace with England. And the whole process of affairs will manifest further, that both here and there it was all of a piece, as to the project of

religion, and the same thread ran threw the web of the English and French counsels, no less in relation to that, than unto government.

Although the issuing of the French King's declaration and the sending of our English Plenipotentiaries into Holland be involved together in this last period, yet the difference of time was so small that the anticipation is inconsiderable. For having declared the war but on the 27th of March, 1672, he struck so home and followed his blow so close, that by July following, it seemed that Holland could no longer stand him, but that the swiftness and force of his motion was something supernatural. And it was thought necessary to send over those Plenipotentiaries, if not for interest yet at least for curiosity. But it is easier to find the marks than reasons of some mens actions, and he that does only know what happened before, and what after, might perhaps wrong them by searching for further intelligence.

So it was, that the English and French navies being joyned, were upon the 28th of May, 1672, attacked in Soule Bay by De Ruyter, with too great advantage. For while his Royal Highness, then admiral, did all that could be expected, but Monsieur d'Estree, that commanded the French, did all that he was sent for, our English vice-admiral Mountague, was sacrificed; and the rest of our fleet so mangled, that there was no occasion to boast of victory. So that being here still on the losing hand, 'twas fit somebody should look to the betts on the other side of the water; lest that great and lucky gamester, when he had won all there, and stood no longer in need of the conspirators, should pay them with a quarrel for his mony, and their ill fortune. Yet were they not conscious to themselves of having

given him, by any behaviour of theirs, any cause of dissatisfaction, but that they had dealt with him in all things most frankly, that, notwithstanding all the expressions in my Lord Keeper Bridgman's speech, of the treaty between France and his Majesty concerning commerce, wherein his Majesty will have a singular regard to the honour and also to the trade of this nation, and notwithstanding the intollerable oppressions upon the English traffick in France ever since the King's restauration, they had not in all that time made one step towards a treaty of commerce or navigation with him; no not even now when the English were so necessary to him, that he could not have begun this war without them, and might probably therefore in this conjuncture have condescended to some equality. But they knew how tender that King was on that point, and to preserve and encrease the trade of his subjects, and that it was by the diminution of that beam of his glory, that the Hollanders had raised his indignation. The conspirators had therefore, the more to gratify him, made it their constant maxim, to burden the English merchant here with one hand, while the French should load them no less with the other, in his territories; which was a parity of trade indeed, though something an extravagant one, but the best that could be hoped from the prudence and integrity of our statesmen; insomuch, that when the merchants have at any time come down from London to represent their grievances from the French, to seek redress, or offer their humble advice, they were hectored, brow-beaten, ridiculed, and might have found fairer audience even from Monsieur Colbert.

They knew moreover, that as in the matter of commerce, so they had more obliged him in this war.

That except the irresistible bounties of so great a prince in their own particular, and a frugal subsistence-money for the fleet, they had put him to no charges, but the English navy royal served him, like so many privateers, no purchase, no pay. That in all things they had acted with him upon the most abstracted principles of generosity. They had tyed him to no terms, had demanded no partition of conquests, had made no humane condition; but had sold all to him for those two pearls of price, the True Worship and the True Government. Which disinterested proceedings of theirs, though suited to foreign magnanimity, yet, should we still lose at sea, as we had hitherto, and the French conquer all at land, as it was in prospect, might at one time or other breed some difficulty in answering for it to the king and kingdom: however this were, it had so happened before the arrival of the Plenipotentiaries, that, whereas here in England, all that brought applications from Holland were treated as spies and enemies, till the French King should signify his pleasure; he on the contrary, without any communication here, had received addresses from the Dutch Plenipotentiaries, and given in to them the sum of his demands (not once mentioning his Majesty or his interest, which indeed he could not have done unless for mockery, having demanded all for himself, so that there was no place left to have made the English any satisfaction) and the French ministers therefore did very candidly acquaint those of Holland, that, upon their accepting those articles, there should be a firm peace, and amity restored: but as for England, the States, their masters, might use their discretion, for that France was not obliged by any treaty to procure their advantage.

This manner of dealing might probably have animated, as it did warrant the English Plenipotentiaries, had they been as full of resolution as of power, to have closed with the Dutch, who, out of aversion to the French and their intollerable demands, were ready to have thrown themselves into his Majestie's arms, or at his feet, upon any reasonable conditions; but it wrought clean otherwise: for, those of the English Plenipotentiaries, who were, it seems, intrusted with a fuller authority and the deeper secret, gave in also the English demands to the Hollanders, consisting in eight articles, but at last the ninth saith,

“Although his Majesty contents himself with the foregoing conditions, so that they be accepted within ten days, after which his Majesty understands himself to be no further obliged by them: he declares nevertheless precisely, that albeit they should all of them be granted by the said States, yet they shall be of no force, nor will his Majesty make any treaty of peace or truce, unless the Most Christian King shall have received satisfaction from the said States in his particular.” And by this means they made it impossible for the Dutch, however desirous, to comply with England, excluded us from more advantagious terms than we could at any other time hope for, and deprived us of an honest, and honourable evasion out of so pernicious a war, and from a more dangerous Alliance. So that now it appeared by what was done that the conspirators, securing their own fears at the price of the publick interest and safety, had bound us up more strait than ever, by a new treaty, to the French project.

The rest of this year passed with great success to the French, but none to the English. And therefore

the hopes upon which the war was begun, of the Smyrna and Spanish fleet and Dutch prizes, being vanished, the slender allowance from the French not sufficing to defray it, and the ordinary revenue of the King, with all the former aids being (as was fit to be believed) in less than one year's time exhausted, the Parliament, by the conspirators' good leave, was admitted again to sit at the day appointed, the 4th of February, 1672.

The war was then first communicated to them, and the causes, the necessity, the danger, so well painted out, that the Dutch abusive historical pictures, and false medals (which were not forgot to be mentioned) could not be better imitated or revenged: only, there was one great omission of their false pillars, which upheld the whole fabrick of the English declaration. Upon this signification, the House of Commons (who had never failed the Crown hitherto upon any occasion of mutual gratuity) did now also, though in a war, contrary to former usage, begun without their advice, readily vote no less a sum than 1,250,000*l*. But for better colour, and lest they should own in words what they did in effect, they would not say it was for the war, but for the King's extraordinary occasions.

And because the Nation began now to be aware of the more true causes for which the war had been undertaken, they prepared an Act before the Money Bill slipt thorow their fingers, by which the Papists were obliged to pass thorow a new state-Purgatory, to be capable of any publick employment; whereby the House of Commons, who seem to have all the great offices of the kingdom in reversion, could not but expect some wind-falls.

Upon this occasion it was, that the earl of Shaft-

bury, though then Lord Chancellour of England, yet engaged so far in defence of that Act and of the Protestant Religion, that in due time it cost him his place, and was the first moving cause of all those misadventures, and obloquy, which since he lyes (ABOVE, not) *under*.

The declaration also of indulgence was questioned; which, though his Majesty had out of his princely and gracious inclination, and the memory of some former obligations, granted, yet upon their representation of the inconveniences, and at their humble request, he was pleased to cancel, and declare, that it should be no precedent for the future: for otherwise some succeeding governour, by his single power suspending penal laws in a favourable matter, as that is of religion, might become more dangerous to the government, than either papists or fanatics, and make us either, when he pleased: so legal was it in this Session to distinguish between the King of England's personal and his parliamentary authority.

But therefore the further sitting being grown very uneasie to those who had undertaken for the change of religion and government, they procured the recess so much sooner, and a Bill sent up by the Commons in favour of Dissenting Protestants, not having passed thorow the Lord's preparation, the Bill concerning Papists was enacted in exchange for the money, by which the conspirators, when it came into their management, hoped to frustrate yet, the effect of the former. So the Parliament was dismissed till the 27th of October 1673.

In the mean time therefore they strove with all their might to regain by the war, that part of their design, which they had lost by Parliament; and though several honourably forsook their places rather

than their consciences, yet there was never wanting some double-dyed son of our Church, some Protestant in grain, to succeed upon the same conditions. And the difference was no more, but that their offices, or however their counsels, were now to be administred by their deputies, such as they could confide in.

The business of the land army was vigorously carried on, in appearance to have made some descent in Holland, but though the regiments were compleated and kept imbodyed, it wanted effect, and therefore gave cause of suspicion: the rather, because no Englishman, among so many well-disposed and qualified for the work, had been thought capable, or fit to be trusted with chief command of those forces, but that Monsieur Schomberg, a French Protestant, had been made general, and Colonel Fitzgerald, an Irish Papist, major general, as more proper for the secret; the first of advancing the French government, the second of promoting the Irish religion.

And therefore the dark hovering of that army so long at Black Heath might not improbably seem the gatherings of a storm to fall upon London; but the ill successes which our fleet met withal this year, also, at sea, were sufficient, had there been any such design at home, to have quashed it: for such gallantries are not to be attempted, but in the highest raptures of fortune.

There were three several engagements of ours against the Dutch navy in this one summer, but while nothing was tenable at land, against the French, it seemed that to us at sea every thing was impregnable; which is not to be attributed to the want of courage or conduct, either the former year under the command of his Royal Highness, so great a soldier, or this year under the Prince Robert; but

is rather to be imputed to our unlucky conjunction with the French, like the disasters that happen to men by being in ill company.

But besides it was manifest that in all these wars, the French,—meant nothing less than really to assist us: he had first practised the same art at sea, when he was in league with the Hollander against us, his navy never having done them any service, for his business was only to see us batter one another. And now he was on the English side, he only studied to sound our seas, to spy our ports, to learn our building, to contemplate our way of fight, to consume ours, and preserve his own navy, to encrease his commerce, and to order all so that the two great naval powers of Europe being crushed together, he might remain sole arbitrator of the ocean, and by consequence master of all the isles and continent. To which purposes the conspirators furnished him all possible opportunities. Therefore it was that Monsieur d'Estree, though a person otherwise of tried courage and prudence, yet never did worse than in the third and last engagement; and because brave Monsieur d'Martel did better, and could not endure a thing that looked like cowardice or treachery, though for the service of his monarch, commanded him in, rated him, and at his return home he was, as then was reported, discountenanced and dismissed from his command, for no other crime but his breaking of the French measures, by adventuring one of those sacred ships in the English, or rather his own master's quarrel.

His Royal Highness (by whose having quitted the Admiralty, the sea service thrived not the better) was now intent upon his marriage, at the same time the Parliament was to reassemble the 27th of October

1673, the Princess of Modena, his consort, being upon the way for England, and that business seemed to have passed all impediment. Nor were the conspirators, who (to use the French phrase) made a considerable figure in the government, wholly averse to the Parliament's meeting: for if the House of Commons had, after one year's unfortunate war, made so vast a present to his Majesty of 1,250,000*l.* but the last February, it seemed the argument would now be more pressing upon them, that by how much the ill successes of this year had been greater, they ought therefore to give a yet more liberal donative. And the conspirators as to their own particular reckoned, that while the nation was under the more distress and hurry they were themselves safer from Parliament, by the publick calamity.

A supply therefore was demanded with much more importunity and assurance than ever before, and that it should be a large one and a speedy: they were told that it was now *pro aris et focis*, all was at stake. And yet besides all this, the payment of the debt to the bankers upon shutting the Exchequer was very civilly recommended to them. And they were assured that his Majesty would be constantly ready to give them all proofs of his zeal for the true religion and the laws of the realm, upon all occasions: but the House of Commons not having been sufficiently prepared for such demands, nor well satisfied in several matters of fact, which appeared contrary to what was represented, took check; and first interposed in that tender point of his Royal Highness's match, although she was of his own religion, which is a redoubled sort of marriage, or the more spiritual part of its happiness. Besides, that she had been already solemnly married by the

duke's proxy, so that unless the Parliament had been Pope and claimed a power of dispensation, it was now too late to avoid it. His Majesty by a short prorogation of six days, when he understood their intention, gave them opportunity to have desisted: but it seems they judged the national interest of religion so far concerned in this matter, that they no sooner met again, but they drew up a second request by way of address to his Majesty with their reasons against it: that for his Royal Highness to marry the Princess of Modena, or any other of that religion, had very dangerous consequences: that the minds of his Majesty's Protestant subjects will be much disquieted, and thereby filled with infinite discontents and jealousies: that his Majesty would thereby be linked into such a foreign Alliance, which will be of great disadvantage and possibly to the ruin of the Protestant religion: that they have found by sad experience how such marriages have always increased Popery, and encouraged priests and jesuits to pervert his Majesty's subjects: that the Popish party already lift up their heads in hopes of his marriage: that they fear it may diminish the affection of the people toward his Royal Highness, who is by blood so near related to the crown: that it is now more than one age, that the subjects have lived in continual apprehensions of the increase of Popery, and the decay of the Protestant religion: finally that she having many kindred and relations in the court of Rome, by this means their enterprises here might be facilitated, they might pierce into the most secret counsels of his Majesty, and discover the state of the realm: that the most learned men are of opinion, that marriages no further proceeded in may lawfully be dissolved: and therefore they beseech his Majesty

to annul the consummation of it, and the rather, because they have not yet the happiness to see any of his Majesty's own lineage to succeed in his kingdoms.

These reasons, which were extended more amply against his Royal Highness's marriage, obtained more weight, because most men are apt to judge of things by circumstances, and to attribute what happens by the conjuncture of times, to the effect of contrivance. So that it was not difficult to interpret what was in his Royal Highness an ingagement only of honour and affection, as proceeding from the conspirators' counsels, seeing it made so much to their purpose.

But the business was too far advanced to retreat, as his Majesty with great reason had replied to their address, the marriage having been celebrated already, and confirmed by his Royal Authority, and the House of Commons though sitting when the Duke was in a treaty for the Archdutchess of Inspruck, one of the same religion, yet having taken no notice of it.

Therefore while they pursued the matter thus, by a second address, it seemed an easier thing, and more decent, to prorogue the Parliament, than to dissolve the marriage. And, which might more incline his Majesty to this resolution, the House of Commons had now bound themselves up by a vote, That having considered the present state of the nation, they would not take into deliberation, nor have any further debate upon, any other proposals of aid, or any surcharge upon the subject, before the payment of the £1,250,000 in eighteen months, which was last granted, were expired, or at least till they should evidently see that the obstinacy of the Hollanders should oblige them to the contrary, nor till after the

kingdom should be effectually secured against the dangers of Popery, and Popish counsellors, and that orders be taken against other present misdemeanours.

There was yet another thing—the Land-Army—which appearing to them expensive, needless, and terrible to the people, they addressed to his Majesty also, that they might be disbanded. All which things put together, his Majesty was induced to prorogue the Parliament again for a short time, till the 7th of January, 1673: that in the mean while the Princess of Modena arriving, the marriage might be consummated without further interruption.

That Session was opened with a large deduction also by the New Keeper, this being his first experiment, in the Lord's House, of his eloquence and veracity, of the Hollanders averseness to peace or reason, and their uncivil and indirect dealing in all overtures of treaty with his Majesty; and a demand was made therefore, and re-inforced as formerly, of a proportionable and speedy supply. But the Hollanders that had found themselves obstructed always hitherto, and in a manner excluded from all applications, and that whatever means they had used was still mis-interpreted and ill-represented, were so industrious, as by this time (which was perhaps the greatest part of the crime) to have undeceived the generality of the nation in those particulars.

The House of Commons therefore, not doubting but that if they held their hands in matter of money a Peace would in due time follow, grew troublesome rather to several of the great ministers of State, whom they suspected to have been principal in the late pernicious counsels. But instead of the way of impeachment, whereby the crimes might have been brought to examination, proof and judgment, they

proceeded summarily within themselves, noting them only with an ill character, and requesting his Majesty to remove them from his counsels, his presence, and their publick employments. Neither in that way of handling were they impartial.

Of the three which were questioned, the Duke of Buckingham seemed to have much the more favourable cause, but had the severest fortune. And this whole matter not having been managed in the solemn methods of national justice, but transmitted to his Majesty, it was easily changed into a court intrigue, where though it be a modern maxim,

“That no State minister ought to be punished, but especially not upon parliamentary applications:”

Yet other offenders thought it of security to themselves, in a time of publick discontent, to have one man sacrificed, and so the Duke of Buckingham having worse enemies, and as it chanced worse friends, than the rest, was after all his services abandoned; they having only heard the sound, while he felt all the smart of that lash from the House of Commons.

But he was so far a gainer, that with the loss of his offices and dependance, he was restored to the freedom of his own spirit, to give thence-forward those admirable proofs of the vigour and vivacity of his better judgment, in asserting, though to his own imprisonment, the due liberties of the English nation.

This manner of proceeding in the House of Commons was a new way of negotiating the Peace with Holland, but the most effectual; the conspirators living all the while under continual apprehensions of being called to further account for their actions, and no money appearing, which would either have perpetuated the War, or might, in case of a Peace,

be misapplied to other uses than the building of ships, insinuated by the Lord Keeper.

The Hollander's proposals, by this means, therefore, began to be thought more reasonable, and the Marquis del Fresno, the Spanish minister in this Court, laboured so well, that his Majesty thought fit to communicate the overture to both Houses, and though their advice had not been asked to the War, yet not to make Peace without it. There was not much difficulty in their resolutions. For the general bent of the Nation was against the War, the French now had by their ill behaviour at sea, in all the engagements, raised also the English indignation, their pernicious councils were visible in their book of the *Politique Françoise*, tending by frequent levies of men, and mony, to exhaust, and weaken our kingdom, and by their conjunction with us, on set purpose, to raise, betwixt the king and his people, a rational jealousy of Popery and French government, till we should insensibly devolve into them by inclination or necessity: as men of ill conversation pin themselves maliciously on persons more sober, that if they can no otherwise debauch them, they may blast their reputation by their society, and so oblige them to theirs, being suspected by better company.

Besides all which the very reason of traffick which hath been so long neglected by our greater statesmen was now of some consideration, for-as-much as by a peace with the Hollander the greatest part of the trade and navigation of Europe, as long as the French King disturbed it, would of course fall into the English management. The Houses therefore gave their humble advice to his Majesty for a just and honourable Peace with the States General, which, when it could be no longer resisted, was concluded.

In the seventh article of this treaty it is said,
“That the Treaty which was made at Breda in the
“year 1667, and also all the others, which are by this
“present Treaty confirmed, shall by the present be
“renewed, and shall continue in their full force and
“vigour, as far as they shall not be contrary unto
“this said present Treaty.”

Which words are the more to be taken notice of,
that they may be compared afterwards with the
effects that follow, to see how well on the English
part that agreement had been observed.

The business of the Peace thus being once over,
and this Parliament still lowring upon the ministers
of state, or boggling at the Land-forces (whereof the
eight new raised regiments were upon the request of
the Commons at last disbanded) or employed in
further bills against Popery, and for the education,
and Protestant marriage henceforward of those of the
royal family; the necessity of their further sitting
seemed not so urgent, but that they might have a
repose till the 10th of November, 1674, following.

The conspirators had hitherto failed of the accom-
plishing their design, by perpetual disappointments,
and which was most grievous to them, foresaw,
that the want of mony would still necessitate the
frequent sitting of Parliament, which danger they
had hoped long ere this to have conquered. In this
state of their affairs the French King therefore was
by no means to be further disobliged, he being the
master of the secret, and the only person which, if
they helped him at this plunge, might carry them
thorow. They were therefore very dilligent to profit
themselves of all the advantages to this purpose that
their present posture could afford them. They knew
that his Majesty, being now disengaged from war

would of his royal prudence interpose for peace by his mediation, it being the most glorious character that any prince can assume, and for which he was the more proper, as being the most potent, thereby to give the sway ; and the most disinterested whereby to give the equity requisite to such negociation ; and the most obliged in honour, as having been the occasion by an unforeseen consequence, of drawing the sword of all this part of Europe. But if they feared any propension in his Majesty to one party it was towards Spain, as knowing how that crown (as it is at large recited, and acknowledged, in the preamble of the last Treaty between England and Holland) had been the only instrument of the happy Peace which after that pernicious War we now enjoyed.

Therefore they were resolved by all their influence, and industry (though the profit of the war did now redound to the English nation, and however in case of peace it was our interest that, if any, France should be depressed to any equality) to labour that by this mediation France might be the only gainer, and having all quiet about him, might be at perfect leisure to attend their project upon England. And one of these our statesmen being pressed, solved all arguments to the contrary with an oraculous French question,

Faut-il que tout se fasse par politique, rien par amitié ?

“Must all things be done by maxims or reasons of State ; nothing for affection ?”

Therefore that such absurdity as the ordering of affairs abroad, according to the interest of our nation, might be avoided, the English, Scotch and Irish

regiments, that were already in the French service, were not only to be kept in their full complement, but new numbers of soldiers daily transported thither, making up in all, as is related, at least a constant body of 10,000 men, of his Majestie's subjects, and which oftentimes turned the fortune of battle on the French side by their valour.

How far this either consisted with the office of a mediator, or how consonant it was to the seventh article, above mentioned, of the last Treaty with Holland; it is for them to demonsterate who were the authors. But it was indeed a good way to train up an army, under the French discipline and principles, who might be ready-seasoned upon occasion in England, to be called back and execute the same counsels.

In the mean time, they would be trying yet what they could do at home. For the late proceedings of Parliament, in quashing the indulgence, in questioning ministers of State, in bills against Popery, in not granting money whensoever asked, were crimes not to be forgiven, nor (however the conspirators had provided for themselves) named in the act of general pardon.

They begun therefore after fifteen years to remember that there were such a sort of men in England as the old Cavalier party; and reckoned, that by how much the more generous, they were more credulous than others, and so more fit to be again abused. These were told, that all was at stake, Church and State. (How truly said! but meant, how falsely!) That the nation was running again into 'forty-one; that this was the time to refresh their ancient merit, and receive the recompence double of all their loyalty, and that henceforward

the cavaliers should have the lottery of all the great or small offices in the kingdom, and not so much as Sir Joseph Williamson to have a share in it.

By this means they indeed designed to have raised a Civil War, for which they had all along provided, by new forts, and standing forces, and to which they had on purpose both in England and Sootland given all provocation if it would have been taken, that so they might have a *rase campagne* of religion, government, and propriety! or they hoped at least by this means to fright the one party, and incourage the other, to give henceforward mony at pleasure, and that mony on what title soever granted, with what stamp coined, might be melted down for any other service or uses. But there could not have been a greater affront and indignity offered to those gentlemen (and the best did so resent it) than whether these hopes were real, to think them men that might be hired to any base action, or whether as hitherto but imaginary, that by erecting the late King's statue that whole party might be rewarded in effigy.

While these things were upon the anvil the 10th of November was come for the Parliament's sitting, but that was put off till the 13th of April 1675. And in the mean time, which fell out most opportune for the conspirators, these counsels were matured, and something further to be contrived, that was yet wanting: the Parliament accordingly meeting, and the House of Lords, as well as that of the Commons, being in deliberation of several wholesome bills, such as the present state of the nation required, the great design came out in a bill unexpectedly offered one morning in the House of Lords, whereby all such as injoyed any beneficial office, or imployment, ecclesiastical, civil, or military, to which was added, privy

counsellors, justices of the peace, and members of Parliament, were under a penalty to take the oath, and make the declaration, and abhorrence, insuing.

"I A.B. do declare, that it is not lawful upon any pretence whatsoever to take up arms against the King, and that I do abhor that traiterous position of taking arms by his authority against his person, or against those that are commissioned by him in pursuance of such commission. And I do swear, that I will not at any time endeavour the alteration of the government either in Church or State. So help me God."

This same oath had been brought into the House of Commons in the plague year at Oxford, to have been imposed upon the nation, but there, by the assistance of those very same persons that now introduce it, 'twas thrown out, for fear of a general infection of the vitals of this kingdom: and though it passed then in a particular bill, known by the name of the Five Mile Act, because it only concerned the non-conformist preachers, yet even in that, it was thoroughly opposed by the late Earl of Southampton, whose judgement might well have been reckoned for the standard of prudence and loyalty. It was indeed happily said, by the Lord Keeper, in the opening of this Session, "No influences of the stars, no configuration of the heavens, are to be feared, so long as these two Houses stand in a good disposition to each other, and both of them in a happy conjunction with their Lord and Sovereign." But if he had so early this Act in his prospect, the same astrology might have taught him, that there is nothing more portentous, and of worse omen, than when such an oath hangs over a nation, like a new comet foreboding the alteration of religion, or govern-

ment. Such was the holy league in France in the reign of Henry III. Such in the time of Philip II. the oath in the Netherlands. And so the oaths in our late King's time taught the Fanaticks, because they could not swear, yet to covenant. Such things therefore are, if ever, not needlessly thought for good fortune sake only to be attempted ; and when was there any thing less necessary ? No King of England had ever so great a treasure of this people's affections except what those ill men have, as they have done all the rest, consumed ; whom but out of an excess of love to his person, the kingdom would never (for it never did formerly) so long have suffered : the old acts of allegiance and supremacy were still in their full vigour, unless against the Papists, and even against them too of late, whensoever the way was to be smoothed for a liberal session of Parliament. And moreover to put the crown in full security, this Parliament had by an Act of theirs determined a question which the wisdom of their ancestors had never decided, that the King hath the sole power of the militia. And therefore my Lord Keeper did, by his patronizing this oath, too grossly prevaricate, against two very good state maxims, in his harangue to the Parliament, for which he had consulted not the astrologer, but the historian, advising them first, that they should not *quieta movere*, that is, said he "when men stir those things or questions which are, "and ought to be in peace." And secondly, that they should not *res parvas magnis motibus agere* : That is, saith he again, "when as much weight is "laid upon a new and not always necessary proposition as if the whole sum of affairs depended upon "it."

And this oath, it seems, was the little thing he

meant of, being forsooth but a moderate security to the Church and Crown, as he called it, but which he and his party laid so much weight on, as if the whole sum of affairs did depend upon it.

But as to the *quieta movere*, or stirring of those things or questions which are and ought to be in peace, was not this so, of taking arms against the King upon any pretence whatsoever? and was not that also in peace, of the traiterous position of taking arms by his authority against his person? had not the three acts of Corporations, of Militia, and the Five Miles, sufficiently quieted it? why was it further stirred? but being stirred, it raises in men's thoughts many things more; some less, others more to the purpose. ✓

Sir Walter Tirrell's arrow grazed upon the deer it was shot at, but by that chance killed King William Rufus; yet so far was it that Sir Walter should for that chance-shot be adjudged of treason, but we do not perceive he underwent any other tryal like that of manslaughter: but which is more to the point, it were difficult to instance a law either in this or other country, but that a private man, if any king in Christendom assault him, may, having retreated to the wall, stand upon his guard; and therefore, if this matter as to a particular man be dubious, it was not so prudent to stir it in the general, being so well settled. And as to all other things, though since Lord Chancellor, he have in his speech of the 15th of February, 1676, said (to testify his own abhorrence) "Away with that ill meant distinction between the natural and politique capacity." He is too well read to be ignorant that without that distinction there would be no law nor reason of law left in England; to which end it was, and to put all ✓

out of doubt, that it is also required in this Test, to declare mens abhorrency as of a traitorous position, to take arms against those that are commissioned by him, in pursuance of such commission; and yet neither is the tenour or rule, of any such commission specified, nor the qualification of those that shall be armed with such commissions, expressed or limited. Never was so much sense contained in so few words. No conveyancer could ever in more compendious or binding terms have drawn a dissettlement of the whole birth-right of England.

For as to the commission, if it be to take away any man's estate, or his life by force, yet it is the King's commission: or if the person commissionate be under never so many dissabilities by Acts of Parliament, yet his taking this oath removes all those incapacities, or his commission makes it not disputable. But if a man stand upon his defence, a good judge for the purpose, finding that the position is traitorous, will declare that by this law he is to be executed for treason.

These things are no niceties, or remote considerations (though in making of laws, and which must come afterwards under construction of judges, *durante bene placito*, all cases are to be put and imagined) but there being an Act in Scotland for 20,000 men to march into England upon call, and so great a body of English soldiery in France, within summons, besides what foreigners may be obliged by treaty to furnish, and it being so fresh in memory, what sort of persons had lately been in commission among us, to which add the many books then printed by licence, writ, some by men of the black, one of the green cloth, wherein the absoluteness of the English monarchy is against all law asserted.

All these considerations put together were sufficient to make any honest and well advised man to conceive indeed, that upon the passing of this oath and declaration the whole sum of affairs depended.

It grew therefore to the greatest contest, that has perhaps ever been in Parliament, wherein those Lords, that were against this oath, being assured of their own loyalty and merit, stood up now for the English liberties with the same genius, virtue, and courage, that their noble ancestors had formerly defended the great Charter of England, but with so much greater commendation, in that they had here a fairer field, and a more civil way of decision: they fought it out under all the disadvantages imaginable: they were overlaid by numbers: the noise of the House, like the wind, was against them, and if not the sun, the fire-side was always in their faces; nor being so few, could they, as their adversaries, withdraw to refresh themselves in a whole day's engagement: yet never was there a clearer demonstration how dull a thing is humane eloquence, and greatness how little, when the bright truth discovers all things in their proper colours and dimensions, and shining, shoots its beams thorow all their fallacies. It might be injurious, where all of them did so excellently well, to attribute more to any one of those Lords than another, unless because the Duke of Buckingham and the Earl of Shaftsbury, have been the more reproached for this brave action, it be requisite by a double proportion of praise to set them two on equal terms with the rest of their companions in honour. The particular relation in this debate, which lasted many days with great eagerness on both sides, and the reasons but on one, was in the next Session burnt by order of the Lords, but the

sparks of it will eternally fly in their adversaries faces.

Now before this test could in so vigorous an opposition pass the House of Peers, there arose unexpectedly a great controversy betwixt the two Houses, concerning their privileges on this occasion; the Lords according to their undoubted right, being the Supreme Court of Judicature in the nation, had, upon petition of Doctor Shirley, taken cognizance of a cause between him and Sir John Fagg, a member of the House of Commons, and of other appeals from the the Court of Chancery, which the Commons, whether in good earnest, which I can hardly believe, or rather some crafty parliament men among them, having an eye upon the Test, and to prevent the hazard of its coming among them, presently took hold of, and blew the coals to such a degree, that there was no quenching them.

In the House of Peers both parties, as in a point of their own privilege, easily united, and were no less inflamed against the Commons, and to uphold their own ancient jurisdiction; wherein nevertheless both the Lords for the Test and those against it, had their own particular reasons, and might have accused each other perhaps of some artifice: the matter in conclusion was so husbanded on all sides, that any longer converse betwixt the two Houses grew impracticable, and his Majesty prorogued them therefore till the 13th of October 1675, following: and in this manner that fatal Test, which had given so great disturbance to the minds of our nation, died the second death; which in the language of the divines, is as much as to say, it was damned.

The House of Commons had not in that Session been wanting to vote 300,000*l.* towards the building

of ships, and to draw a bill for appropriating the ancient tunnage and poundage, amounting to 400,000*l.* yearly to the use of the Navy, as it ought in law already, and had been granted formerly upon that special trust and confidence but neither did that 300,000*l.* although competent at present, and but an earnest for future meeting, seem considerable, and had it been more, yet that bill of appropriating any thing to its true use, was a sufficient cause to make them both miscarry, but upon pretence of the quarrel between the Lords and Commons in which the Session thus ended.

The conspirators had this interval to reflect upon their own affairs. They saw that the King of France (as they called him) was so busy abroad, that he could not be of farther use yet, to them here, than by his directions, while his armies were by assistance of the English forces, several times saved from ruins. They considered that the Test was defeated, by which the Papists hoped to have had reprisals for that of Transubstantiation, and the conspirators to have gained commission, as extensive and arbitrary, as the malice of their own hearts could dictate: that herewith they had missed of a legality to have raised money without consent of Parliament, or to imprison or execute whosoever should oppose them in pursuance of such their commission. They knew it was in vain to expect that his Majesty in that want, or rather opinion of want, which they had reduced him to, should be diverted from holding this Session of Parliament: nor were they themselves for this once wholly averse to it, for they presumed either way to find their own account, that if money were granted it should be attributed to their influence, and remain much within their disposal, but if not granted, that

by joyning this with other accidents of Parliament, they might so represent things to his Majesty as to incense him against them, and distrusting all parliamentary advice to take counsel from themselves, from France, and from necessity.

And in the meane time they fomented all the jealousies which they caused. They continued to inculcate forty and one in court and country.

Those that refused all the mony they demanded, were to be the only recusants, and all that asserted the liberties of the nation, were to be reckoned in the classis of Presbyterians.

The 13th of October came, and his Majesty now asked not only a supply for his building of ships, as formerly, but further, to take off the anticipation upon his revenue.

The House of Commons took up again such publick bills as they had on foot in their former sitting, and others that might either remedy present, or prevent future mischiefs.

The bill for *Habeas Corpus*; that against sending men prisoners beyond sea; that against raising mony without consent of Parliament; that against Papists sitting in either House; another act for speedier convicting of Papists; that for recalling his Majesty's subjects out of the French service, &c. And as to his Majesty's supply, they proceeded in their former method of the two bills, one for raising 300,000*l.* and the other for appropriating the tunnage and poundage to the use of the navy.

And in the Lords House there was a good disposition toward things of publick interest: but 300,000*l.* was so insipid a thing, to those who had been continually regaled with millions, and that Act of appropriation, with some others, went so much against

stomach that there wanted only an opportunity to reject them, and that which was readiest at hand was the late quarrel betwixt the House of Lords and the Commons. The House of Commons did now more peremptorily than ever oppose the Lords' jurisdiction in appeals: the Lords on the other side were resolved not to depart from so essential a privilege and authority, but to proceed in the exercise of it: so that this dispute was raised to a greater ardure and contention than ever, and there appeared no way of accommodation. Hereupon the Lords were in consultation for an address to his Majesty containing many weighty reasons for his Majesty's dissolving this Parliament, deduced from the nature and behaviour of the present House of Commons: but his Majesty, although the transaction between the two Houses was at present become impracticable, judging that this House might at some other time be of use to him, chose only to prorogue the Parliament; the blame of it was not only laid but aggravated, upon those in both Houses, but especially on the Lords' House, who had most vigorously opposed the French and Popish interest. But those who were present at the Lords, and observed the conduct of the great ministers there, conceived of it otherwise; and as to the House of Commons, who in the heat of the contest had voted,

“That whosoever shall sollicite or prosecute any
“appeal against any Commoner of England, from any
“court of equity before the House of Lords, shall be
“deemed and taken a betrayer of the rights and
“liberties of the Commons of England, and shall be
“proceeded against accordingly.”

Their Speaker, going thorow Westminster Hall to the House, and looking down upon some of those

lawyers, commanded his mace to seize them, and led them up prisoners with him, which it is presumed, that he being of his Majestie's privy-council, would not have done, but for what some men call his Majestie's service; and yet it was the highest, this, of all the provocations which the Lords had received in this controversie. But however this fault ought to be divided, there was a greater committed in proroguing the Parliament from the 22d of November 1675, unto the 15th of February 1676, and holding it after that dismission, there being no record of any such thing done since the being of Parliaments in England, and the whole reason of law no less than the practice and custom holding contrary.

This vast space betwixt the meetings of Parliament cannot more properly be filled up, than with the coherence of those things abroad and at home, that those that are intelligent may observe whether the conspirators found any interruption, or did not rather suite this event also to the continuance of their counsels. The earl of Northampton is not to be esteemed as one engaged in those counsels, being a person of too great honour, though the advancing of him to be Constable of the Tower was the first of our domestick occurrents. But if they could have any hand in it, 'tis more probable that lest he might perceive their contrivances, they appalled him in so much wall to have made him insensible. However men conjectured even then by the quality of the keeper, that he was not to be disparaged with any mean and vulgar prisoners. But another thing was all along very remarkable, that during this inter-parliament, there were five judges' places either fell, or were made vacant; (for it was some while before that Sir Francis North had been created Lord Chief

Justice of the Common Pleas) the five that succeeded, were Sir Richard Rainsford, Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench; Mountague, Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer; Vere Bartie, Barrister at Law, one of the Barons of the Exchequer; Sir William Scroggs, one of the Justices of the Common Pleas; and Sir Thomas Jones, one of the Justices of the King's Bench: concerning all whom there is something too much to be said; and it is not out of a figure of speech, but for meer reverence of their profession that I thus pass it over, considering also humane infirmity, and that they are all by their patents, *durante bene placito*, bound as it were to their good behaviour. And it is a shame to think what trivial, and to say the best of them, obscure persons have and do stand next in prospect, to come and sit by them. Justice Atkins also, by warping too far towards the laws, was in danger upon another pretence to have made way for some of them, but upon true repentance and contrition, with some alms deeds, was admitted to mercy; and all the rest of the benches will doubtless have profited much by his, and some other examples. Alas! the wisdom and probity of the law went off for the most part with good Sir Mathew Hales, and justice is made a meer property. The poysonous arrow strikes to the very heart of government, and could come from no quiver but that of the conspirators. What French counsel, what standing forces, what parliamentary bribes, what national oaths, and all the other machinations of wicked men have not yet been able to effect, may be more compendiously acted by twelve judges in scarlet.

The next thing considerable that appeared preparatory for the next Session, was a book that came

out by publick authority, intitled, "Considerations touching the true way "to suppress Popery, &c." A very good design, and writ, I believe, by a very good man, but under some mistakes, which are not to be passed over: one in the preeface, wherein he saith, "The favour here proposed in behalf of the "Romanists, is not more than they enjoy among "Protestants abroad at this day." This I take not to be true either in Denmark or Sueden, and some other countries, where Popery is wholly suppressed: and therefore if that have been effected there, in ways of prudence and consisting with Christianity, it ought not to have been in so general words misrepresented.

Another is, page 59 and 60, a thing ill and dangerously said, concluding "I know but one "instance, that of David in Gath, of a man that was "put to all these straits, and yet not corrupted in his "principles." When there was a more illustrious example near him, and more obvious.

What else I have to say in passing, is, as to the ground-work of his whole design; which is to bring men nearer, as by a distinction betwixt the church and court of Rome, a thing long attempted but ineffectually, it being the same thing as to distinguish betwixt the church of England, and the English bishops, which cannot be separated. But the intention of the author was doubtless very honest, and the English of that profession are certainly of all Papists the most sincere and most worthy of favour; but this seemed no proper time to negotiate further than the publick convenience.

There was another book likewise that came out by authority, towards the approach of the Session, intitled, "A Packet of Advice to the Men of

Shaftsbury, &c.” But the name of the author was concealed, not out of any spark of modesty, but that he might with more security exercise his impudence, not so much against those noble lords, as against all publick truth and honesty. The whole composition is nothing else but an infusion of malice, in the froath of the town, and the scum of the university, by the prescription of the conspirators. Nor, therefore, did the book deserve naming, no more than the author, but that they should rot together in their own infamy, had not the first events of the following Session made it remarkable, that the wizard dealt with some superior intelligence.

And on the other side, some scattering papers straggled out in print, as is usual, for the information of Parliament-men, in the matter of law concerning prorogation, which all of them, it is to be presumed, understood not, but was like to prove therefore a great question.

As to matters abroad from the year 1674, that the peace was concluded betwixt England and Holland; the French King, as a mark of his displeasure, and to humble the English nation, let loose his privateers among our merchantmen. There was thenceforth no security of commerce or navigation, notwithstanding the publick amity betwixt the two crowns, but at sea they murdered, plundered, made prize and confiscated those they met with. Their picaroons laid before the mouth of our rivers, hovered all along the coast, took our ships in the very ports, that we were in a manner blocked up by water. And if any made application at his sovereign port for justice, they were insolently baffled, except some few, that by Sir Ellis Leighton's interest, who made a second prize of them, were redeemed upon easier composition. In

this manner it continued from 1674 till the latter end of 1676 without remedy, even till the time of the Parliament's sitting; so that men doubted whether even the conspirators were not complices also in the matter, and found partly their own account in it. For evidence of what is said, formerly, the paper at the end of this treatise annexed may serve, returned by some Members of the Privy Council to his Majestie's order, to which was also adjoyned a register of so many of the English ships as then came to notice, which the French had taken, (and to this day cease not to treat our merchants at the same rate.) And yet all this while that they made these intolerable and barbarous piracies and depredations upon his Majestie's subjects, from hence they were more diligently than ever supplied with recruits, and those that would go voluntarily into the French service were encouraged, others that would not, pressed, imprisoned, and carried over by main force and constraint, even as the Parliament here was ready to sit down; notwithstanding all their former frequent applications to the contrary. And his Majestie's magazines were daily emptied, to furnish the French with all sorts of ammunition, of which the following note contains but a small parcel, in comparison of what was daily conveyed away, under colour of cockets for Jarsy, and other places.

A short Account of some Amunition, &c. exported from the Port of London to France, from June 1675 to June 1677.

Granadoes without n^umber, shipt off under the colour of unwrought iron.

Lead shot 21 tuns.

Gunpowder 7134 barrels.

Iron shot 18 tun, 600 weight.
Match 88 tun, 1900 weight.
Iron Ordinance 441 quantity, 292 tuns, 900 weight.
Carriages, bandileirs, pikes, &c. uncertain.

Thus was the French king to be gratified for undoing us by sea, with contributing all that we could rap and rend of men, or amunition at land, to make him more potent against us, and more formidable.

Thus are we at length arrived at this much controverted, and as much expected Session. And though the way to it hath proved much longer than was intended in the entry of this Discourse, yet is it very short of what the matter would have afforded, but is past over to keep within bounds of this volume. The 15th of February 1676 came, and that very same day the French king appointed his march for Flanders. It seemed that his motions were in just cadence, and that, as in a grand balet, he kept time with those that were tuned here to his measure. And he thought it a becoming gallantry to take the rest of Flanders our natural out-work, in the very face of the King of England and his *petites maisons* of Parliament.

His Majesty demanded of the Parliament, in his speech at the opening of the Sessions, a supply for building of ships, and the further continuance of the additional excise upon beer and ale, which was to expire the 24th of June 1677, and recommended earnestly a good correspondence between the two Houses, representing their last differences as the reason of so long a prorogation, to allay them. The Lord Chancellor, as is usual with him, spoiled all which the King had said so well, with straining to

do it better; for indeed the mischances of all the sessions, since he had the seals, may in great part be ascribed to his indiscreet and unlucky eloquence; and had not the Lord Treasurer a far more effectual way of perswasion with the Commons, there had been the same danger of the ill success of this meeting, as of those formerly. Each House being now seated, the case of this long prorogation had taken place so far without doors, and was of that consequence to the constitution of all Parliaments, and the validity of all proceedings in this Session, that even the Commons, though sore against their inclination, could not passe it over: but they handled it so tenderly as if they were afraid to touch it.

The first day, instead of the question, whether the Parliament were by this unprecedented prorogation indeed dissolved; it was proposed, something ridiculously, whether this prorogation were not an adjournment? and this debate too they adjourned till the next day, and from thence they put it off till the Munday morning. Then those that had proposed it, yet before they would enter upon the debate, asked, Whether they might have liberty? as if that had not been more than implied before, by adjourning the debate, and as if freedom of speech were not a concession of right, which the King grants at the first opening of all Parliaments. But by this faintness and half-counsel, they taught the House to deny them it. And so all that matter was wrapped up in a cleanly question, Whether their grand committees should sit, which involving the legitimacy of the House's sitting, was carried in the affirmative, as well as their own hearts could wish: but in the Lords' House it went otherwise. For the first day,

as soon as the Houses were separate, the Duke of Buckingham, who usually saith what he thinks, argued by all the laws of Parliament, and with great strength of reason, that this prorogation was null, and this Parliament consequently dissolved, offering moreover to maintain it to all the judges, and desiring, as had been usual in such cases but would not here be admitted, that even they might give their opinions. But my Lord Frechwell, as a better judge of so weighty a point in law, did of his great courtship move, that the Duke of Buckingham might be called to the bar, which being opposed by the Lord Salisbury, as an extravagant motion, but the Duke of Buckingham's proposal asserted, with all the Cecilian height of courage and reason, the Lord Arundel of Trerise, a peer of no less consideration and authority than my Lord Frechwell, and as much out of order as if the salt had been thrown down, or an hare had crossed his way, opening, renewed the motion for calling the Duke to the bar; but there were yet too many Lords between, and the couriers of the House of Commons brought up advice every moment, that the matter was yet in agitation among them, so that the earl of Shaftsbury had opportunity to appear with such extraordinary vigour, in what concerned both the Duke of Buckingham's person and his proposal, that as the Duke of Buckingham might have stood single in any rational contest, so the Earl of Shaftsbury was more properly another principal, than his second. The Lord Chancellor therefore in answer undertook, on the contrary, to make the prorogation look very formal, laying the best colours upon it, after his manner when advocate, that the cause would bear (and the worst upon his opponents) but such as could never yet endure the

day-light. Thus for five or six hours it grew a fixed debate, many arguing it in the regular method, till the expected news came, that the Commons were rose without doing any thing; whereupon the greater number called for the question, and had it in the affirmative, that the debate should be laid aside.

And being thus flushed, but not satisfied with their victory, they fell upon their adversaries in cool blood, questioning such as they thought fit that same night, and the morrow after, sentencing them, the Duke of Buckingham, the Earl of Salisbury, the Earl of Shaftsbury, and the Lord Wharton to be committed to the Tower, under the notion of contempt, during his Majestie's and the Houses' pleasure. That contempt was their refusing to recant their opinion, and ask pardon of the King and the House of Lords. Thus a prorogation without precedent was to be warranted by an imprisonment without example. A sad instance! and whereby the dignity of Parliaments, and especially of the House of Peers, did at present much suffer, and may probably more for the future; for nothing but Parliament can destroy Parliament. If a House shall once be felon of itself and stop its own breath, taking away that liberty of speech, which the King verbally, and of course, allows them, (as now they had done in both Houses) to what purpose is it coming thither? But it was now over, and by the weakness in the House of Commons, and the force in the House of Lords, this presumptuous Session was thus far settled and confirmed; so that henceforward men begun to wipe their mouths, as if nothing had been, and to enter upon the publick business.

And [yet] it is remarkable that shortly after, upon occasion of a discourse among the Commons concern-

ing libels and pamphlets, first one member of them stood up, and in the face of their House, said, "That it was affirmed to him, by a person that might be spoke with, that there were among them, thirty, forty, fifty, God knows how many, outlawed." Another thereupon rose, and told them, "It was reported too, that there were diverse of the members Papists;" a third, "That a multitude of them were bribed and pensioners." And yet all this was patiently hushed up by their House, and digested. being it seems a thing of that nature, which there is no reply to; which may very well administer and deserve a serious reflection, how great an opportunity this House of Commons lost of ingratiating themselves with the nation, by acknowledging in this convention their invalidity to proceed in Parliament, and by addressing to his Majesty, as being dissolved, for a dismissal. For were it so, that all the laws of England require, and the very constitution of our government, as well as experience, teaches the necessity of the frequent meeting and change of parliaments, and suppose that the question concerning this prorogation were by the custom of Parliaments to be justified, (which hath not been done hitherto) yet who that desires to maintain the reputation of an honest man, would not have laid hold upon so plausible an occasion, to break company when it was grown so scandalous? For it is too notorious to be concealed, that near a third part of the House have beneficial offices under his Majesty, in the privy-council, the army, the navy, the law, the household, the revenue both in England and Ireland, or in attendance on his Majesty's person. These are all of them indeed to be esteemed gentlemen of honour, but more or less according to the

quality of their several employments under his Majesty, and it is to be presumed that they brought along with them some honour of their own into his service at first to set up with. Nor is it fit that such an Assembly should be destitute of them to inform the Commons of his Majestie's affairs, and communicate his counsels, so that they do not, by irregular procuring of elections in places where they have no proper interest, thrust out the gentlemen that have, and thereby disturb the several countrys; nor that they croud into the House in numbers beyond modesty, and which, instead of giving a temper to their deliberations, may seem to affect the predominance. For although the House of Peers, besides their supreme and sole judicature, have an equal power in the legislature with the House of Commons, and as the second thoughts in the government have often corrected their errors; yet it is to be confessed, that the knights, citizens and burgesses there assembled, are the representers of the people of England, and are more peculiarly impowered by them to transact concerning the religion, lives, liberties and the propriety of the nation. And therefore no honourable person, related to his Majestie's more particular service, but will in that place and opportunity suspect himself, lest his gratitude to his master, with his self-interest, should tempt him beyond his obligation there to the publick. The same excludes him that may next inherit from being guardian to an infant: not but there may the same affection and integrity be found in those of the father's side as those on the mother's, but out of decent and humane caution, and in like manner however his Majestie's officers may be of as sound and untainted reputation as the best, yet common

discretion would teach them not to seek after and ingross such different trusts in those bordering interests of the king and country, where from the people they have no legal advantage, but so much may be gained by betraying them. How improper would it seem for a privy-counsellor if in the House of Commons he should not justify the most arbitrary proceedings of the council-table, represent affairs of State with another face, defend any misgovernment, patronize the greatest offenders against the kingdom, even though they were too his own particular enemies, and extend the supposed prerogative on all occasions, to the detriment of the subject's certain and due liberties! What self-denial were it in the learned counsel at law, did they not vindicate the misdemeanours of the judges, perplex all remedies against the corruptions and incroachment of courts of judicature, word all acts towards the advantage of their own profession, palliate unlawful elections, extenuate and advocate publick crimes, where the criminal may prove considerable; step into the chair of a money bill and pen the clauses so dubiously, that they may be interpretable in Westminster Hall beyond the House's intention, mislead the House, not only in point of law, but even in matter of fact, without any respect to veracity, but all to his own further promotion! What soldier in pay, but might think himself fit to be cashiered, should he oppose the increase of standing forces, the depression of civil authority, or the levying of money by whatsoever means or in what quantity? Or who of them ought not to abhor that traiterous position, of taking arms by the king's authority against those that are commissioned by him in pursuance of such commission? What officer of the navy, but takes himself under

obligation to magnify the expence, extol the management, conceal the neglect, increase the debts and press the necessity, rigging and unrigging it to the House in the same moment, and representing it all at once in a good and a bad condition? Should any member of parliament and of the exchequer omit to transform the accounts, conceal the issues, heighten the anticipations, and in despite of himself oblige whosoever chance to be the Lord Treasurer; might not this reversion justly expect to be put into present possession of the office? Who that is either concerned in the customs, or of their brethren of the excise, can with any decency refuse, if they do not invent, all further impositions upon merchandise, navigation, or our own domestick growth and consumption; and if the charge be but temporary, to perpetuate it? Hence it shall come that instead of relieving the crown by the good old and certain way of subsidies, wherein nothing was to be got by the House of Commons, they devised this foreign course of revenue, to the great greivance and double charge of the people, that so many of the members might be gratified in the farms and commissions.

But to conclude this digression, whatsoever other offices have been set up for the use of the members, or have been extinguished upon occasion, should they have failed at a question, did not they deserve to be turned out? Were not all the votes as it were in fee-farm, of those that were intrusted with the sale? Must not Surinam be a sufficient cause of quarrel with Holland, to any commissioner of the plantations? Or who would have denyed mony to continue the war with Holland, when he were a commissioner of prizes, of sick and wounded, of transporting the English, or of starving the Dutch prisoners? How

much greater then would the hardship be for those of his Majestie's houshold, or who attend upon his royal person, to forget by any chance vote, or in being absent from the House, that they are his domestick servants? Or that all those of the capacity abovementioned are to be looked upon as a distinct body under another discipline; and whatsoever they may commit in the House of Commons against the national interest, they take themselves to be justified by their circumstances; their hearts indeed are, they say, with the country, and one of them had the boldness to tell his Majesty, that he was come from voting in the House against his conscience.

And yet these gentlemen being full, and already in imployment, are more good-natured and less dangerous to the publick, than those that are hungry and out of office, who may, by probable computation, make another third part of this House of Commons. Those are such as having observed by what steps, or rather leaps and strides, others of their House have ascended into the highest places of the kingdom, do upon measuring their own birth, estates, parts, and merit, think themselves as well and better qualified in all respects as their former companions. They are generally men, who by speaking against the French, inveighing against the debauches of court, talking of the ill management of the revenue, and such popular flourishes, have cheated the countries into electing them, and when they come up, if they can speak in the House, they make a faint attack or two upon some great minister of State, and perhaps relieve some other that is in danger of Parliament, to make themselves either way considerable.

In matters of money they seem at first difficult,

but having been discoursed with in private, they are set right, and begin to understand it better themselves, and to convert their brethren: for they are all of them to be bought and sold, only their number makes them cheaper, and each of them doth so overvalue himself, that sometimes they outstand or let slip their own market.

It is not to be imagined, how small things, in this case, even members of great estates will stoop at, and most of them will do as much for hopes as others for fruition, but if their patience be tired out, they grow at last mutinous, and revolt to the country, till some better occasion offer.

Among these are some men of the best understanding were they of equal integrity, who affect to ingross all business, to be able to quash any good motion by parliamentary skill, unless themselves be the authors, and to be the leading men of the House, and for their natural lives to continue so. But these are men that have been once fooled, most of them, and discovered, and slighted at Court, so that till some turn of State shall let them in their adversaries' place, in the mean time they look sullen, make big motions, and contrive specious bills for the subject, yet only wait the opportunity to be the instruments of the same counsels which they oppose in others.

There is a third part still remaining, but as contrary in themselves as light and darkness; those are either the worst, or the best of men; the first are most profligate persons, they have neither estates, consciences, nor good manners, yet are therefore picked out as the necessary men, and whose votes will go furthest; the charges of their elections are defrayed, whatever they amount to, tables are kept for them at Whitehall, and through Westminster, that they

may be ready at hand, within call of a question: all of them are received into pension, and know their pay-day, which they never fail of: insomuch that a great officer was pleased to say, "That they came "about him like so many jack-daws for cheese at the "end of every Session." If they be not in Parliament they must be in prison, and as they are protected themselves, by privilege, so they sell their protections to others, to the obstruction so many years together of the law of the land, and the publick justice; for these it is, that the long and frequent adjournments are calculated, but all whether the court, or the monopolizers of the country party, or those that profane the title of old cavaliers, do equally, though upon differing reasons, like death apprehend a dissolution. But notwithstanding these, there is an handful of salt, a sparkle of soul, that hath hitherto preserved this gross body from putrefaction, some gentlemen that are constant, invariable, indeed Englishmen; such as are above hopes, or fears, or dissimulation, that can neither flatter, nor betray their king or country: but being conscious of their own loyalty and integrity, proceed throw good and bad report, to acquit themselves in their duty to God, their prince, and their nation; although so small a scantling in number, that men can scarce reckon of them more than a *quorum*; insomuch that it is less difficult to conceive how fire was first brought to light in the world than how any good thing could ever be produced out of an House of Commons so constituted, unless as that is imagined to have come from the rushing of trees, or battering of rocks together, by accident, so these, by their clashing with one another, have struck out an useful effect from so unlikely causes. But whatsoever

casual good hath been wrought at any time by the assimilation of ambitious, factious, and disappointed members, to the little, but solid, and unbiassed party, the more frequent ill effects, and consequences of so unequal a mixture, so long continued, are demonstrable and apparent. For while scarce any man comes thither with respect to the publick service, but in design to make and raise his fortune, it is not to be expressed, the debauchery and lewdness, which, upon occasion of election to Parliaments, are now grown habitual thorow the nation. So that the vice, and the expence, are risen to such a prodigious height, that few sober men can indure to stand to be chosen on such conditions. From whence also arise feuds, and perpetual animosities, over most of the counties and corporations, while gentlemen of worth, spirit, and ancient estates and dependances, see themselves overpowered in their own neighbourhood by the drunkenness and bribery, of their competitors. But if nevertheless any worthy person chance to carry the election, some mercenary or corrupt sheriff makes a double return, and so the cause is handed to the Committee of elections, who ask no better, but are ready to adopt his adversary into the House if he be not legitimate. And if the gentleman agrieved seek his remedy against the sheriff in Westminster-Hall, and the proofs be so palpable, that the King's Bench cannot invent how to do him injustice, yet the major part of the twelve judges shall upon better consideration vacate the sheriff's fine, and reverse the judgement; but those of them that dare dissent from their brethren are in danger to be turned off the bench without any cause assigned. While men therefore care not thus how they get into the House of Commons, neither can it be expected that they

should make any conscience of what they do there, but they are only intent how to reimburse themselves (if their elections were at their own charge) or how to bargain their votes for a place or a pension. They list themselves straightways into some Court faction, and it is as well known among them, to what Lord each of them retain, as when formerly they wore coats and badges. By this long haunting so together they are grown too so familiar among themselves, that all reverence of their own Assembly is lost, that they live together not like Parliament men, but like so many good fellows met together in a publick house to make merry. And which is yet worse, by being so thoroughly acquainted, they understand their number and party, so that the use of so publick a counsel is frustrated, there is no place for deliberation, no perswading by reason, but they can see one another's votes through both throats and cravats before they hear them.

Where the cards are so well known, they are only fit for a cheat, and no fair gamester but would throw them under the table.

Hereby it is that their House hath lost all the ancient weight and authority, and being conscious of their own guilt and weakness, dare not adventure, as heretofore, the impeaching of any man before the Lords, for the most hainous crimes of State, and the most publick misdemeanours; upon which confidence it is, that the conspirators have so long presumed, and gone unpunished. For although the conspirators have sometimes (that this House might appear still necessary to the people, and to make the money more glib) yielded that even their own names should be tossed among them, and grievances be talked of, yet at the same time they have been so prevalent as to

hinder any effect, and if the House has emancipated itself beyond instructions, then by chastising them with prorogations, frightening them with dissolution, comforting them with long, frequent and seasonable adjournments; now by suspending, or diminishing their pensions, then again by increasing them; sometimes by a scorn, and otherwhiles by a favour, there hath a way been found to reduce them again under discipline. All these things and more being considered, and how long doubtful a foot this Long Parliament now stood upon by this long prorogation, there could not have been a more legal, or however no more wise and honest a thing done, than for the Lords and Commons to have separated themselves, or have besought his Majesty to that purpose, lest the conspirators should any longer shelter and carry on their design against the government and religion, under this shadow of Parliamentary authority. But it was otherwise ordered, of which it is now time to relate the consequences.

The four Lords having thus been committed, it cannot properly be said that the House of Peers was thenceforward under the government of the Lord Frechwell, and the Lord Arundel of Trerise, but those two noble Peers had of necessity no small influence upon the counsels of that House, (having hoped ere this to have made their way also into his Majesty's privy-council) and all things fell out as they could have wished if under their own direction. For most of them, who had been the most active formerly in the public interest, sate mute in the House, whether, as is probable, out of reverence to their two persons, and confidence in their wisdom, they left all to their conduct, and gave them a general proxy, or whether, as some would have it,

they were sullen at the commitment of the four Lords, and by reason of that, or the prorogation, began now to think the Parliament, or their House to be *non compos*. But now therefore Doctor Cary, a commoner, was brought to the bar before them, and questioned concerning a written book which it seems he had carried to be printed, treating of the illegality of this prorogation, and because he satisfied them ~~not~~ in some interrogatories, which no man would in common honour to others, or in self-preservation, as neither was he in law bound to have answered; they therefore fined him a thousand pounds, under that new notion of contempt, when no other crime would do it, and sentenced him to continue close prisoner in the Tower until payment. Yet the Commons were in so admirable good temper (having been conjured by the charming eloquence of the Lord Chancellor, to avoid all misunderstanding between the two Houses) that there could no member, or time, be found in all the Session, to offer their House his petition, and much less would that breach upon the whole Parliament, by imprisoning the Lords, for using their liberty of speech, be entertained by them upon motion, for fear of entrenching upon the privilege of the House of Peers, which it had been well for them if they had been as tender of formerly.

One further instance of the complexion of their House, at that season, may be sufficient. One Master Harrington had before the Session been committed close prisoner (for that was now the mode, as though the Earl of Northampton would not otherwise have kept him close enough) by order of the King and council, the warrant bearing "for subornation of perjury, tending to the defamation of his Majesty,

“and his government, and for contemptuously declaring he would not answer his Majesty any question, which his Majesty, or his privy-council should ask him.” As this gentleman was hurried along to the Tower, he was so dexterous as to convey into a friend’s hand passing by, a blank paper only with his name, that a petition might be written above it, to be presented to the House of Commons, without rejecting for want of his own hand in the subscription. His case notwithstanding the warrant was thus :

He had met with two Scotch soldiers in town returned from Flanders, who complained that many of their countrymen had in Scotland been seised by force, to be carried over into the French service ; had been detained in the publick prisons till an opportunity to transport them ; were heaved on board fast tyed and bound like malefactors ; some of them struggling and contesting it, were cast into the sea, or maimed : in conclusion an intolerable violence and barbarity used to compel them, and this near the present Session of Parliament. Hereupon this gentleman considering how oft the House of Commons had addressed to his Majesty and framed an Act for recalling his Majestie’s subjects out of the French service, as also that his Majesty had issued his Proclamation to the same purpose, thought he might do a good and acceptable thing in giving information of it to the House as time served, but withal knowing how witnesses might possibly be taken off, he for his own greater security took them before a Master of Chancery, where they confirmed by oath the same things they had told him. But hereupon he was brought before his Majesty, and the Privy Council, where he declared this matter, but being here asked

by the Lord-Chancellor some insnaring and improper questions, he modestly, as those that were by affirmed, desired to be excused from answering him further, but after this, answered his Majesty with great humility and respect to divers questions. This was the subornation of perjury, and this the contempt to his Majesty, for which he was made close prisoner. Upon his petition to the House of Commons he was sent for, and called in, where he is reported to have given a very clear account of the whole matter, and of his behaviour at the council-board. But of the two Scotch soldiers the one made himself perjured without being suborned by Harrington, denying or misrepresenting to the House what he had sworn formerly. And the other, the honester fellow it seems of the two, only was absented. But however divers honourable members of that House attested voluntarily, that the soldiers had affirmed the same thing to them, and indeed the truth of that matter is notorious, by several other soldiers that since came over, and by further account from Scotland. Master Harrington also carried himself towards the House with that modesty, that it seemed inseparable from him, and much more in his Majesty's presence, so that their House was inclined, and ready to have concerned themselves for his liberty. But Master Secretary Williamson stood up, having been a principal instrument in committing him, and because the other crimes rather deserved thanks and commendation, and the warrant would not justify itself, he insisted upon his strange demeanour toward his Majesty, deciphered his very looks, how truly it matters not, and but that his Majesty and the House remained still living flesh and blood, it might have been imagined by his discourse that Master Harrington

had the head of a Gorgon. But this story so wrought with, and amazed the Commons, that Mr. Harrington found no redress, but might thank God that he escaped again into the close prison. It was thought notwithstanding by most men that his looks might have past any where but with a man of Sir Joseph's delicacy. For neither indeed had Master Harrington ever the same opportunities that others had of practising the *hocus pocus* of the face, of playing the French *scaramuccie*, or of living abroad to learn how to make the Plenipotentiary *grimass* for his Majesty's service.

And now to proceed, rather according to the coherence of the matters than to the particular date of every day's action: by this good humour, and the House being so free of the liberty of their fellow commoners, it might be guessed that they would not be less liberal of their money this Session.

The Bill therefore for 600,000*l.* tax for eighteen months towards the building and furnishing of ships easily passed, without once dreaming any more of appropriating the customs. For the nation being generally possessed by the members with the defects of the navy, and not considering at all from what neglect it proceeded, the House of Commons were very willing, and glad to take this occasion, of confirming the authority of their sitting, and to pay double the sum that in the former Sessions they had thought necessary towards the Fleet; hereby to hedge in, and purchase their own continuance. And for the same purpose they ingrossed the Act with so numerous a list of Commissioners, that it seemed rather a register or muster-roll of the nation, and that they raised the whole kingdom to raise the money. For who could doubt that they were still a

lawful Parliament, when they saw so many gentlemen's names (though by the clerk's hand only) subscribed to an Act of their making? only Mr. Seymour, the speaker, would have diminished the number in his own country. For he had entred into a combination, that none should serve the King or their country thorow Devonshire, in any capacity but under his approbation, and therefore he highly inveighed against many gentlemen of the best rank there, that ought him no homage, as persons disaffected, opposing their names at a Committee of the whole House, before he heard them. But being checked in his career, he let fall the contest, with as much judgment and modesty, as he had begun it with boldness and indiscretion.

This Bill was not enough, but though the nation had hoped to be relieved from the additional excise upon beer and ale, which the Tripple League had fooled them into, but was now of course to expire the 24th of June 1677; yet a Bill for the continuing of it for three years more passed them likewise with little difficulty: for the late fear of dissolution was still so fresh upon them, that they would continue any thing to buy their own continuance; and this Bill might, considering their present want of legality, have been properly intituled, "An Act for the extraordinary occasion of the House of Commons." But that they might seem within this tenderness to themselves not to have cast off all toward the people, they sunk all former grievances into a Bill of Chancery, knowing well that a suite in that Court would be sooner ended, than a reformation of it be effected; and that thereby they might gain work enough to direct the whole Session. And of their usual Bills for the liberty of the subjects, they sent

up only that of *Habeas Corpus*; pretending, and perhaps truly, that they durst not adventure them either in their own or the Lords' House as they were now governed, lest they should be further ensnared by struggling for freedom. But lest they should trouble themselves too much with religion, the Lords presented them with two Bills of a very good name, but of a strange and unheard of nature. The one intitled "An Act for securing the Protestant Religion "by educating the children of the royal family, and "providing for the continuance of a Protestant "clergy." The other "An Act for the more effectual "conviction and prosecution of Popish recusants." And with these they sent down another for the further regulation of the presses and suppressing all unlicensed books, with clauses most severe and general upon the subject, whereof one for breaking all Houses whatsoever on suspicion of any such pamphlet, whereby Master L'Estrange's authority was much amplified to search any other house with the same liberty as he had Sir Thomas Doleman's.

But as to those two Bills of religion, although they were of the highest consequence that ever were offered in Parliament since Protestantism came in (and went out of fashion) yet it is not to be imagined, how indisputable and easy a passage they found thorow the House of Peers to the House of Commons; which must be ascribed to the great unanimity among them, after the committing of the four Lords, and to the power of those two noble Peers, their adversaries, which was now so established, that their sense being once declared, the rest seemed to yeild them an implicate faith and obedience; and they were now in such vogue, that whatsoever was spoken or done any where abroad in perfection, with great weight and

judgement, men said it was *a la Fraicheville* ; but if genteely and acutely, *a la Trerise*.

That intituled "An Act for the more effectual conviction and prosecution of Popish recusants" is too long to be here inserted, and the fate it met with, makes it unnecessary, for as soon as it was first read, a gentleman of great worth and apprehension spake short but roundly and thorow against it.

A second immediately moved that it might not only be thrown out, but with a particular mark of infamy. And it being without any more ado ready to be put to the question, a third demanded that they should stay a while to see whether there were any one so hardy as to speak a word for it. Which no man offering at, it was forthwith rejected with this censure added to the Journal.

And because the body of the Bill was contrary to the title, this unusual sentence of the House of Commons, though excusable by the crimes of the Bill, yet was not to be justified by the rules of intercourse between the two Houses. But because all men have hence taken occasion to accuse the Lords Spiritual, as the authors both of this Bill and the other, it is necessary to insert here the true fact in their just vindication. It was above two years ago that a select cabal of great ministers had been consulting about Church matters, though it seldom happens (nor did it in this instance) that the statesmen are more fortunate in meddling with religion, than the churchmen with government, but each marrs them with tampering out of their provinces. This only difference, that what ecclesiastical persons may do by chance or consequence, that harm the others commit on set purpose. For it was by these politicians, that these two cockatrice

eggs were layd and by their assiduous incubation hatched. It is true indeed afterwards they took some few of the Bishops into communication, and as it were for advice, upon what was before resolved. And to make this Bill go the better down, they flattered them with the other, as wholly calculated forsooth to the Church's interest. And by this means possibly they prevailed so far, that the bishops, both there and in the House, less vigorously opposed. But that the bishops were either the contrivers or promoters of the Bill, is a scandalous falsehood, and devised by the authors to throw the odium off from themselves upon the clergy, and (the Bills that aimed at the ruine of the Church of England having miscarried) to compass the same end by this defamation: A sufficient warning to the clergy, how to be intrigued with the statesmen for the future.

The second Bill follows :

An Act for further securing the Protestant Religion, by educating the Children of the Royal Family therein ; and for the providing for the continuance of a Protestant Clergy.

TO the intent that the Protestant Religion, which through the blessing of God hath been happily established in this realm, and is at present sufficiently secured by his Majesty's known piety and zeal for the preservation thereof, may remain secure in all future times.

Be it enacted by the King's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in this Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, That upon the demise of his Majesty that now is, to whom God grant a long and prosperous reign, and

upon the demise of any other King or Queen regnant, that shall hereafter bear the imperial crown of this realm, the archbishops, and all and every the bishops of England and Wales, for the time being, as shall not be disabled by sickness or other infirmity, shall, within forty days next after such demise, repair to Lambeth House, and being there assembled, to the number of nine at least, shall cause to be there ingrossed in parchment the oath and declaration following:

“I King or Queen of England, do declare
“and swear, that I do believe that there is not any
“transubstantiation in the sacrament of the Lord’s
“Supper, or in the elements of bread and wine, at or
“after the consecration thereof by any person
“whatsoever. So help me God.”

Which blank shall be filled up with the Christian name of such King or Queen. And thereupon the prelates so assembled shall without delay repair to the persons of such succeeding King or Queen regnant, and in humble manner tender the said oath or declaration, to be taken by such succeeding King or Queen regnant, which they are hereby authorized to administer, and shall abide in or near the Court by the space of fourteen days, and at convenient time, as often as conveniently they may, they shall appear in the presence of such King and Queen ready to receive commands for administering the said oath and declaration, which if such succeeding King and Queen shall make and subscribe in presence of them, or any nine or more of them, they shall attest the doing thereof, by subscribing their names to a certificate, indorsed upon the said indorsment, and carry the same into the High Court of Chancery there to be safely deposited amongst the records of

the said Court. And if such King or Queen regnant shall refuse or omit to make and subscribe the said oath and declaration, for the space of fourteen days after such humble tender made in manner aforesaid, the said prelates may depart from the court without any further attendance on this occasion. But if at any time afterward such King or Queen shall be pleased to take and subscribe the said oath and declaration, and shall signifie such pleasure to the archbishops and bishops or any nine or more of them, the said archbishops and bishops, or such nine or more of them, are hereby authorised and required forthwith to administer the same, and to attest and certify the same in manner aforesaid.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that if any succeeding King or Queen regnant shall refuse or omit to make such oath and declaration, within the time therefore limited, the same having been tendered in manner aforesaid, or there shall be any let, obstruction, or hindrance whatsoever, to their making the said tender in manner aforesaid, they are hereby enjoined and required to endorse upon the said indorsement such refusal or omission, or any obstruction, let or hindrance, that shall happen to them, whereby they are not able to make the said tender, according to the act, and attest the same by subscribing their names thereunto, and carry the same into the High Court of Chancery, there to be safely deposited in manner aforesaid. And if any the said persons, hereby appointed to make the said tender, shall neglect or refuse to do the same, or in case of any refusal, or omission of making the said oath and declaration, or in case of any obstruction or hindrance to the making of the said tender, shall refuse

or neglect to make certificate thereof in manner aforesaid, that the archbishoprick or bishoprick of the person or persons so refusing, shall be *ipso facto* void, as if he or they were naturally dead, and the said person or persons shall be incapable, during his or their life or lives, of that, or any other ecclesiastical preferment.

And be it further enacted, that if any King or Queen regnant, at the time when the imperial crown of this realme shall devolve, shall be under the age of fourteen years, and that upon his or her attaining the said age of fourteen years, the archbishops and bishops shall, and are upon the like penalties hereby enjoined, within fourteen days next after such attaining to the said age, to assemble at the said place, and thereupon to do and perform all things in preparing and tendering the said oath and declaration, and making certificate of the taking or omission thereof, that are required by this Act to be done, upon the demise of any King or Queen regnant.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that until any succeeding King or Queen regnant shall make the said oath and declaration, in manner aforesaid, such respective King or Queen shall not grant, confer, or dispose of any archbishoprick or any bishoprick, in England or Wales, otherwise than in manner following, that is to say, within seven days after the vacancy of any bishoprick or see shall be known to the archbishop of Canterbury for the time being, he shall and is hereby required to send forth a summons in writing to all the prelates in England and Wales, requiring them to meet at a certain convenient time and place, to be appointed by the summons, to consult concerning the nomination of fit persons for the supply of that vacancy.

And in case of vacancy of the archbishoprick of Canterbury, the archbishop of York, for the time being. And if that See shall be also vacant, such prelate of the realm, as by the statute of 31 H. 8. ought to have place before the rest in Parliament, shall and are hereby required to issue forth the said summons, and at the said time and place, so appointed, in manner aforesaid, the prelates then assembled, being seven at the least, or the major part of them, shall, by writing under their hands and seals, nominate three persons, natural born subjects of the King, and in holy orders, for the supplying of the said vacancy, and to be placed in such order as the said prelates so assembled or the major part of them shall think fit, without regard to dignity, antiquity, or any other form, which writing shall be presented to the King, who may thereupon appoint one of the three persons so to be named, to succeed in the said vacancy. And the person so appointed or chosen, shall by due form of law, according to the course now used, be made bishop of that See. But if in thirty days after such presentment, of such names, the King or Queen regnant shall not elect or appoint which of the said three persons shall succeed in the said vacant See; or if after such election or appointment there shall be any obstruction in pressing of the usual instruments and formalities of law, in order to his consecration, then such person, whose name shall be first written in the said instrument of nomination, if there be no election or appointment made by the King, within the time aforesaid, shall be the bishop of the vacant See. And if there be an election or appointment made, then the person so appointed shall be the bishop of the vacant See. And the archbishop of the province wherein the said vacancy shall be, or such

other person or persons, who ought by his Majestie's ecclesiastical laws to consecrate the said bishop, shall upon reasonable demand, and are hereby required to make consecration accordingly, upon pain of forfeiting treble damages and costs to the party grieved, to be recovered in any of his Majestie's Courts at Westminster. And immediately after such consecration, the person so consecrated shall be, and is hereby enacted to be complete bishop of the said vacant See, and is hereby vested in the temporalities of the said bishoprick, and in actual possession thereof, to all intents and purposes, and shall have a seat and place in Parliament, as if he had by due forms of law been made bishop, and had the temporalities restored unto him; and in case the person so first named in the said instrument of nomination, or the person so elected by the King or Queen regnant, shall then be a bishop, so that no consecration be requisite, then immediately after default of election or appointment by the King, or immediately after such election or appointment, if any shall be made within the said time, and any obstructions in pressing the instruments and formalities in law, in such cases used, the bishop so first named or elected and appointed, shall thereupon, *ipso facto*, be translated, and become bishop of that See, to which he was so nominated and appointed, and shall be, and is hereby vested in the temporalities and actual possession thereof, to all intents and purposes, and shall have his seat and place in Parliament accordingly, and his former See shall become vacant, as if he had been by due forms of law chosen and confirmed into the same, and had the temporalities restored unto him.

And be it further enacted, that until the making the said oath and declaration in manner aforesaid, the

respective succeeding Kings and Queens that shall not have made and subscribed the same, shall not grant or dispose of any deanry, or arch-deaconry, prebendary, mastership of any college, parsonage, vicarage, or any ecclesiastical benefice or promotion whatsoever, to any other person, but such person as shall be nominated for the same, unto the said King or Queen regnant, by the archbishop of Canterbury; or guardians of the spiritualities of the said archbishoprick, for the time being, if the same be within the province of Canterbury, and by the archbishop of York, or guardians of the spiritualities of the said archbishoprick for the time being, if the same be within the province of York, by writing under their respective hands and seals; and in case any such as shall be accordingly nominated, shall not be able to obtain presentation or grant thereof within thirty days, next after such nomination, then the said person shall and may, and is hereby enabled, by force of the said nomination, to require institution and induction from such person and persons unto whom it shall belong to grant the same, who shall accordingly make institution and induction, as if the said person were lawfully presented by the said King or Queen regnant, upon pain to forfeit to the party grieved, treble damages and costs, to be recovered in any of his Majestie's courts at Westminster; and in cases where no institution or induction is requisite, the said person so nominated, from and after the end of the said thirty days, shall be and is hereby actually vested in the possession of such deanry, archdeaconry, prebendary, mastership, rectory, parsonage, or vicarage, donative, or other ecclesiastical benefice or promotion, and shall be full and absolute proprietor and incumbent thereof, to all

intents and purposes as if he had obtained possession thereof upon a legal grant by the said King or Queen regnant, and proceeding thereupon in due form of law.

Provided always and be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that it shall and may be lawful for the Lord High Chancellor of England, or the Lord Keeper of the great seal of England, for the time being, to pass presentations or grants, to any ecclesiastical benefice, under value in the King's gift, in such manner as hath been accustomed, any thing in this present act to the contrary notwithstanding.

And be it further enacted, that during such time as any King or Queen regnant shall be under the said fourteen years, no person that shall be Lord Protector, or Regent of this realm, during such minority, shall in any wise, either in the name of the King or Queen regnant, or in his own name grant, confer or dispose, of any archbishoprick, bishoprick, deanry, prebendary, mastership of any college, parsonage, vicarage, or other ecclesiastical benefice or promotion whatsoever, but the same shall be disposed of in manner above-mentioned, during such minority, until such Lord Protector or Regent shall make and subscribe the said oath and declaration, (*mutatis mutandis*) before such nine or more of the said prelates, as he shall call to administer the same unto him, which oath and declaration they are hereby authorised and required to administer, under the penalties aforesaid, when they shall be called thereunto, by such Lord Protector or Regent, for the time being.

And be it further enacted, that the children of such succeeding King or Queen regnant, that shall not have made and subscribed the oath and declaration in manner aforesaid, shall from their respective

ages of seven years, until the respective ages of fourteen years, be under the care and government of the archbishops of Canterbury and York, and bishops of London, Durham, and Winchester, for the time being, who are hereby enjoined and required to take care that they be well instructed and educated in the true Protestant Religion, as it is now established by law. And to the intent that the archbishops and bishops, for the time being, may effectually have the care and government of such children, according to the true intent of this law; be it enacted, that after any such children shall have attained their respective ages of fourteen years, no person shall have, enjoy, bear and execute any office, service, imployment or place of attendment relating to their persons, but such as shall be approved of in writing under the hands and seals of the said archbishops and bishops in being, or the major part of such of them as are there in being. And if any person shall take upon him to execute any such office, service, imployment, or place of attendance, contrary to the true intent and meaning of this act, he shall forfeit the sum of one hundred pounds for every month he shall so execute the same, to be recovered by any person that will sue for the same, in any action of debt, bill, plaint or information, in any of his Majestie's courts at Westminster, [and] shall also suffer imprisonment for the space of six months without bayl or mainprize.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that no person born within this realm or any other of his Majestie's dominions, being a Popish priest, deacon, or ecclesiastical person, made, or deemed, or professed by any authority or jurisdiction derived, challenged, or pretended from the See of Rome, or any Jesuit whatsoever shall be allowed to

attend the person of the Queen's Majesty that now is, or any Queen consort, or Queen dowager, that shall be hereafter, whilst they are within this realm, or by pretence of such service, or any other matter, shall be exempted from the penal laws already made against such persons coming into, being or remaining in this kingdom, but shall be, and are hereby lyable to the utmost severity thereof.

Provided always, that it shall and may be lawful for Master John Huddleston, being one of the Queen's Majestie's domestick servants, to attend her said Majestie's service, any thing in this act or any other law to the contrary notwithstanding.

And be it further enacted, that after the death of the Queen's Majesty, to whom God grant a long and happy life, all lay persons whatsoever, born within this realm, or any other of his Majestie's dominions, that shall be of the houshold, or in the service or employment of any succeeding Queen consort, or Queen dowager, shall do and perform all things in a late Act of this Parliament, entituled, "An Act for preventing dangers which may happen from Popish recusants" required to be done and performed by any person, that shall be admitted into the service or employment of his Majesty, or his royal highness the Duke of York, which if they shall neglect or refuse to do and perform, and nevertheless, after such refusal, shall execute any office, service, or employment under any succeeding Queen consort, or Queen dowager, every person so offending shall be liable to the same penalties and disabilities, as by the said Act are or may be inflicted upon the breakers of that law. Provided always, that all and every person or persons, that shall, by virtue of this act, have or claim any archbishoprick, bishoprick, deanry, prebendary, par-

sonage, vicarage, or other ecclesiastical benefits, with cure or without cure, shall be and is hereby enjoined, under the like penalties and disabilities, to do and perform all things whatsoever, which by law they ought to have done if they had obtained the same, and by the usual course and form of law, without the help and benefit of this act.

And be it further enacted, that all and every archbishops, bishops, appointed by this Act to assemble upon the demise of his Majesty, or any other King or Queen regnant, in order to repair and make humble tender of the oath and declaration aforementioned, to any succeeding King or Queen, be bound by this Act to administer the same, shall before such tender and administration thereof, and are hereby required to administer the same oath and declaration to one another, with such of the archbishops and bishops, at any time assembled as by the statute 31 H. 8. ought to have precedence of all the rest of them that shall be so assembled, is hereby authorised and required to administer to the rest of them, and the next in order to such prelates is hereby authorised and required to administer the same to him, and the same oath and declaration being engrossed in another piece of parchment, they and every of them are hereby enjoined to subscribe their names to the same, and to return the same into the High Court of Chancery, hereafter with their certificate, which they are before by this Act appointed to make. And if any of the said archbishops or bishops shall be under the same penalties, forfeiture, and disabilities, as are hereby appointed for such archbishops and bishops, as neglect or refuse to make any tender of the said oath and declaration, to any succeeding King or Queen regnant.

And be it further enacted, that the archbishop of Canterbury, or archbishop of York, or such other bishop to whom it shall belong to issue forth summons to all the bishops of England and Wales, requiring to meet and consult concerning the nomination of fit persons, for the supply of any archbishoprick, or bishoprick, according to this Act, shall make the said summons in such manner that the time therein mentioned for the meeting the said archbishops and bishops, shall not be more than forty days, distinct from the time of the debate, and issuing out of the said summons.

And be it further enacted, that in case any person entitled by this Act doth demand consecration, in order to make him bishop of any vacant See, in manner aforesaid, shall demand the same of the archbishop of the province, and such archbishop that shall neglect or refuse to do the same, either by himself or by others commissioned by him, by the space of thirty days, that then such archbishop shall over and besides the treble damages, to the party before appointed, forfeit the sum of one thousand pounds to any person that will sue for the same, in any of his Majestie's courts at Westminster, by action of debt, bill, plaint, or information, wherein no essoin protection, or wager of law, shall be allowed. And being thereof lawfully convicted, his archbishoprick shall thereby become, *ipso facto*, void as if he were naturally dead, and he shall be and is hereby made incapable and disabled to hold, have, receive the same, or any other bishoprick, or ecclesiastical benefice whatsoever.

And be it further enacted, that after such neglect or refusal by the space of thirty days after demand, to make such consecration, or in case of the vacancy

of the archbishoprick, such bishop of the said province, for time being, who by the statute of 31 H. 8. ought to have precedence of all the rest, calling to his assistance a sufficient number of bishops, who are likewise required to assist, at such time and place, as he shall thereunto appoint, shall and is hereby required, upon reasonable demands, to make such consecration which shall be good and effectual in law, as if the said bishops were thereunto authorised and empowered by commission from such archbishop, or any other person, or persons, having authority to grant commission for the doing the same.

And be it further enacted, that the said bishops and every of them are hereby enjoined and required to perform the same, upon pain of forfeiting, upon any neglect or refusal, treble damages to the party grieved, to be recovered with costs, in any of his Majestie's courts of record, at Westminster, as also the sum of one thousand pounds to any person that will sue for the same, in any of his Majestie's courts at Westminster, by any action of debt, bill, plaint or information, wherein no essoyn, protection, or wager of law shall be allowed; and being lawfully convicted of any such neglect or refusal, his or their bishoprick that shall be so convicted, shall become, *ipso facto*, void, as if he or they were naturally dead, and he or they are hereby made incapable, and disabled to have, hold, or receive the same, or any other bishoprick or any other ecclesiastical benefice whatsoever. "

Yet this notorious bill had not the same accident with the first, but was read a second time, and committed; wherein their Houses curiosity seems to have led them, rather than any satisfaction they had

in the matter, or hope of amending it, for it died away, the committee disdaining, or not daring publicly to enter upon it, some indeed having, as is said, once attempted it in private, and provided R. S. a fit lawyer for the chairman, but were discovered. And thus let these two bills perish like unseasonable and monstrous births, but the legitimate issue of the conspirators, and upon the hopes of whose growth they had built the succession of their projects.

Henceforward another scene opens: the House of Commons thorow the whole remainder of this Session, falling in with some unanimity, and great vigour against the French counsels. Of which their proceedings it were easy to assign the more intimate causes; but they having therein also acted according to the public interest, we will be glad to suppose it to have been their only motive. That business having occasioned many weighty debates in their House, and frequent addresses to his Majesty, deserves a more particular account. Nor hath it been difficult to recover it, most of them being unwilling to forget any thing they have said to the purpose, but rather seeking to divulge what they think was bravely spoken; and that they may be thought somebody, often arrogating where they cannot be disproved, another man's conception to their own honour.

March the 6th, 1676, the House being resolved into a Committee of the whole House to consider of grievances, resolved:

“That a Committee be appointed to prepare an address, to represent unto his Majesty the danger of the power of France, and to desire that his Majesty, by such alliances as he shall think fit, do

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“secure his kingdoms, and quiet the fears of his people, and for preservation of the Spanish Netherlands.”

“MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

“WE your Majestie’s most loyal subjects, the knights, citizens and burgesses, in Parliament assembled, find ourselves obliged in duty and faithfulness to your Majesty, and in discharge of the trust reposed in us, by those whom we represent, most humbly to offer to your Majestie’s consideration that the minds of your people are much disquieted with the manifest dangers arising to your Majesty by the growth and power of the French King; especially by the acquisition already made, and the further progress like to be made by him, in the Spanish Netherlands, in the preservation and security whereof, we humbly conceive the interest of your Majesty, and the safety of your people, are highly concerned; and therefore we most humbly beseech your Majesty to take the same into your royal care, and to strengthen yourself with such stricter alliances, as may secure your Majestie’s kingdoms, and secure and preserve the said Spanish Netherlands, and thereby quiet the minds of your Majestie’s people.”

This address was presented to his Majesty the 16th of March, and his Majestie’s answer was reported to the House of Commons, by Mr. Speaker, the 17th of March, which was thus :

“THAT his Majesty was of the opinion of his two Houses of Parliament; that the preservation of Flanders was of great consequence; and that he would use all means in his power for the safety of his kingdoms.”

A motion was therefore made for a second address upon the same subject, on Monday, March 26th, which here followeth:

“MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

“WE your Majestie’s most loyal subjects, the
“knights, citizens, and burgesses in Parliament
“assembled, do, with unspeakable joy and comfort,
“present our humble thanks to your Majesty, for
“your Majestie’s gracious acceptance of our late
“address, and that your Majesty was pleased in
“your princely wisdom to express your con-
“currence and opinion with your two Houses
“in reference to the preservation of the Spanish
“Netherlands.

“And we do with most earnest and repeated
“desires implore your Majesty, that you would be
“pleased to take timely care to prevent those
“dangers that may arise to these kingdoms by
“the great power of the French king, and the
“progress he daily makes in those Netherlands and
“other places.

“And therefore that your Majesty would not
“defer the entering into such alliances as may obtain
“those ends, and in case it shall happen, that in
“pursuance of such alliances, your Majesty should
“be engaged in a war with the French king, we do
“hold ourselves obliged, and do with all humility
“and cheerfulness assure your Majesty, that we
“your most loyal subjects shall always be ready
“upon your signification thereof in Parliament, fully,
“and from time to time, to assist your Majesty
“with such aids and supplies as, by the Divine
“assistance, may enable your Majesty to prosecute
“the same with success.

“All which we do most humbly offer to your Majesty as the unanimous sense and desire of the whole kingdom.”

March 30, 1677.

IT was alleged against this address, that to press the King to make further alliances with the confederates against the French King, who was in effect to press him to a war, that being the direct and unavoidable consequence thereof.

That the consideration of war was most proper for the King, who had the intelligence of foreign affairs, and knew the *arcana imperii*.

That it was a dangerous thing hastily to incite the King to a war.

That our merchant ships and effects would be presently seized by the French King within his dominions, and thereby he may acquire the value of, it may be near a million, to enable him to maintain the war against us.

That he would fall upon our plantations, and take, plunder, and annoy them.

That he would send out abundance of capers, and take and disturb all our trading ships in these seas, and the Mediterranean.

That we had not so many ships of war as he, and those thirty which were to be built with the 600,000*l.* now given, could not be finished in two years.

That we had not naval stores and ammunition, &c., sufficient for such a purpose, and if we had, yet the season of the year was too far advanced to set out a considerable fleet: and we could not now lay in beef, pork, &c.

That when we were engaged in a war, the Dutch

would likely slip collar, leave us in the war, and so gain to themselves the singular advantage of sole trading in peace, which is the privilege we now enjoy, and should not be weary of.

That it was next to impossible, to make alliances with the several parties as might be expected, such and so various were the several interests, and cross-biasses, of and amongst the Emperor, the Spaniard, the Dane, the Dutch, the Brandenburg, and the several lesser princes of Germany, and others.

That we might easily enter into a war, but it would be hard to find the way out of it, and a long war would be destructive to us ; for though the Emperor, French, Spaniard, &c., use to maintain war for many years, yet a trading nation, as England is, could not endure a long-winded war.

On the other side, it was said :

That they did not address for making war but making leagues, which might be a means to prevent war.

That the best way to preserve peace, was to be in a preparation for war.

That admitting a war should ensue thereupon, as was not unlikely, yet that would tend to our peace and safety in conclusion ; for it must be agreed, that if the power of France were not reduced, and brought to a more equal balance with its neighbours, we must fight or submit, first or last.

That it was commonly the fate of those that kept themselves neutral, when their neighbours were at war, to become a prey to the conqueror.

That now or never was the critical season to make war upon the French, whilst we may have so great auxiliary conjunction ; and if it were a dangerous and formidable thing to encounter him now, how

much more would it be so when this opportunity was lost, the Confederacy disbanded, a peace made on the other side of the water, and we left alone to withstand him single.

That as to his seizing our merchants effects, the case was (the same and) no other now than it would be three years hence, or at any time whenever the war should commence.

That as to our plantations and our traders, we must consider, though the French King was powerful, he was not omnipotent, and we might as well defend them as the Dutch do theirs, by guards, convoys, &c., and chiefly when the French have so many enemies, and we shall have so many friends, as no other time is like to afford.

That they were sorry to hear we had not ships, stores, &c. equal to the French, and to our occasions, and hoped it would appear to be otherwise.

That the season was not so far spent, but that a competent fleet might be set out this summer, and that however deficient we might be in this kind, the Dutch were forward and ready to make an effectual supplement in that behalf.

That howsoever ill and false some men might esteem the Dutch, yet interest will not lie, and it is so much their interest to confine and bring down the French, that it is not to be apprehended, but they will steadily adhere to every friend and every alliance they shall joyn with for that purpose.

That however cross and diverse the several Confederates and their interests were, yet a common Alliance may be made with them against the French, and as well as they have allyed themselves together, as well may the alliance be extended to another, to be added to them, viz. the King of England.

That a numerous and vigorous conjunction against him is the way to shorten the work, whereas if he should hereafter attack us singly, he would continue the war on us as long as he pleased, till he pleased to make an end of it and us together, by our final destruction.

That if now we should neglect to make Alliances, we had no cause to expect to have one friend, when the French should make peace beyond sea, and single us out for conquest; for all that are conjoined against the French, are provoked and disobliged, by reason of the great number of English, Scotch and Irish, which have served, and do still serve the French, and it was proved at the bar of this House within this fortnight, that one thousand men were levied in Scotland, and sent to the French service in January last, and some of them by force and pressing.

Also that it was understood and resented, that we had mainly contributed to this overgrown greatness of the French, by selling Dunkirk, that special key and inlet of Flanders, by making war on the Dutch, in 1665. Whereupon the French joyned with the Dutch, under which shelter and opportunity the French King laid the foundation of this great fleet he now hath, buying then many great ships of the Dutch, and building many others: as to which, but for that occasion, the Dutch would have denied and hindred him, by not observing the Tripple League, and by our making a joynt war with the French against the Dutch, in which the French yet proceeds and triumphs. So that in this respect we have much to redeem and retrieve.

That enmity against the French was the thing wherein this divided nation did unite, and this

occasion was to be laid hold on, as an opportunity of moment amongst ourselves.

That the bent and weight of the nation did lean this way, and that was a strong inducement and argument to incline their representatives.

That it had been made appear, and that in Parliament, that upon the balance of the French trade, this nation was detrimented yearly 900,000*l.* or a million, the value of the goods imported from France annually so much exceeding that of the goods exported hence thither, whereby it is evident, that such a sum of the treasure and mony of the nation was yearly exhausted and carried into France, and all this by unnecessary wines, silks, ribbons, feathers, &c. the saving and retrenching of which expence and exhaustion, will in a great degree serve to maintain the charge of a War.

That the present was the best time for the purpose, and that this would give reputation to the Confederates, and comfort and courage to our best friends immediately, and safety to ourselves in futurity, against the *old perpetual enemy of England.*

The second address was presented to his Majesty, March the 30th, and till the 11th of April they received no answer: insomuch that it became doubtful, whether the mony-bill would be accepted or no, and if the Commons made any difficulty in passing them, unless they were first secured against the French interest, it seemed that the supply would be rejected by the conspirators' good-will; and that even the building of ships, how necessary soever, might rather have been respited again, as it had in former Sessions, and for the whole long prorogation. But their House was far from such obstinacy; and the news being come of the taking both of Valen-

ciennes and St. Omer, with the defeat of the prince of Orange at Mont-Cassel, so that now there was no further danger of preventing or interrupting the successes of the French King, this campaign ; at last therefore, upon the 11th of April, this following answer was offered to their House, from his Majesty, by Master Secretary Coventry.

C. R.

“ HIS Majesty having considered your last address, “and finding some late alteration in affairs abroad, “thinks it necessary to put you in mind, that the “only way to prevent the dangers which may arise “to these kingdoms, must be by putting his Majesty “timely in a condition to make such fitting preparation, as may enable him to do what may be most “for the security of them. And if for this reason “you shall desire to sit any longer time, his Majesty “is content you may adjourn now before Easter, and “meet again suddenly after, to ripen this matter, “and to perfect some of the most necessary bills now “depending.”

“ Given at our Court at Whitehall the 11th of
“ April, 1677.”

Somewhat was said on both these matters, but the greater debate of them was adjourned till next day, and then reassumed.

Then it was moved that the House should adjourn till after Easter, and then meet again, with a resolution to enable the King to make such preparations as should be thought necessary, and also pass some necessary bills for the kingdom, which if they did not, the blame of the neglect must rest upon themselves, and it would be observed they had not sat to any effect this four years ; and that now they

had a Session, and had given a million, they did take little care to redress grievances, or pass good laws for the people, and that they should not be able to give any account of themselves to their neighbours in the country, unless they should face them down, that there was no grievance or mischief in the nation to be redressed, and that the King had stopped their mouths, and laid to them by offering them to sit longer.

Others said, they should perfect the two mony-bills, and give the King ease, and take another time to consider further of religion, liberty, and property, especially seeing all bills now depending would be kept on foot, the intended recess being to be but an adjournment; that they had very good laws already, and would give their shares in any new ones they were making, to be in the country at the present time; that it was necessary for them to be there the 10th of May, to execute the act for 600,000*l.* &c. and some time was to be allowed for their journys, and rest after it; that the passing some necessary bills came in the end of the King's message, and by the by; for his Majesty saith, that if for this reason, that is, for making of preparations, &c. they should desire to sit longer, and if so, then also take the opportunity of passing such bills. So the sense and inclination of the House was to rise before Easter, as had been before intimated and expected.

Then they fell upon the main consideration of the message, and to make a present answer.

The secretary and other ministers of State said, that the alteration of affairs which his Majesty took notice of, was the success of the French against the prince of Orange, in the battel, and their proceeding to take Cambray and St. Omers.

Thus by inches, or rather great measures they were taking in Flanders (which was reckoned the out-work of England, as well as Holland) and they said plainly, nothing could put his Majesty in a condition to make fitting preparations to preserve the kingdom, but ready mony.

To this it was answered, that it was not proper nor usual to ask mony at the end of a Session, and it was fit that alliances should be first made, and that they should adjourn rather till that were done, for they ought not to give mony till they knew for what, and it was clearly spoken and made out to them, that if there were no summer's war, there was mony enough given already.

It was replied, that they had not direction from his Majesty as to what he had resolved, and it might be not convenient to discover and publish such things, but they would offer their guess and aim at some things, if there were any approaches towards war, though they ought to consider and compute like him in the Gospel, whether with such a force they could encounter a king that came against them with such a force, they should think of providing a guard for the Isle of Wight, Jersey, Guernsey and Ireland, and secure our coasts, and be in a defensive posture on the land; we might be attacked in a night.

Also there would be a necessity of an extraordinary summer guard at sea; his Majesty did use to apply 400,000*l.* yearly out of the customs upon his fleets (the very harbour expence) which in anchorage, mooring, docks, and repairs, &c., was 110,000*l.* *per annum*, and he was now setting forth forty ships for the summer guard, but if there were a disposition towards war, there must be more ships, or at least those must be more fully manned, and more strongly

appointed, and furnished the more, especially if the breach were sudden, for otherwise, our trading ships at sea, as well as those ships and goods in the French ports, would be exposed. Now is it reasonable that the remainder, which was above and beyond the King's ordinary allowance, should be supplied by the Parliament, and the extraordinary preparations of this kind for the present, could not amount to less than 200,000*l*.

It was answered, that it was a melancholy thing to think Jersey, &c., were not well enough secured, at least as well as in the year 1665, when we alone had war with the French and Dutch too, and yet the King's revenue was less then than now: that the revenue of Ireland was 50,000*l. per annum*, beyond the establishment (that is, the civil, military, and all payments of the government) which if not sent over hither, but disposed there, would suffice to defend that kingdom; and they remember that about a month ago, they were told by some of these gentlemen, that the French King would not take more towns in Flanders if he might have them, but was drawing off to meet the Germans, who would be in the field in May, and therefore it was strange he should be represented now as ready to invade us, and that we must have an army raised and kept on our islands and land. No they would not have that; it would be a great matter in the balance, if the King's subjects were withdrawn from the French service, and applied on the other side, and till that were done, that we did continue to be contributory to the greatness of France; but a fleet would protect our whole. Ships are the defence of an island, and thereby we may hope to keep at a distance, and not apprehend, or prepare to meet him at our doors.

He learns by Sicily what it is to invade an island ; he is not like to attempt an invasion of us, till he hath some mastery at sea, which is impossible for him to have so long as he is diverted and imployed at land, in the Mediterranean, and in the West Indies, as he is.

And as to our merchant ships and goods, they are in no more danger now than they were in any war whensoever. Nay, there was more expectation of this, than there was of the last war, for the first notice we or the Dutch had of that breach, was the attempt upon their Smyrna fleet.

Also it is observed, that what was said a fortnight ago (that the season was too far advanced to lay in beef, and it would stink) was admitted to be a mistake, for that now it was urged, that a greater and better appointed fleet must be furnished out, but still it was insisted on, that they were in the dark, his Majesty did not speak out, that he would make the desired alliances against the growth of France, and resolve with his Parliament to maintain them, and so long as there was any coldness or reservedness of this kind, they had no clear grounds to grant money for preparations. His Majesty was a prince of that goodness and care towards his people, that none distrust him, but there was a distrust of some of his ministers, and a jealousy that they were under French influences ; and complaints and addresses had been made against them ; and upon the discourse of providing for the safety of the nation, it being said we might be secured by the guaranty of the general peace, it was reflected on as a thing most pernicious to us, and that our money and endeavours could not be worse applied, than to procure that peace. Articles are not to be relied on.

All that they desired was, that his Majesty and his people unanimously, truly, sincerely and thoroughly declare and engage in this business, with a mutual confidence speaking out on both sides, and this, and nothing but this, would discharge and extinguish all jealousies.

But it was objected, it was not convenient to discover his Majestie's secret purposes in a publick assembly, it might be too soon known abroad, and there was no reason to distrust his Majesty, but that being enabled, he would prepare and do all things expedient for the kingdom.

It was answered, that it was usual for forrain ministers to get notice of the councils of princes, as the Earl of Bristol ambassador in Spain, in the last part of King James's reign, procured copies, and often the sight of the originals of dispatches and cabinet papers of the King of Spain. But acknowledging that his Majestie's councils cannot be penetrated by the French, yet the things would in a short time discover themselves: besides they said, they did not much desire secrecy, for let the King take a great resolution, and put himself at the head of his Parliament and people in this weighty and worthy cause of England, and let a flying post carry the news to Paris, and let the French King do his worst.

His Majesty never had nor never will have cause to distrust his people. In 1667, in confidence of our aid, he made a league without advice of Parliament (commonly called the Tripple League) which was for the interest of England, and whereby his Majesty became the arbiter of Christendom, and in the name and upon the account of that, the Parliament gave him several supplies.

In 1672, he made war without the advice of Parliament, which war the Parliament thought not for the interest of England to continue, yet even therein they would not leave him, but gave him 1,200,000*l.* to carry himself on and out of it.

How much more are they concerned and obliged to supply and assist him in these alliances (and war if it ensue) which are so much for the interest of England, and entered into by the pressing advice of Parliament.

We hope his Majesty will declare himself in earnest, and we are in earnest; having his Majestie's heart with us, *let his hand rot off that is not stretcht out for this affair*; we will not stick at this or that sum or thing, but we will go with his Majesty to all extremities.

We are now afraid of the French King, because he has great force, and extraordinary thinking men about him, which manage his affairs to a wonder, but we trust his Majesty will have his business managed by thinking men, that will be provident and careful of his interest, and not suffer him to pay *cent. per cent.* more than the things are worth, that are taken up and used, and if the work be entred upon in this manner, we hope England will have English success with France: as it is in bowling, if your bowl be well set out, you may wink, and it will go to mark.

Were the thing clear and thoroughly undertaken, there would be less reason to dispute of time; there never was a council but would sit on Sunday, or any day, for such publick work.

In fine, they said, the business must lie at one door or another, and they would not for any thing, that it should flat in their hands.

And although they should hope in an exigence his Majesty would lend to his people, who had given so much to him, yet they said they could not leave him without providing him a sum of money, as much as he could use between this and some convenient time after Easter, when he might, if he please, command their full attendance, by some publick notification, and this was the mentioned sum of 200,000*l.* The expedient they provided for doing this, was adding a borrowing clause to the bill for almost 600,000*l.* (such an one as was in the Poll Bill) the effect of which is to enable his Majesty presently to take up, on the credit of this bill, 200,000*l.* ready money at 7*l.* *per cent. per annum* interest.

And this they said might now be done, though the bill were passed by them, and also (save that they had made the above mentioned amendment) by the Lords, for that Poll Bill was explained by another Act passed a few days after, in the same session. But in Hackwell's *Modus tenendi Parli.* pag[e] 173, was a more remarkable precedent, and exact in the point.

But after some discourse of setting loose part of this 600,000*l.* &c. they reflected that this 600,000*l.* &c. was appropriate for the building of ships, and they would not have this appropriation unhinged by any means, and thereupon resolved to annex the borrowing clause to the bill for continuing the additional duty of excise, for three years, which was not yet passed; against which it was objected, that it was given for other purposes, viz. to give the King ease to pay interest for his debts, &c. But on the contrary it was answered, that the preamble speaks not of his debts, but his extraordinary occasions; but besides, they did not intend to withdraw so

much of their gift, but did resolve to re-emburse his Majesty the 200,000*l.* so much of it as he should lay out in extraordinary preparations.

But then it was objected, that this would be a kind of denouncing of war, and that 200,000*l.* was a miserable, mean and incompetent sum to defend us against those whom we should provoke.

But it was answered, that it was but an earnest of what they intended, and that they were willing to meet again and give further supplies; besides the French King was not formidable for any great hurt that he could do us during the confederacy; there were several princes of Germany, as the archbishop of Metz and Triers, the Palsgrave, the Duke of Newburgh, &c. which are at war with him and are safe; and yet they are much more weak and inconsiderable than we; but they are defended not by their own strength, but by the whole confederacy.

The debate concluded in voting the following answer, which was presented to his Majesty by the Speaker and the whole House, Friday April the 13th.

“MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

“WE your Majestie’s most dutiful and loyal subjects the Commons in this present Parliament assembled, do, with great satisfaction of mind, observe the regard your Majesty is pleased to express to our former addresses, by intimating to us the late alterations of affairs abroad, and do return our most humble thanks for your Majestie’s most gracious offer made to us thereupon in your late message: and having taken a serious deliberation of the same, and of the preparation your Majesty hath therein intimated to us were fitting

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“to be made, in order to those publick ends, we
“have for the present provided a security in a bill
“for the additional duty of excise, upon which your
“Majesty may raise the sum of 200,000*l*. And if
“your Majesty shall think fit to call us together
“again for this purpose, in some short time after
“Easter, by any publick signification of your pleasure,
“commanding our attendance; we shall at our next
“meeting not only be ready to re-imburse your
“Majesty what sums of money shall be expended
“upon such extraordinary preparations as shall be
“made in pursuance of our former addresses; but
“shall likewise with thankful hearts proceed them,
“and at all other times, to furnish your Majesty and
“the whole world, an ample testimony of our loyalty
“and affection to your Majestie’s service, and as may
“enable your Majesty, by the help of Almighty God,
“to maintain such stricter alliances as you shall have
“entred into against all opposition whatsoever.”

Easter Monday, April 19th, another message in writing from his Majesty was delivered by Secretary Williamson to the House of Commons (*viz.*)

C. R.

“HIS Majesty having considered the answer of
“this House to the last message about enabling him
“to make fitting preparations for the security of
“these kingdoms, finds by it that they have only
“enabled him to borrow 200,000*l*. upon a fund given
“him for other uses: his Majesty desires therefore
“this House should know, and he hopes they will
“always believe of him, that not only that fund, but
“any other within his power shall be engaged to the
“utmost of his power for the preservation of his
“kingdoms; but as his Majestie’s condition is (which

“his Majesty doubts not but is as well known to
“this House as himself) he must tell them plainly
“that without the sums [of] six hundred thousand
“pounds, or credit for such a sum, upon new funds,
“it will not be possible for him to speak or act those
“things which should answer the ends of their
“several addresses, without exposing the kingdom to
“much greater danger: His Majesty doth further
“acquaint you that having done his part, and laid
“the true state of things before you, he will not be
“wanting to use the best means for the safety of his
“people, which his present condition is capable of.

“ Given at our Court at Whitehall, April 16th,
“ 1677.”

Thereupon the House fell into present consideration of an answer, and in the first place, it was agreed to return great thanks to his Majesty for his zeal for the safety of the kingdom, and the hopes he had given them that he was convinced and satisfied, so as he would speak and act according to what they had desired, and they resolved to give him the utmost assurance, that they would stand by him, and said no man would be unwilling to give a fourth or third part to save the residue. But they said they ought to consider that now they were a very thin House, many of their Members being gone home, and that upon such a ground as they could not well blame them; for it was upon a presumption that the Parliament would rise before Easter, as has been intimated from his Majesty within this fortnight, and universally expected since, and it would be unparliamentary, and very ill taken by their fellow-members, if in this their absence they should steal the privilege of granting money, and the thanks

which are given for it; that this was a national business if ever any were, and therefore fit to be handled in a full national representative, and if it had hitherto seemed to go up-hill, there was a greater cause to put the whole shoulder to it, and this would be assuring, animating, and satisfactory to the whole nation. But they said it was not their mind to give or suffer any delay, they would desire a recess but for three weeks or a month at most.

And the 200,000*l.* which they had provided for present use, was as much as could be laid out in the mean time, though his Majesty had 600,000*l.* more ready told upon the table.

And therefore they thought it most reasonable and advisable that his Majesty should suffer them to adjourn for such a time; in the interim of which his Majesty might, if he pleased, make use of the 200,000*l.* and might also compleat the desired Alliances, and give notice by proclamation to all members to attend at the time appointed.

The answer is as followeth :

“MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

“WE your Majestie’s most loyal subjects the
“Commons in this present Parliament assembled,
“having considered your Majestie’s last message, and
“the gracious expressions therein contained, for
“imploying your Majestie’s whole revenue at any
“time to raise money for the preservation of your
“Majestie’s kingdoms; find great cause to return our
“most humble thanks to your Majesty for the same,
“and to desire your Majesty to rest assured, that
“you shall find as much duty and affection in us, as
“can be expected from a most loyal people, to their
“most gracious sovereign; and whereas your Majesty

“ is pleased to signify to us, that the sum of 200,000*l*.
“ is not sufficient without a further supply, to enable
“ your Majesty to speak or act those things which
“ are desired by your people ; we humbly take leave
“ to acquaint your Majesty, that many of our
“ members (being upon an expectation of an adjourn-
“ ment before Easter) are gone into their several
“ countries, we cannot think it parliamentary in their
“ absence to take upon us the granting of money, but
“ but do therefore desire your Majesty to be pleased
“ that this House may adjourn itself for such short
“ time, before the sum of 200,000*l*. can be expended,
“ as your Majesty shall think fit, and by your royal
“ proclamation to command the attendance of all our
“ members at the day of meeting ; by which time we
“ hope your Majesty may have so formed your affairs,
“ and fixed your alliances, in pursuance of our former
“ addresses, that your Majesty may be graciously
“ pleased to impart them to us in Parliament ; and
“ we no ways doubt but at our next assembling, your
“ Majesty will not only meet with a compliance in
“ the supply your Majesty desires, but withal such
“ farther assistance as the posture of your Majesty’s
“ affairs shall require ; in confidence whereof we
“ hope your Majesty will be encouraged in the mean
“ time to speak and act such things as your Majesty
“ shall judge necessary for attaining those great ends
“ as we have formerly represented to your Majesty.”

And now the money-bill being passed both Houses, and the French having, by the surrender of Cambray also to them, perfected the conquest of this campagne, as was projected, and the money for further preparations having been asked, only to gain a pretence for refusing their addresses, the Houses were adjourned April the 16th till the 21st of May next. And the

rather, because at the same moment of their rising, a grand French ambassador was coming over. For all things betwixt France and England moved with that punctual regularity, that it was like the harmony of the spheres, so consonant with themselves, although we cannot hear the musick.

There landed immediately after the recess, the Duke of Crequy, the archbishop of Rheims, Monsieur Barrillon, and a train of three or four hundred persons of all qualities, so that the Lords Spiritual and Temporal of France, with so many of their Commons, meeting the King at Newmarket, it looked like another Parliament, and that the English had been adjourned, in order to their better reception. But what address they made to his Majesty, or what Acts they passed, hath not yet been published ; but those that have been in discourse were :

“ An Act for continuing his Majestie’s subjects in
“ the service of France.

“ An Act of abolition of all claims and demands
“ from the subjects of France, on account of all
“ prizes made of the English at sea, since the year
“ 1674 till that day, and for the future.

“ An Act for marrying the Children of the Royal
“ Family to Protestant Princes.

“ An Act for a further supply of French Money.”

But because it appears not that all these, and many others of more secret nature, passed the Royal assent, it sufficeth thus far to have mentioned them. Only it is most certain, that although the English Parliament was kept aloof from the business of war, peace, and alliance, as improper for their intermeddling and presumptuous ; yet with these three estates of France all these things were negotiated and transacted in the

greatest confidence. And so they were adjourned from Newmarket to London, and there continued till the return of the English Parliament, when they were dismissed home with all the signs and demonstrations of mutual satisfaction.

And for better preparations at home, before the Parliament met, there was printed a second packet of advice to the men of Shaftsbury; the first had been sold up and down the nation, and transmitted to Scotland, where three hundred of them were printed at Edinburgh, and forty copies sent from thence to England, fairly bound up and gilded, to shew in what great estimation it was in that kingdom; but this, the sale growing heavy, was dispersed as a donative all over England, and it was an incivility to have enquired from whence they had it, but, it was a book though it came from Hell, that seemed as if it dropped from Heaven among men: some imagined by the weight and the wit of it, that it proceeded from the two lords, the black and the white, who, when their care of the late sitting was over, had given themselves carrier, and after the triumphs of the tongue, had established those trophies of the pen, over their imprisoned adversaries. But that had been a thing unworthy of the Frechwellian generosity, or Treisian magnanimity; and rather befits the mean malice of the same vulgar scribler, hired by the conspirators at so much a sheet, or for day-wages; and when this is spent, he shall for less money blaspheme his God, revile his prince, and belie his country, if his former books have omitted any thing of those arguments: and shall curse his own father into the bargain.

Monday, May 21, 1677.

The Parliament met according to their late adjournment, on and from April 16th to May 21st 1677.

There was no speech from the King to the Parliament, but in the House of Commons.

This meeting was opened with a verbal message from his Majesty, delivered by Secretary Coventry, wherein his Majesty acquainted the House, that having, according to their desire in their answer to his late message April 16th, directed their adjournment to this time, because they did alledge it to be unparliamentary to grant supplies when the House was so thin, in expectation of a speedy adjournment; and having also issued out his proclamation of summons to the end there might be a full House, he did now expect they would forthwith enter upon the consideration of his last message, and the rather, because he did intend there should be a recess very quickly.

Upon this it was moved, that the King's last message (of April 16) and the answer thereto, should be read, and they were read accordingly.

Thereupon, after a long silence, a discourse began about their expectation and necessity of alliances.

And particularly, it was intimated that an alliance with Holland was most expedient for that we should deceive ourselves if we thought we could be defended otherwise; we alone could not withstand the French [King]; his purse and power was too great: nor could the Dutch withstand him; but both together might.

The general discourse was, that they came with an expectation to have alliances declared, and if they were not made so as to be imparted, they were not called or come to that purpose they desired, and hoped to meet upon, and if some few days might

ripen them, they would be content to adjourn for the mean time.

The Secretary and others said, these alliances were things of great weight and difficulty, and the time had been short, but if they were finisht, yet it was not convenient to publish them, till the king was in a readiness and posture to prosecute and maintain them, till when his Majesty could not so much as speak out, insisting on his words, "that without 600,000*l*. it would not be possible for him to speak or act those things which should answer the ends of their several addresses, without exposing the kingdom to much greater dangers."

By others it was observed and said, that they met now upon a publick notice by proclamation, which proclamation was in pursuance of their last address, in which address they desire the King they may adjourn for such time, as within which (they hoped) alliances might be fixed, so as to be imparted; they mentioned not any particular day; if his Majesty had not thought this time long enough for the purpose, he might have appointed the adjournment for a longer time; or he might have given notice by proclamation that upon this account they should re-adjourn to a yet longer time.

But surely, the time has been sufficient, especially considering the readiness of the parties to be allied with; it is five weeks since our recess. He that was a minister chiefly imployed in making the Tripple League, has since published in print that that league was made in five days, and yet that might well be thought a matter more tedious and long than this; for when people are in profound peace (as the Dutch then were) it was not easy to embark them presently into leagues. They had time, and might take it, for

greater deliberation. But here the people are in the distress of war, and need our alliance, and therefore it might be contracted with ease and expedition, were we as forward as they.

Neither is five weeks the limit of the time that has been for this purpose, for it is about ten weeks since we first addressed for these alliances.

And as to the objection, that it was not fit to make them known before preparation were made, they said, the force of that lay in this, that the French would be alarmed. But they answered that the asking and giving money for this purpose would be no less an alarm. For the French could not be ignorant of what addresses and answers have passed; and if money be granted to make warlike preparations, for the end therein specified, it is rather a greater discovery and denouncing of what we intended against the French.

Grotius (*de jure Belli et Pacis*) says, if a prince make extraordinary preparations, a neighbour prince who may be affected by them may expostulate, and demand an account of the purpose for which they are intended, and if he receive not satisfaction that they are not to be used against him, it is a cause of war on his part, so as that neighbour may begin if he think fit, and is not bound to stay till the first begin actual hostility, and this is agreeable to reason and the nature of government.

Now the French King is a vigilant prince, and has wise ministers about him, upon which general account (though we had not as we had seen an extraordinary French embassy here during our recess) we should suppose that the French King has demanded an account of our King's purpose, and whether the extraordinary preparations that are

begun and to be made are designed against him or not. In which case his Majesty could give but one of three answers.

1. To say, they are not designed against him, and then his Majesty may acquaint us with the same, and then there is no occasion of our giving money.

2. To say, they are designed against him, in which case his Majesty may very well impart the same to us. For it were in vain to conceal it from us, to the end that the French might not be alarm'd, when it is before expressly told the French, that the design was against him.

3. To give a doubtful answer. But that resolves into the second. For when a prince, out of an apprehension that extraordinary preparations may be used against him, desires a clear, categorical and satisfactory answer concerning the matter (as the manner of princes is) a dubious answer does not at all satisfy his inquiry, nor allay his jealousy; but, in that case it is, and is used, to be taken and understood, that the forces are designed against him.

And if his Majesty have given no answer at all (which is not probable) it is the same with the last.

So that this being so, by one means or other the French have the knowledge of the King's purpose, and if it be known to, or but guessed at by them, why is it concealed from his Parliament? why this darkness towards us?

Besides we expect not so much good as we would, so long as we are afraid the French should know what we are a-doing.

In this state of uncertainty and unripeness, the House adjourned to Wednesday morning nine o'clock, having first ordered the Committee for the Bill for recalling his Majesty's subjects out of the service of

the French King, to sit this afternoon, which did sit accordingly, and went thorough the Bill.

Wednesday, May 23rd, 1677.

His Majesty sent a message for the House to attend him presently at the Banqueting House in Whitehall, where he made the following speech to them :

“GENTLEMEN,

“I HAVE sent for you hither, that I might prevent those mistakes and distrusts which I find some are ready to make, as if I had called you together only to get money from you, for other uses than you would have it imployed. I do assure you on the word of a King, that you shall not repent any trust you repose in me for the safety of my kingdoms ; and I desire you to believe I would not break my credit with you ; but as I have already told you, that it will not be possible for me to speak or act those things which should answer the ends of your several addresses, without exposing my kingdoms to much greater dangers, so I declare to you again, I will neither hazard my own safety nor yours, until I be in a better condition than I am able to put myself, both to defend my subjects and offend my enemies.

“I do further assure you, I have not lost one day since your last meeting, in doing all I could for your defence ; and I tell you plainly it shall be your fault, and not mine, if your security be not sufficiently provided for.”

The Commons returning to their House, and the speech being there read, they presently resolved to consider it, and after a little while resolved into a

Committee of the whole House, for the more full, free, and regular debate.

The Secretary and others propounded the supplying the King, wherein they said they did not press the House, but they might do as they pleased. But if it be expected that alliances be made, and made known, there must be 600,000*l.* raised to make preparation before, for the King had declared that without it, it could not be possible for him *to speak or act*; he could not safely move a step further. The King had the right of making peace, war, and leagues, as this House has of giving money: he could not have money without them, nor they alliances without him. The King had considered this matter, and this was his judgment, that he ought by such a sum to be put into a posture to maintain and prosecute his alliances, before they could or should be declared, and truly otherwise our nakedness and weakness would be exposed.

'Tis true, as has been objected, the asking and giving money for this purpose would alarm as much as the declaring alliance, but then it would defend too. A whip will alarm a wild beast, but it will not defend the man; a sword will alarm the beast too, but then it will also defend the man.

We know the King would strip himself to his shirt rather than hazard the nation; he has done much already, he has set out and made ready to set out, forty-four ships, but they must be distributed to several places for convoys, &c. There would need, it may be forty more in a body: and it is difficult to get seamen; many are gone into the service of the French, Dutch, &c. the King is fain to press now.

The King has not had any fruit of the 200,000*l.* credit provided him upon the three years excise; he

has tried the City to borrow money of them thereupon, and my Lord Mayor returned answer, that he had endeavoured but could not encourage his Majesty to depend upon the City for it.

Several others, somewhat different, spake to this effect: We should consider in this case, as in the case of the King's letters patents, proclamations, &c., if any thing in them be against law and reason, lawyers and courts judge it void, and reckon it not to be said or done by the King: for the King can do no wrong, though his council may. So we must look upon the King's speeches and messages as the product of council, and therefore if any mistake be therein, it must be imputed to the error of his council, and it must be taken that the King never said it. Now to apply certainly the treating and concluding of alliances, requires not a previous sum of money, however the King's council may misinform. They may be propounded and accepted, by the means of the forraign ministers, even without an embassy to be sent hence, and yet if that were requisite, it were not an extraordinary charge.

Alliances may be made forthwith, and then money would be granted forthwith; if they were declared to-day, the 600,000*l.* should be given to-morrow, and as occasion should require.

And there is no fear but money would be found for this purpose: our own extravagancies would maintain a war.

The money which has been provided the King already this Session, is sufficient for all preparations that can possibly be made before these alliances may be made.

Forty ships of ours, with the help of the Dutch, are a good defence against the French at sea, now he

is so entangled with Sicily, the West Indies, &c. In the Tripple League it was stipulated, that forty of our ships, and forty of the Dutch, should be provided, and they were thought sufficient for the purpose.

If it were required that forty more ships should be set out, 600,000*l.* is enough to maintain and pay a whole year clear for the carpenters' work, and such like as should presently be required; for the fitting them to go out a little money will serve.

And surely this is the only preparation that can be meant, for if it should be meant, that we should fortifie the land with forts, garrisons, walled towns, &c., it is not six millions will do it: but our strength, force, and defence, is our ships. For the debate of this day it is as great and weighty as ever was any in England; it concerns our very being, and includes our religion, liberty and property: the door towards France must be shut and guarded, for so long as it is open our treasure and trade will creep out and their religion creep in at it, and this time is our season: some mischief will be done us, and so there will at any time when the war is begun, but now the least.

The French is not very dangerous to us, nor to be much feared by us at this present, but we ought to advise and act so now, as we may not fear or despair hereafter when the French [King] shall make peace beyond sea, and likely he will make alliances with those people with whom we defer to make them; how ripe and great is our misery then?

The power and policy of the French [King] is extraordinary, and his money influences round about him.

We are glad to observe upon what is said by and of the King, that his Majesty agrees with us in the end, and we hope he will be convinced of, the

reasonableness of the means, which is to make and follow these Alliances, without which plainly we can give no account to ourselves, or those we represent, of giving money.

We have made several addresses about some of the King's ministers, their management, &c. of which we have seen little fruit. There have continually almost to this hour gone out of England succours to France, of men, powder, ammunition, ordnance, &c. nor to rake into the matter, how far the ministers have been active or passive in this, nor to mention any other particulars, we must say that unless the ministers, or their minds are altered, we have no reason to trust money in their hands, though we declare we have no purpose to arraign or attempt upon them, but would rather propose to them an easy way how they might have oblivion, nay, and the thanks of the people, viz. that they should endeavour and contend, who could do most to dispose the King to comply with this advice of his Parliament.

We think the prosecuting these Alliances, the only good use for which our money can be employed, and therefore, before we give, we would be secure it should be applied to this purpose, and not by miscounsels be diverted to others.

This is the mature counsel of the Parliament, and no cross or other counsel is to be received or trusted, for attaining these great advices which the King and Parliament are agreed on.

To part with money before Alliances are made, is needless and to no purpose; at best it would be the way to spend that money beforehand, in vain, which we shall need hereafter, when we shall be forced to enter into this defence against France.

It would be like an error committed in the late

King's time, and which looks as if men had given counsel on purpose to destroy that good King; he had, by the care and faithfulness of Bishop Juxon and others, collected and preserved a good sum of money before the Scottish rebellion, in one thousand six hundred and thirty nine; upon that rebellion he was advised to raise an army at land, which indeed was necessary; but he was likewise advised to set out several of his great rate ships. This appeared in the papers of Sir Robert Long's office, and may there be seen still, if the papers are not scattered. A man cannot tell to what end this advice was given, unless to spend the King's money, for the admiralty of Scotland is not now, and much less then was so considerable, as to require any such force against it. And if the design were to hinder their commerce and succours by sea, the charge of one of those great ships might have been divided and applied to the setting out five or six less ships, each of which was capable of doing as much for that service, as such a great one, and could keep out at sea longer.

It is a plain case, unless the power of France be lowred we cannot be safe: without conjunction with other confederates, it cannot be done. The question is, whether the present be the proper time for the work. Certainly it is; there is a happy confederation against the French, which we cannot so well hope to have continued without our coming into it, much less can we hope to recover or recruit it, if once broken: the very season of the year favours the business. It is proper and safe to begin with the French in the summer, now he is engaged and not at leisure, whereas in winter when the armies are drawn out of the field he will be able to apply himself to us.

As to the citizens now advancing money upon the late credit, we are informed they were never regularly or effectually asked; my Lord Mayor indeed was spoken to, and perhaps some of the aldermen, but all they are not the city. He sent about curiously to some of the citizens, to know if they would lend, of which they took little or no notice, it being not agreeable to their way and usage, for the custom in such cases has always been, that some lord of the council did go down to the common council, which is the representative body of the city, and there propound the matter.

Besides in this particular case the citizens generally asked the same question we do, are the Alliances made? and said if they were made they would lend money, but if not, they saw no cause for it.

Philip the Second of Spain made an observation in his will, or some last memorial, and 'tis since published in print by Monsieur; he observes the vanity of any prince's aspiring at the universal monarchy, for that it naturally made the rest of the world jointly his enemies; but ambition blinds men, suffers them not to look back on such experiences: but this observation shews what is natural for others to do in such a case, and that the way to repel and break such a design is by their universal confederation.

Philip the Second was most capable of making this observation, for in his hands perished the Spanish design of the universal monarchy, and that chiefly by reason of the conjunction of the English and Dutch against him.

In the process of this debate, gentlemen did more particularly explain themselves, and propound to address their design to the King, for a league

offensive and defensive, with the Dutch against the French power.

Against which a specious objection was made, that the Dutch were already treating with the French, and 'twas like they would slip collar, make a separate peace for themselves, and leave us engaged in a war with France.

To which was answered, that there was no just fear of that; the Dutch were interested in repressing the power of France as well as we, and they knew their interest; it was reasonable for them to say, if England, which is as much concerned in this danger, will not assist us, we will make the best terms we can for ourselves, there is yet a seam of land between the French and us, we may trade by or under them, &c.

But if England will join with the Dutch, they cannot find one syllable of reason to desert the common cause:

They have observed a propensity in the people of England to help them, but not in the Court of England. If they can find that the Court does heartily join, it will above all things oblige and confirm them.

In one thousand six hundred and sixty seven, when the Dutch were in peace and plenty, when Flanders was a greater bullwark to them, for the French had not pierced so far into it, and when the direction of their affairs was in a hand of inveterate enmity to the Crown of England (John de Witt) yet then their interest did so far govern him and them, as to enter into the Tripple League, against the growth and power of France, and keep it more; and most certainly therefore now they are exhausted and weakened by a war, and stand in need of our help,

now the French have approached nearer the brink of their country, and are increased in naval force to the danger of their trade and navigation, and now their affairs are chiefly directed by a kinsman of the crown of England, the prince of Orange, they cannot deflect or start from a league they make with us against our common enemy.

It was moved, that there might be a league offensive and defensive with Spain and the Dutch, and other convenient alliances with the rest of the confederates: but the particular concerning Spain was retracted and laid aside by the general discourse of the members to this purpose: we do covet an alliance with Spain above others, for that they are owners of the Netherlands, for whose preservation we have addressed; that it is with Spain we have the most, if not the only profitable trade, and the Spaniards are good, gallant and sure friends; but they are remote, and we know not whether there are full powers here or at Brussels for this matter, and to wait for their coming from Madrid would make church-work, whereas we need the swiftest expedition.

Therefore they voted their address to be particular and expressly for such a league with the Dutch, and as to the Spaniards together with the other confederates in general.

This passed with very general consent; there was an extraordinary full House, and upon putting the question, there were but two negative voices to it.

There were more than ordinary particulars appointed to be in the address, but no contest or debate about them.

The vote was as followeth :

“Resolved,

“THAT an address be made to the King, that his Majesty would be pleased to enter into a league, “offensive and defensive, with the Sates General of “the United Provinces, and to make such other “alliances with others of the confederates, as his “Majesty shall think fit, against the growth and “power of the French King, and for the preservation “of the Spanish Netherlands, and that a committee “be appointed to draw up the address, with reasons “why this House cannot comply with his Majestie’s “Speech, until such alliances be entered into, and “further shewing the necessity of the speedy making “such alliances, and when such alliances are made, “giving his Majesty assurance of speedy and chearful “supplies, from time to time, for supporting and “maintaining such alliances.”

To which (the Speaker re-assuming the chair, and this being reported) the House agreed, and appointed the committee.

And adjourned over Ascension Day till Friday.

In the interim, the committee met and drew the address according to the above mentioned order, a true copy of which is here annexed.

“MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY,

“YOUR Majestie’s most loyal and dutiful subjects, “the Commons in Parliament assembled, have taken “into their serious consideration, your Majestie’s “gracious speech, and do beseech your Majesty, to “believe it is a great affliction to them, to find them- “selves obliged (at present) to decline the granting “your Majesty the supply your Majesty is pleased to “demand, conceiving it is not agreeable to the usage

“ of Parliament, to grant supplies for maintenance of
 “ wars and alliances, before they are signified in
 “ Parliament (which the two wars against the States
 “ of the United Provinces, since your Majestie’s
 “ happy restoration, and the league made in January
 “ 1668, for the preservation of the Spanish Nether-
 “ lands, sufficiently proved, without troubling your
 “ Majesty with instances of greater antiquity) from
 “ which usage if we might depart, the precedent
 “ might be of dangerous consequence in future times,
 “ though your Majestie’s goodness gives us great
 “ security during your Majestie’s reign, which we
 “ beseech God long to continue.

“ This consideration prompted us in our last address
 “ to your Majesty, before our last recess, humbly to
 “ mention to your Majesty, our hopes, that before
 “ our meeting again your Majestie’s alliances might
 “ be so fixed, as that your Majesty might be graciously
 “ pleased to impart them to us in Parliament, that so
 “ our earnest desires of supplying your Majesty, for
 “ prosecuting those great ends we had humbly laid
 “ before your Majesty, might meet with no impedi-
 “ ment or obstruction; being highly sensible of the
 “ necessity of supporting, as well, as making the
 “ alliances, humbly desired in our former addresses,
 “ and which we still conceive so important to the
 “ safety of your Majesty, and your kingdomes, that
 “ we cannot (without unfaithfulness to your Majesty
 “ and those we represent) omit, upon all occasions,
 “ humbly to beseech your Majesty, as we now do, to
 “ *enter into a league offensive and defensive with the*
 “ *States General of the United Provinces, against the*
 “ *growth and power of the French King, and for the*
 “ *preservation of the Spanish Netherlands, and to make*
 “ *such other alliances, with such other of the confederates,*

“as your Majesty shall think fit and useful to that end;
“in doing which (that no time may be lost) we
“humbly offer to his Majesty these reasons for the
“expediting of it.

1. “That if the entering into such alliances should
“draw on a war with the French King, it would be
“least detrimental to your Majesty’s subjects at this
“time of the year, they having now fewest effects
“within the dominion of that King.

2. “That though we have great reason to believe
“the power of the French King to be dangerous to
“your Majesty and your kingdoms, when he shall be
“at more leisure to molest us; yet we conceive the
“many enemies he has to deal with at present,
“together with the scituation of your Majesty’s
“kingdoms, the unanimity of the people in the
“cause, the care your Majesty hath been pleased to
“take of your ordinary guards of the sea, together
“with the credit provided by the late act for an
“additional excise for three years, make the entering
“into, and declaring alliances very safe, until we may
“in a regular way give your Majesty such further
“supplies, as may enable your Majesty to support
“your alliances, and defend your kingdoms.

“And because of the great danger and charge
“which must necessarily fall upon your Majesty’s
“kingdoms, if through want of that timely encourage-
“ment and assistance, which your Majesty’s joyn-
“ing with the States General of the United Provinces,
“and other the confederates would give them, the
“said States or any other considerable part of the
“confederates should this next winter, or sooner,
“make a peace or truce with the French King (the
“prevention whereof must hitherto be acknowledged
“a singular effect of God’s goodness to us) which if

“ it should happen, your Majesty would be afterwards
“ necessitated with fewer, perhaps with no alliances
“ or assistance to withstand the power of the French
“ King, which hath so long and so successfully con-
“ tended with so many and so potent adversaries,
“ and whilst he continues his over-balancing great-
“ ness, must always be dangerous to his neighbours,
“ since he would be able to oppress any one con-
“ federate before the rest could get together, and be
“ in so good a posture of offending him as they now
“ are, being joyntly engaged in a war. And if he
“ should be so successful as to make a peace, or dis-
“ unite the present confederation against him, it is
“ much to be feared, whether 'twould be possible
“ ever to reunite it, at least it would be a work of so
“ much time and difficulty, as would leave your
“ Majestie's kingdoms exposed to much misery and
“ danger.

“ Having thus discharged our duty, in laying
“ before your Majesty the dangers threatning your
“ Majesty, and your kingdoms, and the onely remedies
“ we can think of, for the preventing, securing, and
“ quieting the minds of your Majestie's people, with
“ some few of those reasons which have moved us to
“ this, and our former addresses on those subjects, we
“ most humbly beseech your Majesty to take the
“ matter into your serious consideration, and to take
“ such resolutions, as may not leave it in the power
“ of any neighbouring prince, to rob your people
“ of that happiness which they enjoy under your
“ Majesties's gracious government; beseeching your
“ Majesty to rest confident and assured, that when
“ your Majesty shall be pleased to declare such
“ alliances in Parliament, we shall hold ourselves
“ obliged, not only by our promises, and assurances

“given, and now with great unanimity revived in a full House, but by the zeal and desires of those whom we represent, and by the interests of all our safeties, most chearfully give to your Majesty from time to time such speedy supplies and assistances, as may fully and plentifully answer the occasions, and by God’s blessing preserve your Majesty’s honour and the safety of the people. All which is most humbly submitted to your Majestie’s great wisdom.”

Friday, May 25th, 1677.

Sir John Trevor reported from the said committee the address, as ’twas drawn by them, which was read.

Whereupon it was moved to agree with the committee, but before it was agreed to there was a debate and division of the House.

It was observed and objected that there was but one reason given herein for declining the granting money, and that is the unprecedentedness, and as to one of the instances to this purpose mentioned, viz. the King’s first Dutch war, it was said to be mistaken, for that the 2,500,000*l.* was voted before the war [was] declared.

But it was answered, that if the declaration was not before the grant of the money (which quære) yet ’twas certain that the war itself and great hostilities were before the money, and some said there might be other reasons assigned against giving money before the alliances, but they rather desired to spare them, only in general said, ’twas not reasonable to grant money before there was a change (they would not say of counsellors but of counsels), and an hearty undertaking these alliances would be the best demonstration of that change; for the swerving from this interest and part, was the step

by which we went awry, and the returning thereto would restore us to our right place and way.

And a gentleman produced and read the King's speech made Monday the 10th of February 1667, wherein he spake chiefly of the league which afterwards, when the Swede came into it, was called the Tripple League.

“MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

“I AM glad to see you here again to tell you what
“I have done in this interval, which I am confident
“you will be pleased with, since it is so much to the
“honour and security of the nation. I have made a
“league offensive and defensive with the States of
“the United Provinces, and likewise a league for an
“efficacious mediation of peace between the two
“crowns, into which league that of Sweden by its
“ambassador hath offered to enter as a principal. I
“did not at our last meeting move you for any aid,
“though I lie under great debts contracted by the
“last war, but now the posture of our neighbours
“abroad, and the consequence of this new alliance
“will oblige me for our security to set out a
“considerable fleet to sea this summer, and besides I
“must build more great ships, and 'tis as necessary
“that I do something in order to the fortifying some
“of our ports. I have begun myself in order to
“these ends, but if I have not your speedy assistance,
“I shall not be able to go thorow with it, wherefore
“I do earnestly desire you to take it into your
“speedy consideration, &c.”

Which shews the proper course and practice, that Kings first communicate their alliances made, before they demand supplies upon the account of them.

So the exception was let fall.

But the grand objection managed against it, was upon the main point of the address, wherein they desired his Majesty to make a league offensive and defensive with the Dutch, and such other alliances with the rest as he should think fit.

Those who were against this particular (or particularizing) in the address, spoke to this effect :

This is an invasion upon his Majestie's prerogative of making peace, war and leagues, and it is the worse for the distinction that is used, in respect of the Dutch and the rest; by which you giving him express directions as to the Dutch, and referring to his discretion as to the others, it looks and gives an umbrage as if what he was to do was by your leave.

The antient land mark, the boundaries between King and people, must not be removed; this power is one of the few things reserved entirely to the Crown: Parliaments are summoned to treat *de arduis*, but he *de quibusdam arduis*; this is unprecedented.

The marriages of the Royal Family is such a peculiar thing reserved to the King, and the matter of the Lady Arrabella is an instance. Queen Elizabeth resented it high, that the Parliament should propound her marrying, and she said that however it is well they did not name the person, if they had named the person it had been intolerable, now here you name the person whom you would have the King ally.

If you may go so far, you may come to draw a treaty, and propose to the King to sign it; by this you would put a great indecorum upon the King; he is now concerned as a mediator at Nimwegen, and it would be an indecent thing for him at the same time to declare himself a party. It is believed the House of Austria (though they sent full powers to

Nimwegen, for the purpose, yet) never intended to conclude a peace. But it was an absurd thing for them to declare so in publick; there must be publick decorum.

This is the way for the King to have the worse bargain with the confederates; for they observing how he is importuned, and as it were driven to make these alliances, will slacken and lessen those advantageous offers, which otherwise they would be forced to make.

And again and again, they said his Majesty did agree with this House in the end, and they did not doubt but he would prosecute it by the same means as was desired; but his prerogative was not to be inroach't upon: this manner of proceeding would never obtain with the King, nay, it would make the address miscarry with the King.

On the other side several spoke to this effect:

We ought to consider we are upon the question of agreeing [to] an address drawn by our committee, by our order.

If they have not in matter and manner corresponded with our direction or intention, we have cause to disagree. But here the exception taken, and cause pressed why we should not agree with them is, because they have observed the very words and substance of our order, which exactly justifieth this draught.

This passed on Wednesday, upon a full debate, in a very full House, two only contradicting, but not one speaking or thinking the King's prerogative was touch't: and therefore it's strange it should be made the great objection and question of this day.

But the prerogative is not at all intrench'd upon;

we do not, nor do pretend to treat or make alliances ; we only offer our advice about them, and leave it with the King ; he may do as he pleaseth, either make or not make them. It is no more than other persons may do to the King, or doubtless the privy council may advise him in this particular, and why not his great council ? This rate of discourse would make the King's prerogative consist merely in not being advised by his Parliament (of all people.)

There are manifold precedents of such advices : leagues have been made by advice of Parliament, and have been ratified in Parliament : in Edw. 2. Rich. 2. and especially in Henry the fifth's time, and particularly with Sigismond the emperour and king of the Romans ; and Henry the fifth was a magnanimous prince and not to be imposed upon.

18 Jac. the Parliament advised the King about making and managing a war, (Rushw. Coll. 36, 41, 42, 45, 46.) And we may well remember our own advising the first Dutch war ; and making leagues is less than war.

But if there was no precedent in this particular case, it was no objection, for matter of advice is not to be circumscribed by precedent. If there be a new case that a prince should joyn in a war, together with another prince, when that prince was too potent before, and that when this was discerned, and a peace made, yet succors should continually go out of the first prince's dominions to the service of the other prince, and that notwithstanding several addresses and advices to the contrary.

'Tis true, as objected, that the Commons have sometimes declined advising in the matter of war, &c. proposed to them. But that shews not their want of right to meddle therewith, but rather the contrary.

The very truth is, it has been the desire and endeavour of Kings in all ages, to engage their Parliaments in advising war, &c. that so they might be obliged to supply the King to the utmost for and through it, but they out of a prudent caution have sometimes waved the matter, lest they should engage further or deeper than they were aware or willing.

Since his Majesty is treating as mediator at Nimwegen, about the general peace, it is a great reason why he should specify the Alliances desired as we have done, that we might make it known, we are far from desiring such Alliances as might be made by and with a general peace; but on the contrary coveting such as might prevent and secure us against that dangerous and formidable Peace.

Doubtless the Confederates will offer honourable and worthy terms; their necessity is too great to boggle or take advantages, nor will they think this League the less worth because we advise it, but rather value it the more because it is done unanimously by the King with the advice and applause of his people in Parliament.

We cannot suppose that our proceeding thus to his Majesty* will prejudice our address or endanger its miscarriage, since it is for his Majesty's advantage, in that it obliges us to supply him to all degrees through this affair, and the more particular it is, the more still for the King's advantage, for if it had been more general, and the King thereupon had made Alliances, whatever they were, men might have thought and said they were not the Alliances intended, and it might be used as an excuse or reason for their not giving money to supply his Majesty

* Rush. Coll. 171, 172, 177, 178.

hereafter, but this, as it is now, doth most expresly, strictly and particularly bind us up.

We reflect that a great deal of time (and precious time) has been spent since, and in our address on this subject, and finding no effectual fruit, especially of our last address, we have cause to apprehend we are not clearly understood in what we mean. Now it is the ordinary way of pursuing discourse in such case, and it is proper and natural for us to speak (out) more explicitly and particularly, and tell his Majesty, that what we have meant is a League offensive and defensive; and to persuade us again to address on, in more general terms, as before, is to persuade us, that as we have done nothing this ten weeks, so we should do nothing still.

And since his Majesty in his late message and last speech, has been pleased to demand 600,000*l.* for answering the purpose of our addresses, and assures us that the money shall not be employed to other uses than we would have it employed, it is most seasonable for us to declare plainly the use and purpose we intend, that so it may be concerted and clearly understood of all hands, and therefore it is well done to mention to his Majesty these express Alliances, we thinking no other Alliances worth the said sum, and we withal promising and undertaking that his Majesty shall have this and more for these ends.

Nor have we any cause to apprehend that his Majesty will take amiss our advising Leagues in this manner. We have presented more than one address for Alliances against the growth and power of the French King, and his Majesty has received, admitted, and answered them without any exception, and if we may address for Alliances against a particular prince

or State, why not for Alliances with a particular prince or state? it cannot be less regular or parliamentary than the former.

And moreover (though we know that punctual precedents are on our side, besides our Commissions by our writs, to treat *de arduis et urgentibus, regem, statum et defensionem regni, et ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, concernentibus*. And (besides the King's general intimations in his printed speech, yet) if it be said to be a decent and proper thing to have his Majesty's leave and consent; before we proceed on such a matter, in such a manner, as we now do, we say, that that in effect is with us too; for we consider all our former addresses, and his Majesty's answers and messages thereupon, and it will appear that his Majesty has engaged and encouraged us too upon this subject; and that which he expects and would have, is not to limit or check our advice, but to open and enlarge our gift. His Majesty appears content to be thoroughly advised, provided he be proportionably furnished and enabled with money, which we being now ready to do, we clearly and conclusively present him our advice, for the application of it: "To prevent those mistakes and distrusters which his Majesty says he finds some are so ready to make, "as if he had called us together only to get money "from us, for other uses than we would have it "employed."

And truly the advising these Alliances, together with assuring his Majesty thereupon to assist and supply him presently and plentifully to prosecute the same, is our only way of complying and corresponding with his last speech: for those Leagues followed and supported by these supplies are the only means and methods to put his Majesty in the best

condition, both to defend his subjects and offend his enemies: and so there will be no fault in his Majesty nor us, but his and our security will sufficiently provide for.

Besides it will be worse, it will be a very bad thing indeed not to make the address for this particular League now, since we have resolved it already. Our intention being to have the Dutch, &c. comforted, encouraged and assured, we did order this on Wednesday, and there is public notice taken of it abroad, and beyond sea. If we should now upon solemn debate set the same aside, it would beget a great doubt, discomfort, and discouragement to them. It is one thing never to have ordered it, another, to retract it.

Also it was said, that it was necessary, but was all that was necessary, for suppose (which was not credible) that France should be prevailed with to deliver up all Lorraine, Flanders, Alsatia, and other conquered places, are we safe? No, he has too many hands, too much money, and this money is in great measure (a million sterling at least) supplied him from hence. We must depress him by force as far as may be, but further we must have leagues and laws to impoverish him, we must destroy the French Trade. This would quiet and secure us, this would make our lands rise, and this would enable us to set the King at ease.

After this long debate the House came to the question whether this particular of a League offensive and defensive with the Dutch should be left out of the address, upon which question the House divided, Yeas 142, Noes 182. So that it was carried by 40 it should stand.

Then the main question was put for agreeing, with

their committee, [to] this address: which passed in the affirmative without division of the House.

Then it was ordered, that those Members of the House who were of his Majesty's Privy Council, should move his Majesty to know his pleasure, when the House might wait upon him with their address.

Mr. Powle reported from the Committee, amendments to the bill for recalling his Majesty's subjects out of the French King's service, which were read and agreed to by the House, and the bill with the amendments ordered to be ingrossed. And then the House adjourned to the morrow.

Saturday, May 26th 1677, in the morn.

The House being sate had notice by Secretary Coventry that the King would receive their address at three in the afternoon.

The bill for recalling his Majestie's subjects, &c. being then ingrossed, was read the third time and passed; the effect of the bill in short was this:

That all and every of the natural born subjects of his Majesty who should continue or be, after the first of August next, in the military service of the French King, should be disabled to inherit any lands, tenements or hereditaments, and be incapable of any gift, grant or legacy, or to be executor or administrator; and being convicted, should be adjudged guilty of felony, without benefit of the clergy, and not pardonable by his Majesty, his heirs or successors, except only by Act of Parliament, wherein such offenders should be particularly named.

The like appointment for such as should continue in the sea-service of the French King, after the first of May, 1678.

This act, as to prohibiting the offence and incurring the penalties, to continue but for two years, but the executing and proceeding upon it for offences against the act might be at any time, as well after as within the two years.

Then it was ordered, that Mr. Powle should carry up this bill to the Lords, and withall should put the Lords in mind of a Bill for "The better suppressing the growth of Popery," which they had sent up to their Lordships before Easter: which was forthwith done accordingly.

As soon as this was ordered, several other bills were moved for to be read, &c. But the members generally said, "no; they would proceed on nothing but the "French and Popery." So they adjourned to the afternoon, when they attended the King with their address at the Banqueting House in Whitehall. Which being presented, the King answered, That it was long and of great importance; that he would consider of it, and give them an answer as soon as he could.

The House did nothing else but adjourn till Monday morn.

Monday, May 28, 1677.

The House being sate, they received notice by Secretary Coventry, that the King expected them immediately at the Banqueting House.

Whither being come, the King made a speech to them on the subject of their address. Which speech, to prevent mistakes, his Majesty read out of his paper, and then delivered the same to the Speaker; and his Majesty added a few words about their adjournment.

The King's speech is as followeth:

“GENTLEMEN,

“COULD I have been silent I would rather have
“chosen to be so, than to call to mind things so unfit
“for you to meddle with as are contained in some
“parts of your last addresses, wherein you have
“entrenched upon so undoubted a right of the
“crown, that I am confident it will appear in no age
“(when the sword was not drawn) that the preroga-
“tive of making peace and war hath been so
“dangerously invaded.

“You do not content yourselves with desiring me
“to enter into such leagues as may be for the safety
“of the kingdom, but you tell me what sort of
“leagues they must be, and with whom, (and as
“your address is worded) it is more liable to be
“understood to be by your leave, than at your
“request, that I should make such other alliances as
“I please with other of the confederates.

“Should I suffer this fundamental power of
“making peace and war to be so far invaded (though
“but once) as to have the manner and circumstances
“of leagues prescribed to me by Parliament, it’s
“plain that no prince or State would any longer
“believe that the sovereignty of England rests in
“the crown; nor could I think myself to signifie
“any more to foreign princes than the empty sound
“of a King. Wherefore you may rest assured, that
“no condition shall make me depart from, or lessen
“so essential a part of the monarchy. And I am
“willing to believe so well of this House of Commons,
“that I am confident these ill consequences are not
“intended by you.

“These are in short the reasons why I can by no
“means approve of your address, and yet though you
“have declined to grant me that supply which is

“necessary to the ends of it, I do again declare to you, that as I have done all that lay in my power since your last meeting, so I will still apply myself by all the means I can, to let the world see my care both for the security and satisfaction of my people, although it may not be with those advantages to them, which by your assistances I might have procured.”

And having said this, he signified to them that they should adjourn till the 16th of July.

Upon hearing of this speech read, their House is said to have been greatly appalled, both in that they were so severely checked in his Majestie's name, from whom they had been used to receive so constant testimonies of his royal bounty and affection, which they thought they had deserved; as also, because there are so many old and fresh precedents of the same nature: and if there had not, yet they were led into this by all the steps of necessity, in duty to his Majesty and the nation. And several of them offering therefore modestly to have spoken, they were interrupted continually by the Speaker, contesting that after the King's pleasure signified for adjournment, there was no further liberty of speaking. And yet it is certain, that at the same time in the Lords House, the adjournment was in the usual form, and upon the question first propounded to that House, and allowed by them; all adjournments (unless made by special commission under his Majestie's broad seal) being and having alwaies been so, an act of the Houses by their own authority. Nevertheless, several of their members requiring to be heard, the Speaker had the confidence, without any question put, and of his own motion, to pronounce the House adjourned till the 16th of July, and stept

down in the middle of the floor, all the House being astonished at so unheard of a violation of their inherent privilege and constitution. And that which more amazed them afterwards was, that while none of their own transactions or addresses for the public good are suffered to be printed, but even all written copies of them with the same care as libels suppressed; yet they found this severe speech published in the next day's news book, to mark them out to their own, and all other nations, as refractory disobedient persons that had lost all respect to his Majesty. Thus were they well rewarded for their itch of perpetual sitting and of acting, the Parliament being grown to that height of contempt, as to be gazetted among run-away servants, lost dogs, strayed horses, and highway robbers.

In this manner was the second meeting of this, whether Convention or Parliament, concluded; but by what name soever it is lawful to call them, or how irregular they were in other things, yet it must be confessed, that this House or barn of Commons deserved commendations for having so far prevented the establishment of Popery, by rejecting the conspirators two bills, intituled,

1. "An Act for further securing the Protestant Religion by educating the Children of the Royal Family therein; and for the providing for the continuance of a Protestant Clergy.

2. "An Act for the more effectual Conviction and Prosecution of Popish Recusants."

And for having in so many addresses applied against the French power and progress; and their debates before recited upon this latter subject, do sufficiently show, that there are men of great parts among them, who understand the interest of the

nation, and as long as it is for their purpose, can prosecute it.

For who would not commend chastity, and rail against whoring, while his rival enjoys their mistress?

But on the other side, that poor desire of perpetuating themselves those advantages which they have swallowed, or do yet gape for, renders them so abject, that they are become a meer property to the conspirators, and must, in order to their continuance, do and suffer such things, so much below and contrary to the spirit of the nation, that any honest man would swear that they were no more an English House of Parliament. And by this weakness of theirs it was, that the House of Peers also (as it is in contiguous buildings) yielded and gave way so far even to the shaking of the government. For had the Commons stood firm, it had been impossible that ever two men, such as the black and white Lords, Trerise and Frechwell, though of so vast fortunes, extraordinary understanding, and so proportionable courage, should but for speaking against their sense have committed the four Lords (not much their inferiours) and thereby brought the whole peerage of England under their vassalage.

They met again at the day appointed, the 16th of July; the supposed House of Commons were so well appayed, and found themselves at such case, under the protection of these frequent adjournments, which seemed also further to confirm their title to Parliament, that they quite forgot how they had been outlawed in the Gazette, or if any sense of it remained, there was no opportunity to discover it. For his Majesty having signified by Mr. Secretary Coventry his pleasure, that there should be a further adjournment, their Mr. Seymour (the speaker

deceased) would not suffer any man to proceed; but an honourable member requiring modestly to have the order read, by which they were before adjourned, he interrupted him and the seconder of that motion. For he had at the last meeting gained one precedent of his own making for adjourning the House without question, by his own authority, and was loath to have it discontinued; so that without more ado, like an infallible judge, and who had the power over councils, he declared, *ex cathedra*, that they were adjourned till the third of December next. And in the same moment stamp'd down on the floor, and went forth (trampling upon, and treading under foot, I had almost said, the privileges and usage of Parliament, but however) without shewing that decent respect which is due to a multitude in order, and to whom he was a menial servant.

In the mean time the four Lords lay all this while in the Tower, looking perhaps to have been set free, at least of course by prorogation. And there was the more reason to have expected one, because the corn clause, which deducted, *communibus annis*, 55,000*l.* out of the King's customs, was by the Act of Parliament to have expired.

But these frequent adjournments left no place for divination, but that they must rather have been calculated to give the French more scope for perfecting their conquests, or to keep the Lords closer, till the conspirators designs were accomplished, and it is less probable that one of these was false, than that both were the true causes. So that the Lords, if they had been taken in war, might have been ransomed cheaper than they were imprisoned. When therefore, after so long patience, they saw no end of their captivity, they began to think that the procuring of

their liberty deserved almost the same care which others took to continue them in durance; and each of them chose the method he thought most advisable.

The Earl of Shaftsbury having addressed in vain for his Majestie's favour, resorted by *habeas corpus* to the King's Bench, the constant residence of his Justice. But the Judges were more true to their patents than their jurisdiction, and remanded him, Sir Thomas Jones having done him double justice, answering both for himself and his brother Twisden, that was absent and had never heard any argument in the case.

The Duke of Buckingham, the Earl of Salisbury, and the Lord Wharton, had better fortune than he in recurring to his Majesty by a petition, upon which they were enlarged, making use of an honourable evasion, where no legal reparation could be hoped for. Ingrateful persons may censure them for enduring no more, not considering how much they had suffered. But it is honour enough for them to have been confessors, nor as yet is the Earl of Shaftesbury a martyr for the English liberties and the Protestant religion, but may still live to the envy of those that malign him for his constancy.

There remains now only to relate that before the meeting appointed for the third of December, his Majestie's proclamation was issued, signifying that he expected not the members attendance, but that those of them about town may adjourn themselves till the 4th of April 1678. Wherein it seemed not so strange, because often done before, as unfortunate that the French [King] should still have so much further leisure allowed him to compleat his design upon Flanders, before the Nation should have the last opportunity of interposing their counsels with his

Majesty (it cannot now be said) to prevent it. But these words, that the House may adjourn themselves, were very well received by those of the Commons who imagined themselves thereby restored to their right, after Master Seymour's invasion; when in reversal of this, he probably desiring to retain a jurisdiction that he had twice usurped, and to add this flower to the crown, of his own planting, Mr. Secretary Coventry delivered a written message from his Majesty on the 3rd of December, of a contrary effect, though not of the same validity with the Proclamation, to wit, that the Houses should be adjourned only to the 15th of January 1677. Which as soon as read, Mr. Seymour would not give leave to a worthy member offering to speak, but abruptly, now the third time of his own authority, adjourned them, without putting the question, although Sir J. Finch, for once doing so in *tertio Caroli*, was accused of high treason; this can only be said, perhaps in his excuse, that whereas that in *tertio Car.* was a Parliament legally constituted, Mr. Seymour did here do as a sheriff that disperses a riotous assembly. In this manner they were kickt from adjournment to adjournment, as from one stair down to another, and when they were at the bottom kickt up again, having no mind yet to *go out of doors*.

And here it is time to fix a period, if not to them, yet to this narrative. But if neither one prorogation, against all the laws in being, nor three vitious adjournments, against all precedents, can dissolve them, this Parliament then is immortal; they can subsist without his Majestie's authority, and it is less dangerous to say with Captain Eldson, so lately, *Si rebellio evenerit in regno, et non accideret fore contra omnes tres status, non est rebellio*.

Thus far hath the conspiracy against our Religion and Government been laid open, which if true, it was more than time that it should be discovered, but if any thing therein have been falsely suggested, the disproving of it in any particular will be a courtesie both to the publick and to the relator; who would be glad to have the world convinced of the contrary, though to the prejudice of his own reputation. But so far is it from this, that it is rather impossible for any observing man to read without making his own further remarks of the same nature, and adding a supplement of most passages which are here but imperfectly toucht. Yet some perhaps may object, as if the assistance given to France were all along invidiously aggravated, whereas there have been, and are, considerable numbers likewise of his Majestie's subjects in the service of Holland, which hath not been mentioned. But in answer to that, it is well known what difficulty and hardship they passed thither, escaping hence over, like so many malefactors; and since they are there, such care hath been taken to make them as servicable as others to the design, that of those three regiments, two, if not the third also, have been new modelled under Popish officers, and the Protestant displaced. Yet had the relator made that voluntary omission in partiality to his argument, he hath abundantly recompenced in sparing so many instances on the other side which made to his purpose: The abandoning his Majestie's own nephew for so many years, in compliance with his and our nations enemies: The further particulars of the French depredations and cruelties exercised at sea upon his Majestie's subjects, and to this day continued and tolerated without reparation: Their notorious treacheries and insolencies, more especially

relating to his Majesty's affairs: these things abroad, which were capable of being illustrated by many former and fresh examples; at home, the constant irregularities and injustice from term to term of those that administer the judicature betwixt his Majesty and his people: The scrutiny all over the kingdom, to find out men of arbitrary principles, that will bow the knee to Baal, in order to their promotion to all publick commissions and employments; and the disgracing on the contrary and displacing of such as yet dare in so universal a depravation be honest and faithful in their trust and offices: The defection of considerable persons both male and female to the Popish religion, as if they entered by couples clean and unclean into the ark of that church, not more in order to their salvation, than for their temporal safety: The state of the kingdom of Ireland, which would require a whole volume to represent it: The tendency of all affairs and counsels in this nation towards; and (by the great civility and foresight of his Holiness) an English cardinal now for several years prepared like Cardinal Pool to give us absolution, benediction, and receive us into apostolical obedience.

It is now come to the fourth act, and the next scene that opens may be Rome or Paris, yet men sit by, like idle spectators, and still give money towards their own tragedy. It is true, that by his Majesty and the church's care, under God's special providence, the conspiracy hath received frequent disappointments. But it is here as in gaming, where, though the cheat may lose for a while, to the skill or good fortune of a fairer player, and sometimes on purpose to draw him in deeper, yet the false dice must at the long run carry it, unless discovered, and

when it comes once to a great stake, will infallibly sweep the table.

If the relator had extended all these articles in their particular instances, with several other heads, which out of respect he forbore to enumerate, it is evident there was matter sufficient to have further accused his subjects. And nevertheless, he foresees that he shall on both hands be blamed for pursuing this method. Some on the one side will expect, that the very persons should have been named; whereas he only gives evidence to the fact, and leaves the malefactors to those who have the power of inquiry. It was his design indeed to give information, but not to turn informer. That these to whom he hath onely a publick enmity, no private animosity, might have the privilege of statesmen, to repent at the last hour, and by one signal action to expiate all their former misdemeanours. But if any one delight in the chase, he is an ill woodman that knows not the size of the beast by the proportion of his excrement.

On the other hand, some will represent this discourse (as they do all books that tend to detect their conspiracy) against his Majesty and the kingdom, as if it too were written against the government. For now of late, as soon as any man is gotten into publick imployment by ill acts, and by worse continues it, he, if it please the fates, is thenceforward the government, and by being criminal, pretends to be sacred. These are, themselves, the men who are the living libels against the government, and who (whereas the law discharges the prince upon his ministers) do, if in danger of being questioned, plead or rather impeach his authority in their own justification. Yea, so impudent is their ingratitude, that as they intitle him to their

crimes, so they arrogate to themselves his virtues, challenging whatsoever is well done, and is the pure emanation of his royal goodness, to have proceeded from their influence; objecting thereby his Majesty, if it were possible, to the hatred, and interposing as far as in them lies, betwixt the love of his people: For being conscious to themselves how inconsiderable they would be under any good government, but for their notorious wickedness, they have no other way of subsisting, but by nourishing suspicions betwixt a most loyal people, and most gracious sovereign. But this book, though of an extraordinary nature, as the case required, and however it may be calumniated by interested persons, was written with no other intent than of meer fidelity and service to his Majesty, and God forbid that it should have any other effect, than *that 'the mouth of all iniquity and of flatterers may be stopped,'* and that his Majesty, having discerned the disease, may with his healing touch apply the remedy; for so far is the relator himself from any sinister surmise of his Majesty, or from suggesting it to others, that he acknowledges, if it were fit for Cæsar's wife to be free, much more is Cæsar himself from all crime and suspicion. Let us therefore conclude with our own common devotions, "From all
"privy conspiracy, &c. Good Lord deliver us."

APPENDIX.

A LIST OF SEVERAL SHIPS

Belonging to English Merchants

Taken by French Privateers, since December, One thousand six hundred seventy and three.

Also, A Brief Account touching what Applications have been made for Redress, at the Council-Board, and with the Committee of Trade. (pp 55-68.)

At the Court at Whitehall, the 4th of August, 1676.

Present

The King's Most Excellent Majesty in Council.

The Right Honourable the Lords of the Committee of Trade did this Day present unto his Majesty in Council, a Report touching the Injuries which his Subjects did sustain by the French Capers, in the words following.

May it please your Majesty,

There was presented unto your Majesty in Council on the 31st of May last, a Petition in the name of all the merchants of London, and other places, concerned in the several ships taken by the French privateers and carried into several parts of that kingdom: and their complaints consisted of the points following:

1. That the ship[s] and goods of your Subjects, though manned according to the act of navigation and furnished with all necessary passes, were daily seized and carried into Dunkirk, Calais, Sherbrook and other ports; the masters and mariners kept close prisoners, to force them by hardship to abuse their owners, or else for relief of their own necessities

(being commonly stripped and plundered) to enter into the privateers' service; which great numbers have done, with very pernicious effects.

2. That the delay and charge of prosecuting the law in France, does commonly make the owners to become losers of half the value, when even they are most successful.

3. That there is no reparation ever gotten from privateers, for what they plunder and embezzle; which makes them freely seize upon all they meet and perpetually molest the navigation of your Subjects.

Wherefore, your Petitioners humbly imploring your Majesty's protection and relief, your Majesty was hereupon graciously pleased, out of a sense of your Subjects' sufferings, to command that some frigates should sail forth to clear the coast of those privateers, to seize them and bring such as had offended to make restitution. And your Majesty did further order, That the Committee of Trade, should as well take notice of the particular cases and complaints depending, that such of them as were of weight and merit, might be fitted to receive your most gracious recommendation for relief, as to survey the whole number of seizures, which had been made on your Subjects, in order to lay before your Majesty what hardship hath been sustained at sea, and what sort of justice hath been administered in France; with their opinions of what is fit to advise your Majesty therein.

In obedience to which command, we have hereunto annexed a List of such Ships as have been seized to the number of 53. And the cases wherein the owners have repaired unto your Majesty, either in your Council, or by your Secretary of State for relief.

Which, as in the general list supposes a justice in such complaints; so it leaves a suspicion of great hardship in the methods of redress. And the number of captures is no small proof of the facility of condemnation. How many other helpless men there have been besides the said cases, who have not had ability to prosecute, or how many of these cases have been favoured with redress, we cannot certainly understand, till the information we have sought for, come from Paris; which may also enable us to compleat their circumstances of every case.

But in the meantime, such of all the instances of redress, as are come to our knowledge, we have not failed, in the margin, to make mention of them, being in number seven.

While we were in the midst of this prosecution, Mr. Secretary Coventry, does on the 6th instant, present to the Committee a Paper, which he received from the French ambassador, Monsieur Courtin, relating to these matters, and the contents thereof were as follow :

An Extract of a Letter from Monsieur Colbert to Monsieur d'Pompune written the 28th of June 1676.

For what concerns the prizes, it would be a difficult matter to answer to all the cases contained in Monsieur Courtin's letter: What I can say, is,

That the Council for Marine Affairs, sits every Friday at St. Germans.

That all privateers and reclaimers know it.

That Sir Ellis Leighton, nominated by the English ambassador, hath always notice of it, and is always present at it.

That not a week passes, but I give him two or three audiences, and oftentimes I send for him on purpose.

His reasons are all reported, read and examined.

As likewise are all petitions of reclaimers; and I shall tell you more, I acquaint him with the reasons upon which judgment is given.

In giving judgment, all vessels which have any appearance of being English, are releast, and very often and almost always, although we are satisfied that the ships are Dutch, yet they are releast because there is some appearance of their being English; and everything is judged favourably for that nation. And it is true that all ships that are taken are of Dutch build; that they never were in England; that the masters and all the equipage are Dutch; that the documents are for persons unknown and which are not oftentimes so much as named; that they carry with them only some sea-briefs from Waterford or some other town of Ireland or Scotland; that the whole ship's company deposes, they were sent to Holland; that we have found on board three or four vessels, bills of accounts by which is seen the English take two, three and four per cent. for owning of ships; and although it is impossible to avoid confiscating them, yet these are the ships which make such a noise in England.

In answer to which Remarques; though it be true that all respect imaginable ought to be given to what Ministers of that consideration do pronounce, yet there being some difference between them who feel the smart and those who feel it not; we shall insist on some particulars, that your Majesty may discern whether your Subjects are so fortunate in their freedom of trade at sea, or in the help of Justice when they are seized, as the report and information of the

letter would seek to make out. For as it magnifies the favour which is exercised in France, the facility in all addresses and the tenderness to relieve Englishmen in all complaints; so we cannot on this subject but own to your Majesty the very different resentment we have thereof; for we understand that when English ships are brought into the ports of France, many of the marriners complaining of ill treatment, and some of torment, their papers being seized and their persons in restraint till all examinations are prepared, Then are all the writings sent up to the Privy Council at St. Germans, and there judgment definitely given; seldom are any of the reasons of condemnation mentioned in the decree, and never any appeal or revision admitted of (so at least it was until the 20th of June last). And whether this be the tenderness or the justice which is mentioned, we do not know; but we are well assured, that the methods of your Majesty's clemency and justice on like occasions, have been forsaken. And we appeal to the present ambassador, Monsieur Courtin, if almost in all cases that he or any other of the ambassadors thought fit to own, (when his excellency was here before and your Majesty was in Holland, seizing many ships as prize, and under great suspicion claimed by the French) whether it was not very customary, to have a short reprieve and a summary examination of all papers by the Judge of the Admiralty in his chamber: and that if anything appeared fair in the case, whether the ships were not immediately released without law-charges or delay? And 'twill not be out of season, we hope, to annex hereunto the copy of an order of the 22nd of July, 1665, regarding the then lord commissioners of prizes, where it will appear, that eighteen French ships

(which were laden with wine and brandy), being at Dover and detained as prize, were all eighteen by an order discharged without any law, or even the ceremony of the Judge's examination; being singly on the credit of the ambassador's word, affirming that they belonged unto the French.

And as for the matter of revisions or appeals, after sentence in the Court of Admiralty here; we know his Excellency will also remember, that never any man was denied his liberty therein; but on the contrary, your Majesty gave a standing commission for appeals in all cases of prizes, and filled it with the lords of your Council only, that every case might receive a candid as well as magisterial determination.

We might also put your Majesty in mind, That during the whole term of your late League with France, whenever any French ship was seized by the Hollanders and afterwards retaken by his Majestie's frigats, such French ships were always restored on demand, no consideration being had of the time they were in possession with the Hollanders, whether a month, two, or three, as sometimes they were; and when the French owner, as it hath happened knew not of such retaking, but that the ship was according to law condemned to your Majesty and sold with other prizes, yet the claimer appearing, your Majesty hath ordered the moneys and product of the ships to be restored unto him.

Such various methods of justice and of clemency, might have entitled your Majesty to a different acknowledgment and more advantageous effects.

As to the other part of the said Paper, it seems to contain very harsh imputations on the trade of your Majestie's Subjects, and from some ill practice perhaps found out (as everywhere there may be

instances of the like) general rules are made and severe impressions taken, which having entred the thoughts of some eminent Ministers, we must not wonder (how frequent and how multiplied soever your Majestie's recommendations for justice are) that the events of tryals prove so unfortunate, if your Majesty will but vouchsafe to cast your eye on the cases here annext, you will soon see whether (as is imputed) all the ships taken are Dutch built? Whether the documents be for persons unknown and oftentimes not named? Whether in the whole List there be more than one ship from Waterford, and but six from the rest of all Ireland; but from Scotland not so much as one? Whether 'tis credible all the ship's company do swear they are sent to Holland, when so many are taken even coming from Holland?

Your Majesty may see how many ships in the List are English built, taken with English colours, English marriners, English owners, some of them known to your Majesty, and to whom the best Paper your Majesty or your Ministers can sign, or the treaties do require, are given, but all in vain.

So that if the case be in the general quite different from what in the general is represented, we hope it will be no crime for your Majestie's Subjects to make some noise in England, when they are hurt, and when they see their goods taken from them by violence, and that violence rather justified then redrest by Law.

'Tis not for the condemnation part in those very ill cases enumerated, that your Subjects do complain; for it were to their advantage if all such were punished and deterred from trade, who by collusion take share in that profit which the favours of the

present conjuncture seems wholly to appropriate to this kingdom.

And surely your Majesty and the whole kingdom did reckon upon this advantage, and the extent of trade that would naturally flow in as one of the greatest fruits and blessings of your Peace; so that your Majesty being sensible of great decay and loss of English trading ships in the late War, did think it advisable to admit your Subjects to repair themselves on the sudden by purchasing of forraign ships, and your Majesty by your authority made them free and fit to partake in the benefit of English ships, to the diminution of those higher customs which otherwise such ships were obliged to pay. And while your Subjects with these and with their own home-built ships are in prosecution of the said advantages, while every man is invited by the conjuncture to venture more and to enlarge his trade, while by a general trust in the peace and alliance your Majesty holds with all your neighbours round about, they are led to go abroad unarmed and without defence; we cannot but lament it as a great misfortune and disappointment to shewe how there your Majestie's Subjects are frequently made a prey of and very evilly treated both at sea and land.

Wherefore considering that the root of all this disorder arises from the violence and rapine of the French Capers, who ought to be looked on as disturbers of the publick quiet and enemies to the good friendship between the two crowns: We are humbly of opinion, that your Majesty has just occasion from the injuries past and those which we are now depending and which do every day increase, to make a very serious representation of all unto his most Christian Majesty; and not only press for some

better method of repairing the grievances mentioned, but earnestly insist on the calling in of all privateers. Or else your Majesty must do right and give defence to your Subjects for all the insolences which they so frequently meet.

All which is most humbly submitted.

Anglesey.	Finch, C.
Bath.	Bridgwater.
Craven.	H. Coventry.
J. Erule.	G. Cartret.

Robert Southwell.

Council Chamber, 31st July, 1676.

His Majesty taking into his serious consideration the daily complaints of his Subjects, and having a great sense and resentment of their ill usage, hath thought fit to approve the said Report, and is therefore graciously pleased to order as it's hereby ordered accordingly :

That the Right Honourable Mr. Secretary Coventry do immediately transmit to his Majestie's embassadour at Paris, a copy thereof, that so the evil and the unhappy state of these things may be made known in that Court, and the remedies pressed for in his Majestie's name; which are proposed by the said Report. And Master Secretary is also to attend the French ambassador here, with the same Representation, and to expostulate upon all these hardships and the little remedy given to his Majestie's Subjects, either on the merits of their causes, or the recommendations of them by his Majesty. That so his Excellency being made sensible of his Majestie's displeasure herein and the reasonable discontent of his Subjects, there may be, by his care, such lively impressions hereof fixed with the King his master

and the Ministers of France, as may redress the evils that are complained of and obtain the just remedies which are proposed.

PHILIP LLOYD.

There follow three Lists of "Several Ships belonging to English Merchants, taken by French Privateers." They commence on June 3rd, 1674, with the "Pellican and Hopewell, two ketches, English built," and close on September 4th, 1676, with the "Endeavour and Plymouth." Full details are given of the Owners and Masters and also of the name of the Privateer vessels.

G.



NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

Page 6, '*discussed*': = driven away, dispersed.

„ 7, '*disreputation*': a word apparently in ordinary use contemporaneously. Richardson gives examples from Bishops Taylor and Burnet. (*s.v.*)

Page 8, '*collating*': same etymology and sense as 'confer' and still used as a legal-ecclesiastical technical term. See Richardson, *s.v.*

Page 8, '*exquisite*': = choice, nicely careful.

„ 9, '*the Easter visitation*': no doubt a *hit* at now forgotten circumstances, under-lay '*this*' particular '*visitation*.'

Page 11, '*coffee farthings*': Referring to the tokens issued by the coffee shops. These coffee shops were closed by Royal proclamation, 29th Nov. 1675, on account of the seditious talk and books there indulged; but the discontent was so great that they were allowed to re-open, 8th Jan., 1676.

Page 11, '*close*': = hidden, secret.

„ 12, '*huff'd*': see Note in Vol III. (*s.v.*)

„ 12, '*out-boniface*': formed probably on 'out-face,' and meaning to 'out-face' or putting a good face on the matter. Later (as in Goldsmith) it came to be the accepted name for an Innkeeper.

Page 12, '*the first and the third day*': By 'poet' is intended the dramatic poet concerned for 'the first day,' lest his play should be damned and concerned for 'the third day,' because he then took the profits or a share in them. In earlier times the poet had the second day. Goldsmith later thus notices the usage: "I am not insensible that third nights (author's nights) are disagreeable drawbacks upon the annual profits of the stage." ["Inquiry into the Present State of Polite Learning in Europe," 1759.]

Page 13, '*What the 'Stile' is,*' &c. There is perhaps some press error in this sentence, but none that affects the sense.

Page 15, '*Nonconformists' Concordance.*' Query—a precursor of Cruden's *Concordance of the Bible*? The word 'coherence' recalls the anecdote of the good man (or woman) who having been given a copy of Dr. Johnson's *Dictionary* to read, did so faithfully, and observed at the conclusion that the Author was an excellent writer, but not at all 'connected'! It is possible that it was some squib of the day.

Page 17, '*con*': I do not know any usage of the word which will quite explain this. Perhaps it may be used in the nautical sense of 'directing.' The 'conning' or knowing or skilful pilot or master 'conns' or directs the ship by directing the helmsman.

Page 17, '*late precedent.*': another forgotten contemporary allusion.

Page 17, '*undertake*': = undertake to bring about. This is a reference to undertaking or in a manner taking the *farm* of a tax, &c., agreeing to pay so much; but whether the tax here represents the estimate to be paid in or the security entered into, is hardly clear to us at this date. The context seems to favour the latter interpretation. This thing of 'undertaking' is again and again noticed in Marvell's Letters, e.g., the Hull Corporation is recommended to make a careful estimate, if they would offer (in competition with others) to collect a certain tax. Curiously enough 'undertaker' is now limited very much to one who takes charge of funerals.

Page 17, '*a contest between the Lords and Commons*': A reference to the contest on privilege which caused the King to prorogue Parliament, 9th June, 1675. Marvell frequently alludes to such 'contests' in his Letters.

Page 17, '*inclined to a temper*': Apparently by the history of that Session, the meaning is = to be intolerant.

Page 23, (last line) '*wt*': should be 'writ.'

„ 24, '*angariating*': = oppressing or putting charges upon men : Italian and French from Latin *angaria*.

Page 24, '*Gnaza's*': spies, tools hired for a trifle.

„ 24, '*dry bob*': A 'bob' is a thump or stroke, implying also some suddenness in the stroke; hence derivatively it came to mean a taunt or stroke of wit, and in the verbal sense to cheat or trick. 'Dry' was used with it in the sense in which we now say 'a dry jest' or 'dry humour.' It is not so easy to find a reason for this usage. Query—a bob, or jest or joke which stuck in the throat of the recipient, and so was difficult to swallow with ease and complacency? just as a bitter jest is one that causes the jestee to make wry faces.

Page 26, (line 5) '*have*': read '*has*', printer probably erring through the word '*fellows*' just before.

Page 26, '*hot cockles*': A game in which a blindfolded person stooping was struck and had to guess who the striker was.

Page 27, "Neither.....due, saying" are the Animadverter's words: "he would never.....devil" are Bp. Croft's words: "as if he supposed.....such" are again the Animadverter's words. Hence the " "should have been. "Neither.....saying—"he....devil"—as if," &c.

Page 29, '*jealousy*' = suspicion.

„ 48, '*prince*—': Perhaps an error for '*prince-like*': but as the line—is long, it was deemed best to retain it as possibly carrying a contemporary allusion and hit.

Page 49, '*plain*': = plan.

„ 53, '*dint*': = force. Seems to have been used (for the noise as some say of the stroke) for a sturdy stroke, for the strength of the stroke, and lastly for the '*dint*' or effect of the stroke. See our edition of Southwell. (*s.v.*)

Page 59, '*privado's*': = ' for the omitted 'e' 'in *privadoes*.' Persons admitted to private intimacy, private friends, or favourites: Spanish. Used by Sir Henry Wotton, as quoted by Nares, *s.v.*

Page 61, '*scon'd*': A cant University term. See our full note on Herbert's "Porch," *s.v.*

Page 61, '*dicker*': = A bundle of ten of any commodity, but often used as here for any large amount.

Page 67, '*travelling*': trannel or trammel was a kind of net, and the verb expressed a mode of bird-catching with such nets. Quarles in his Emblems uses the substantive as a fishing net.

Page 69, '*cokes*': As filled in = coax: but it is probably used here in its primary, and not in our derivative sense. A '*cokes*' was a fool, and to '*cokes*' was to fool a person, and as this was done by wheedling, so it came to have that meaning only. Marvell says he will fool the multitude into the belief that they have grown very wise men. See Glossarial Index (*s.v.*)

Page 75, '*reinforcements*': = repeated inforcements [by statutes] [of the law.]

Page 81, '*his, their*': = [and] their.

„ '*whiffler*': A '*whiffler*' was one who cleared the way before a procession or great person, flourishing his sword or rod, "beating the air." Hence its use here, and the use of the noun by others, to signify a trifle, &c.

Page 89, '*the pigs at Hogs-Norton play on*': This is one of those quibbling sayings which were apparently only suggested by the sound of the name. Thus Stafford gives rise to Stafford law, that is club or staff law; and there are various others, several of which may be found in Gabriel Harvey's writings.

Page 92, '[*to*] exempt': The '*to*' perhaps unnecessary.

„ 96, '*considerable*': = worth considering, worthy of consideration.

Page 100, '*rebated*': = blunted. Cf. note in Vol. III, and Glossarial Index (*s.v.*)

„ 101, '*chuse out a dog*': The allusion is to the old belief and recommendation, that a dog or the like should be employed to drag up a mandrake, the act being fatal to the actual puller.

Page 104, '*decuble*': = decuple.

„ 105, '*opiniastry*': from the French *opiniastre*, now *opiniâtre*.

Page 106, '*sate hay now hay*': Query—said, hay, now hay.

„ 119, '*budge*': = doctorally grave or stiff. '*Budge*' was lambs' fur, and being worn by certain official dignitaries, come to signify their grave aspect, or the aspect of such grave like persons.

Page 122, '*depreciate*': = depreciate.

„ 123, '*curiosity*': = over niceness, over minute enquiry.

„ 126, '*atturn*' or attorn (Fr : *attourner*) = to transfer the verbal form of attorney, an agent or representative.

Page 132, '*episcopaple*': Query—a press-error for '*episcopable*?' Cf. *capable*. = able or fitted to take a bishopric.

Page 145, (line 12) '*after*': delete, (comma.)

„ 145, (line 14) '*given, gave*': Cf. '*his, their*' note on p. 81.

Page 146, '*bishop's*': Query—'*bishops*.'?

„ 151, (last line) '*c*' in '*could*' dropped.

„ 154, '*by innovating laws*': = by making new and innovating laws; a use of the word then allowed.

Page 154, '*make-bates*': = makers of strife: from '*bate*,' strife.

Page 154, '*refrain'd this cunning*.' We would say '*from this cunning*.'

Page 155, '*dispensable*': = able to be dispensed with. Is not '*reliable*' to be vindicated as similar?

Page 158, '*acquists*': = acquisitions.

„ 158, '*archdeacon*': = Parker the hero of '*The Rehearsal Transpros'd*,'

Page 159, (line 14) read 'agit[ar]e.'

„ 161, 'enable': = strengthen.

„ 170, (line 18) Query—[are] depending.

„ 171, 'propable': read 'probable.'

„ 183, 'opiniatre': Query—[be] opinatre, as it is not likely Marvell used it as a verb.

Page 193, (line 4th from bottom)—punctuate same head;

„ 206, (at top) punctuate thing, . . .—that . . . accused,—

„ 231, 'good physiognomist'; a vulgar error not yet exploded.

Page 234, 'obviating': = meeting,

„ 239, 'venditate': Query = ventitate?

„ 249, 'propriety': = ownership.

„ 255 'velvet-headed': a stag whose horns having been cast are again beginning to bud, they being then covered with a rough skin.

Page 257, (line 11): read 'adulterate.'

„ 261, (line 2d from bottom) read 'arbitrary.'

„ 263, (line 9th from bottom) 'retail': query—detail?

„ 275, 'A si quis': = advertisement: such usually beginning 'si quis.' If any &c. See Johnson's Every Man out of his humor (II. 2 enter Shift.) Wither took 'Si Quis,' as the title of one of his many prose tractates.

Page 279, 'hole': = hold?

„ 282, 'vailed bonnet': = uncovered as at sea . lowering the flag. 'Yatch,' our 'Yacht.'

Page 238, 'no purchase no pay': 'purchase' is here used in the old sense of 'booty.' Privateers were often manned as whalers (chiefly American), are now on the rule of sharing in the profits, but no other pay.

Page 294, 'meant nothing less': = meant anything rather than, had no intention whatever of really assisting us. The phrase was not uncommon, and is used by Shakespeare.

Page 303, 'demonstrate': = demonstrate.

„ 305, 'very same persons.' Lord Lindsay brought in the bill, and Danby seconded—these two, with Lord Lindsay's brother, being the three whose votes caused a rejection of a similar test in the Oxford Session of 1665. Marvell attended at Oxford. See Marvell's Letters of 1665.

Page 310, 'blew the coals, &c.' Historians say that the 'privilege' quarrel was fomented if not raised by Shaftesbury, in order to get rid of the bill.

Page 311, (line 8th): read 'appropriating.'

Page 313, '*inculcate forty and one*': I assume, the policy and consequent dissension of that year.

Page 312, (last line): read against [their] stomach, &c.

„ 313, '*ardure*': old form of '*ardour*,' as valure for valour, used by Chaucer.

Page 317, '*picaroons*': = Thieves, Rogues, or the water-rats or pirates, (from Spanish.) Here, as elsewhere, it is applied to piratical vessels.

Page 318, '*cockets*': = Customs' certificates that the merchandise had paid duty. Without such, taxable goods could not be exported. Where goods were prohibited to be exported, such would be required, to permit their being sent to Jersey, &c.

Page 319, '*rap*': = rape?

„ 331, '*prevalent*': = strong or prevailing.

„ 332, '*how long doubtful*': Query—on how doubtful?

„ 350, '*And if any, &c.* Supply [shall refuse or omit to take the said oath and declaration], they shall

Page 351, '*essoyn*,': i.e. comma, after '*essoyn*,' as in next page.

Page 352, '*their Houses*': qu.: '*the Houses*,' notwithstanding the '*their*'?

Page 356, (line 7th) omit '*who*.'

„ 359, '*by selling Dunkirk*': query—[and] by; for Dunkirk was sold, 1662.

Page 364, (line 4th) read '*it is*' for '*is it*.'

„ 373, (line 9th): delete one but.

„ 374, '*Protestant Princes*': evident error for '*Popish*.'

„ 375, '*carrier*': = *carriere* or *career*. A *carriere* in horsemanship was a short gallop at speed, to exhibit the swiftness and paces of the horse, at the end of which he was checked suddenly to a stand. Marvell uses the word in our more general sense of '*career*.'

Page 388, '*church work*': query—slow work?

„ 389, '*Sates*': read '*States*.'

„ 401, '*Also it was said*,' &c. Somewhat intricated. Query—was [un]necessary: but [it] was all that was necessary, i.e. altogether and wholly necessary?

Page 401, '*mony . . . supplied*': viz., by the loss on the balance of imports and exports, as given p. 360.

Page 406, '*conspirator's*': = conspirators'.

„ 407, '*perpetuating*': Query = perpetuating [to].

„ 412, '*nation towards*':—supply '*Rome*.'

Page 413, '*excrement*': This was much attended to, and rules laid down in books on venery. The excrement also of almost each animal had a different name.

Page 415, '*Capers*': See also p.p 256. and 422. Cotgrave has *Cappèr*, to be very near to the wind, so that these were vessels built and probably rigged for the purpose—an important fact in sea-chasing. They probably had a fore and aft rig, after the fashion of schooners, though these latter in their present form, are said to be of American origin.

Page 419, '*resentment*': = feeling, or as sometimes, feeling on the opposite side, or opposite feeling.

G.

GLOSSARIAL INDEX AND NOTABLE THINGS.

VOL. IST ('Verse') has its own glossary, &c., but there are a few additional notes worked into this. The Index is for the 3 Volumes of the Prose as respectively Vols. II., III. and IV. of the entire Works. Where the Prose Works only are possessed, for II., III. and IV. in the Index read I., II. and III. respectively, the notes added on Vol. I. of the Works ('Verse') being specially indicated as such in distinction from Prose Vol. I. (See specially under 'Painter, last Instructions of.') In the Notes and Illustrations to the several volumes all noticeable things are annotated; and hence the Index consists largely of references thereto and as guiding to the places in the Works. The Correspondence (Vol. II.) will scarcely ever be consulted in vain on contemporary events; but the connecting remarks must be accepted for a minute index, which *per se* would demand a volume. G.

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 p. 355, for biographical details,
 G.]
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 II. xliii. 8-12: 72, 425. [Mar-
 vell's poem prefixed to Para-
 dise Lost, Vol. I. ('Verse')
 pp. 146-8: With reference to
 the closing lines, Professor
 Masson in his inestimable
 edition of Milton's Poetical
 Works offers the following
 critical explanation: — "In
 this kind of verse, which I
 am now writing, and which is
 Dryden's favourite kind, you
 see how the necessity of
 finding a rhyme to *offend*
 forces me to end the next line
 with *commend*, though it is a
 weaker and less natural word
 than the one that might other-
 wise have suggested itself.
 Generalize this one instance

sufficiently and the superiority of Milton's unrhymed verse for all great purposes will be apparent" (III. 110). The entire note is matterful. G.]

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Nostradamus' prophecy I- ('Verse') 342. [With reference to note on line 17, Shaftesbury never was accused of sodomy; Buckingham was, often. Buckingham, I find was Prime Minister for a short time after Clarendon's Fall. It is to be noted that except very passingly, Marvell never attacked Shaftesbury. G.]

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- Oxford, Parliament at II. 102
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- * 'Painter, Last Instructions of
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- Paul's St. III. 549.
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 Parker (various) III. 566.
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 Parker, quotations II. xli.
 Pepys II. 235-7 *et frequenter.*
 „ John II. 418 *and onward.*
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 Peaks III. 542.
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* 'Painter, last instructions of' I. ('Verse') 253-4 *et seqq.* [The following *memoranda* are corrective and supplementary of notes in the places :

Line 17. 'The new Comptroller' : Sir Thomas Clifford was appointed Comptroller, Nov., 1666 (Pepys Nov. 29, 1666). The Comptroller carried a white staff.

Line 60. I fear 'Dildoes' is the right reading or at any rate the explanation of 'glassen duke', these machines being made of glass.

Line 55. See a Letter of Lord Conway in Rawdon Papers, p. 227.

Line 126. Goodrick. Evelyn's G. is of 1696 : this is Sir Francis G., M.P. for Aldborough (Yorkshire), or Sir John G. who is found as an active M.P. in 1667. Paston :—Sir Robert, M.P. for Castle Rising.

Line 143. Birch. See Bp. Burnet I. 388

Line 129. Bennet. His elder brother was made Lord Ossulston not before 1682. Henry B. was made Baron Arlington nineteen years before. He was an important statesman and a clever one and a better politician than he is generally credited to have been ; but he was very greedy and got many grants of money and land from the king, particularly after the marriage of his only daughter with Charles's natural son, Duke of Grafton.

Line 160. Cannot have been Mrs. S. Several Stewards were M.P.'s. See Parl. Hist. s.n.

Line 162. Wood. Most probably Ser Henry Wood : Pepys Nov. 19, 1666. See Braybrooke's note.

Line 173. Progers. Sir E. P., M.P. for Breconshire.

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Line 175. Bronkard. Henry B, M.P. (See Parl. Hist. s.n.) He was brother of Viscount Brounker, President of the Royal Society. Cf. de Grammont s.n. in explanation of 'Love's squire.'

Line 181. Charlton. He succeeded Turner as Speaker. See Flagellum, s.n.

Line 193. Pool. Sir Courtenay P., M.P. for Honiton. See Flagellum s.n., where is entered "first mover of the chimney-money. for which he had ———"

In a contemporary copy of this Satire, I find these various readings, which are noticeable:

- Line 38. 'treat' for 'cheat'.
 „ 109. 'trick-track' for 'tick-tack'.
 „ 153. 'young' for 'your'.
 „ 214. 'led' for 'left': nonsense.
 „ 221. 'were' for 'was'.
 „ 223. 'men' for 'man'.
 „ 239. 'loose' for 'close'.
 „ 279. 'chafing' for 'chasing': nonsense.
 „ 290. 'think' for 'thing': nonsense.
 „ 417. 'well' for 'fore': nonsense.
 „ 500. 'that's' for 'cheats': nonsense.
 „ 669. 'Furr' for 'Fir'.
 „ 699. 'Change' for 'chance'.

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Finis.

