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T H E
L O Y A L :

O R, u

Revolutional Tory



B E I N G

Some Reflections on the *Principles*
and *Conduct* of the T O R I E S ;
shewing them true Friends to the
present *Establishment*, some of the
capital Pillars of the *Constitution*,
and worthy of *Royal Trust* and
Confidence.

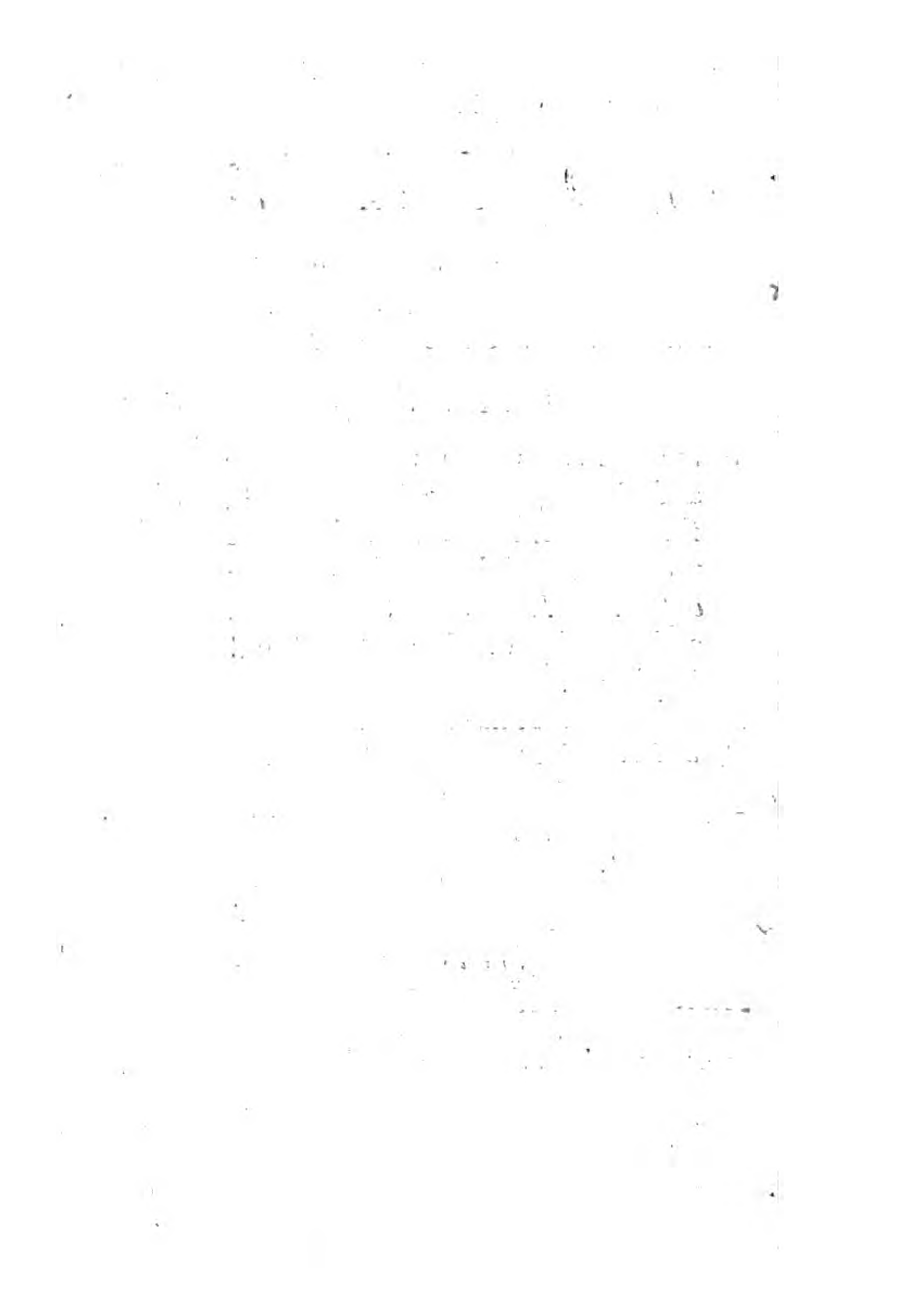
By a F R I E N D to the Church and Con-
stitution.

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vidual Member, are in an eternal Change and Fluctuation. Such
who by wise Conduct, or lucky Events, may be entitled to the
chief Favours of Government, and Smiles of them in Power,
may, by other Scenes of weak and ungrateful Management, for-
feit them; while others, more remote from Royal Regard, by
a steady and good Conduct, may obtain those Favours their Ri-
vals have seiz'd themselves unworthy of.*

Page 35.

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T H E
L O Y A L:
O R,

Revolutional Tory, &c.



HERE is no Nation upon Earth enjoys greater Degrees of Liberty, or a more extensive Freedom than our own; no People are better secured in the Enjoyment of their Properties; nor any Constitution better framed to preserve and perpetuate these Blessings to Posterity. Such however is the Imperfection of human Wisdom, and
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such the Insufficiency of human Laws and Institutions, that the best and profoundest Schemes of Policy are always intermixed and fullied with some Evils not common to Constitutions less excellent. Human Policy, like the Mind of Man, as it becomes adorn'd and cultivated with more noble Qualities and Perfections to render it happy; so it becomes still more obnoxious to many Sufferings, Passions and Anxieties unknown to baser and more ignoble Understandings.

THE same Form of Government which protects us in the Enjoyment of Liberty to its utmost Boundaries, gives most Power to wilely and ill-defigning Men to perplex and annoy us, by making the Interests of Liberty subservient to those of Sediton and Confusion; and thus have they blasted that Tranquillity and Quiet, the natural Produce of a true and a rational Freedom, and essentially requisite

requisite to complete the Fruition of those Privileges our Ancestors have with so great Profusion of Blood and Treasure procured and transmitted to us.

F A C T I O N, the Pest of Society, has always increas'd proportionably to the Degrees of Liberty we have enjoy'd. Various are the artful Pretexts us'd to divide us into *Parties*, and to keep alive the Spirit of Revenge and implicit Hatred. Hence we have been induc'd to imagine ourselves of different Natures and Tendencies; and instead of endeavouring to unite and incorporate ourselves into one common *Mass*, we have been unnaturally actuated, as it were, by a repulsive Faculty, if I may be allow'd to use a Philosophick Term, which has tended to widen and increase our Distance, and obstruct our mutual Approach. This Disposition has been cherish'd by an Adherence to and Observance of

Party-Names, without enquiring into the real Distinctions of Men's *Tenets* and Political *Maxims*.

DID the Consequences of Party Divisions terminate merely in a Theoretic Diffension of the several Individuals, it would be happy for *England*. Did intestine Jars and Comotions of each *Party* end and center in *Personal* Animofities only, they could not be attended with any fatal Effects to a Nation in *general*. But whilst a Kingdom is thus divided, it not only gives our Neighbour-Nations many Advantages over us in our Negotiations with them; but likewise curbs and restrains a wise and good *Prince*, and his judicious *Ministry* from procuring and communicating fuch Emoluments and Bleffings to the Subjects in general, as they might do to a People happily united in Policy and Religion.

IT must be acknowledg'd extremely difficult, if not impossible
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for the wisest and most equitable *Administration* that ever existed, so to conduct the Management of Affairs as to preserve an *Equilibrium* between the opposite and contending Parties. Should such an Essay be ever attempted by any *Ministry*, it is but natural to suggest that so far from obliging either, they would inevitably lose the Affections of both. For that Partiality in judging and censuring of others, which Mankind in general too naturally fall into; that strong *Impetus* and Prepossession to think ill of each other, stimulates them to surmise that the Favours and Indulgencies granted to one *Party*, were more than they had a Right to: And the adverse Body, for not being taken that extraordinary Notice of by Men in Power they think themselves deserving of, or for not engrossing their whole Regard, become equally averse to the Government, as if they had
received

received no distinguishing Marks of Favour whatsoever.

WHEN one Side or Party of a Nation have manifested themselves more attach'd to their *Prince* than the other, the *Prince* then lies under an indispensable Obligation, both from the Laws of Gratitude and good Policy, to bestow his Favours upon his tried and experienced Friends. The utmost that can be expected by a *Party*, some few of whom have so notoriously oppos'd his *Majesty's* Succession, and others too supinely neglected to distinguish themselves upon critical Emergencies, is, only to enjoy, in common with the rest of his Subjects, the Protection of their legal Rights and Properties. For, such Conduct in some Few, at such nice Conjunctions brought an Odium and Suspicion upon the whole Body, as well Friends as Enemies to his *Majesty*, which nothing afterwards could effectually
wipe

wipe away from those Well-dispos'd, but an uninterrupted Series of steady Attachment to his *Majesty's* Interest. As his Majesty knew many of them to be his open Enemies, so he could not possibly discover who amongst them were his true Friends, 'till they had manifested their Zeal for his illustrious Family, by their own particular Behaviour.

THAT turbulent and noisy Cry of *High-Church* and *Low-Church*, *Whig* and *Tory*, laugh'd at and contemn'd by all thinking Men, has too too long spirited up and fermented our Party Divisions. To such a Pitch of malignant Spleen and inveterate Resentment has each Party rais'd themselves, that the least Shadow of Respect received by the one, would infallibly incur the irreconcilable Hatred, Obloquy and Reproach of the other.

WHILST a Nation was under this infatuated Power of Party Rage,
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the greatest *Patriots* to their Country, the most ardent Adherents to Concord and Unanimity, saw themselves under an unavoidable Necessity of enlisting themselves into that *Party* they judg'd most eligible, in order to support their Character and Honour with one Part of the People, rather than by affecting a Luke-Warmness or Indifferency, to lose the Affections of both, which at that Time would have been the natural Effects of such Coolness and Moderation.

As the Times I am speaking of laid the greatest and most conspicuous Subjects of the Kingdom under a Constraint to declare themselves on one Side; so by the Union and Adjunction of eminent and distinguish'd Personages, the Violence of Party Rage became still more fomented and exaggerated, and therefore less capable of Extinction.

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THIS melancholy Complexion and Bias of the Nation it was that render'd the present Establish'd Succession so difficult and thorny to be obtain'd. This invaluable and ineffable Blessing could never have been procur'd to these Realms, but by the Bravery, Magnanimity and Heroism of those worthy *Patriots*, who effectuated it by a wonderful Address, and by the open Activity and Assistance of one Party only.

IT is something shocking, upon a calm Deliberation, to reflect how any Man, not a rank *Papist* in his Heart, could appear neuter, whilst such a momentous Point was in Agitation. One would almost be inclin'd to think, no Man, but such a one who had lost all Idea of Self-Preservation, and who had shook off the Thoughts of Posterity's Welfare, and profess'd himself an Enemy to the Protestant Religion, could be in a drowsy Lethargy, when the

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Cause of his Country call'd for his most vigorous Assistance and undaunted Intrepidity. But such is the Outrage of Party Opposition, that Affairs of the most delicate and tender Nature, and which nearly concern our future Happiness, must give Way to its extravagant Impetuosity.

THO' this Behaviour, at first, may seem very surprizing and unaccountable, yet upon a Recollection of the Circumstances of the Times, and Temper of the Age, it will appear with a different Aspect. Party Animosities, blind Zealotism and Superstition, were then in their Meridian; nor was there wanting a Gang of Miscreants to add Fuel to the Fire, and nurse up these Principles to the greatest Pitch of Madness and Folly. This Reflexion alone I think sufficient to atone for the Inactivity of the *Tories*: But, if to this we add the Consideration of their Struggles, at that Time of Day,
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being likely to be attended with no Degree of Glory, the Spring of human Actions, we shall have less Reason to be severe upon these *Gentlemen*. The opposite *Party* were beforehand with them, and if they had united with them, they would have only appear'd as *secondary Auxiliaries* to aid and assist, whilst the other, from being *primary Agents*, would have totally eclips'd their Honour. Besides, the Thoughts of having been once misled, and violently engaged in a *Party*, occasion'd them to entertain an Opinion, that a sudden Change would have quite lost their Credit with the People, and not gain'd them any Reputation with their *Prince*.

G R E A T E R Mischiefs, and greater Grievances, than what I have touch'd upon, are still the inseparable Concomitants of Party Diffensions. They give wicked and popular Men an Opportunity of employing their
 C 2 Talents

Talents to work upon the Passions of the giddy Multitude, and of irritating and inflaming the *Mob* with boisterous unmeaning Sounds, of the dismal and terrible Effects that must attend the Prevalency of the adverse Party,

THE Veracity of this Observation has appear'd by the Conduct of some modern *Mock-Patriots*, in the later Part of her late Majesty's Reign. At that Time of Day the *ministerial Party* framed Schemes of a most hellish and destructive Nature, to perpetrate their desperate Enterprises. Every Engine of State was set to work to persuade us that the Church was in imminent Danger, without some violent Change and Convulsions in the Constitution to preserve and uphold it.

THIS Project being accommodated to the Times, took ; and induc'd the *Tory Party*, who then, as well as now, were well known to be extremely

tremely zealous of preserving the antient Rights and Ceremonies of the Establish'd Church, to listen too much to these popular Rumors, Belowings and Suggestions.

WHEN the Death of the *late Queen* unveil'd the Scene, and the whole Proceedings of those *Sham-Churchmen* at the Helm appear'd to be a Farce and Collusion, contriv'd only to facilitate the Introduction of a *Popish Pretender*, the Consequence whereof must be the total Destruction, and Extirpation of that Church we always design'd to preserve; when the *Mask* was taken off, and Men and their Views display'd in their true Colours, I am well persuaded, by far the Majority of the *High-Church* repented of the implicit Credit they had given to the counterfeit *Patrons* of the Church and Religion.

IT must be confess'd indeed, some few, warmly prejudic'd in Favour of

a *Popish Pretender*, and enthufiafted with the Cry for the Safety of the *Church*, have continued averfe to the Succeffion of that Illuftrious Family, we owe our *all* to. But thofe Men, who, by the Force of their own Genius and Underftandings, were capable of ftemming the impetuous Torrent, and faw clearly through the Artifice and Chicanery they had been deluded by, foon became reconciled to the prefent Family, and rejoic'd at the Defeat of fo horrible a Scheme they had, blindly and unwarily, contributed to put in Execution.

SOME there were, that did not fo readily fhake of their Party Pre-poffeffions; but this Excufe, I think, thofe *Gentlemen* are juftly entitled to plead in their Favour; That however abortive and unfuccefsful the Schemes of the tyrannical *Minifters* prov'd, by the Acceffion of the prefent Royal Family to the Throne; yet

yet the same Means, the same Tricks and Artifices still continued, of incensing and spiring up the People against the *Hanover Succession*; and whilst these Practices prevail'd, it cannot be expected that Men should suddenly get rid of their Prejudices.

To suppress and eradicate effectually these Party Struggles and Party Antipathies, nothing hath so much conduced as that long and permanent State of Peace and Tranquillity, which his late, and present Majesty, and their faithful *Ministers* have so indefatigably labour'd to preserve for us, and which, by their Conduct, God be praised! we have still a Prospect of long enjoying.

To keep up the Spirit of Disaffection among the *Tories*, some *State-Incendiaries* still represented, The *Church* was in Danger, that *Dissenters* would prevail against it, and that no Hopes of its Preservation could be expected from the present
Suc-

Succession. This Jealousy among the *Tories* was somewhat cherish'd by taking off the *Schism-Bill* in Favour of the *Dissenters*, soon after his late *Majesty's* Accession. Upon a candid and impartial View of this Step in the *Administration*, I am apt to think it will appear, that his *late Majesty* could not refuse the *Dissenters* an Exemption from such a Restraint; a Restraint, palpably imposed upon them, the better to accomplish the Destruction of his *Majesty*, as well as of the whole Body of *Dissenters*, who had appear'd hearty in his Interest, and who had exerted themselves to place him on the Throne.

HOWEVER, this Consideration of the Matter was far from appeasing all the *Tories*. Many of them look'd on this as an Advance towards the Abolition of the Church, and, consequently, became chagrin'd with, and inveterate against the Govern-
ment,

ment for their Gratitude to their zealous Friends. But Time and Experience have now fully convinc'd us, that both his *late* and *present Majesty* have as great a Regard, and as tender a Concern for preserving the Rights of the Church, as the most sanguin of his Predecessors; so far as is consistent with the Laws of Toleration, and that Esteem and Value justly due to the *Dissenters*, who were equally instrumental in completing the happy Establishment.

As the whole Body of *Whigs*, to whom we are greatly indebted for all the Liberty we now enjoy, consists of *Churchmen* and *Dissenters*; so amongst the *Tories* a proper Distinction may be made, between those who are tainted with the detestable Principles of *Jacobitism*, and those *Tories*, who are as heartily attach'd to the present Establishment, as the most rigid *Whigs* in the Kingdom. Nay, whoever is acquainted with the Bent and Humour

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of the *Tories*, must have the strongest Conviction, that by far the Majority of them, are as true and as sincere Friends to the present illustrious Family, and as great Sticklers for Liberty, as the most vigorous *Church-Whigs* or *Dissenters* are. 'Tis true, no Body of Men have been treated with more Obloquy and Reproach, nor been more basely or scandalously misrepresented than this *Party*; and all this opprobrious Treatment has proceeded only from their being persuaded in their own Consciences, that a *National Establish'd Church* will ever be the grand Safeguard and Bulwark of our Liberty and Property. And for this Opinion of theirs, we have the concurrent Testimony of all Ages and Nations, that no State ever arrived to any considerable Grandeur, but what had a national establish'd Religion.

THAT the *Tories*, as I have observed, are such staunch and hearty
Friends

Friends to the present Family, will not merely rest upon an Assertion, or *Ipsè dixit* of mine ; but is supportable by an Induction of the strongest Circumstances in their Favour. These will be apparent by considering the almost unfurmountable Difficulties, that must have attended the Succession's taking Place, had not the Majority of *Tories* been inclin'd to it.

It must be confess'd, at the Demise of her late *Majesty*, they were considerably the most numerous Body in the Nation, had the Army at their Command, and all the Posts of Trust and Profit in the Nation in their Hands. And, I think, no one will doubt, that the then *Ministry* had enter'd into all Measures, and concerted every Stratagem in their Power, to defeat the *Hanover Succession*, and to introduce Slavery at once. As every Thing was ripe for Execution, nothing could be a greater Discouragement to their wicked Designs, than

a Self-consciousness, that the greatest, most judicious, and unprejudic'd Part of the *Tories*, would have revolted against them, and chim'd in with the *Whigs*, as soon as they had discover'd themselves to have been the *Tools* of a few *Monsters* of the first Class.

IN the unnatural Rebellion which afterwards ensued, there were few others than some headstrong thoughtless *Rabble*, who distinguish'd their Propensity and Inclination to *Jacobitism*; and those who were so unhappily work'd upon by the Temper of the Times, bore no Proportion to the Bulk of the *Tories*. The *Mass* of them detested the impious Conduct of the *Rebels*, and rejoic'd at the victorious Arms of his late *Majesty*.

IF we ruminare a little on the Vicissitudes of the Affairs of *Europe*, that have happen'd in his late and present *Majesty's* Reign, we shall find that many Conjunctions have offer'd for our Enemies to have set up the
Pre-

Pretender, and raised a violent Rebellion in the Nation, had it not been from an Assurance, that the greatest Part of the *Tories* would have most vigorously oppos'd any such impious Attempt.

THOSE petty Conspiracies, that have been enter'd into to disturb the present Family, and their Realms, have always been fortunately detected, and ever been abhor'd by the Majority of that *Party*, when they have been brought to Light. It is not supposable, had the major Part of these *Gentlemen* been dispos'd to make his *Majesty's* Crown sit uneasy upon his Head, that every Attempt that has been made would so easily have miscarry'd, and so suddenly been frustrated.

THESE obvious and cursory Reflections, with many others that I might offer, will be sufficient to evince, that the whole Bulk of the People, generally distinguish'd by the
Name

of *Tories*, are not Adversaries to the *Revolution*, nor to the present Establishment; nor, indeed, are any considerable Part of them Enemies to those Principles. However,

To go a Step farther, and illustrate the true Genius and State of the *Tories*, it will not be improper to consider the genuine Principles of a *constitutional* or *revolutional* *Tory* (for so I shall hereafter distinguish one Part, from those few who are actuated by different Principles). I imagine no one will deny, but there is a very wide Difference to be made between a *Church-Whig* and a *Dissenter*; and I am persuaded no *Tory* can be offended, if I make the same Discrimination between a *constitutional* *Tory*, or one who is a faithful Subject to the present Family, and a *Jacobite* *Tory*, who would be glad to extirpate the whole Royal Progeny.

THE *constitutional* *Tory*, we conceive, merits the greatest Veneration,
and

and highest Regard from every Lover of his *King* and his *Country*. If we enquire into the fundamental Principles of our Constitution, we shall find the *Church-Whigs*, and *constitutional* or *revolutionTories*, are its *Garde du-Corps*, its strongest Fence and Support; they are the *Means*, of which the *Jacobites* and *Dissenters* are the *Extremes*.

ALL *History* will confirm this Observation upon the *Jacobites* and *Dissenters*. For we never find therein any national Calamities or Enormities committed in the *State*, but at such particular Junctures, as the *Jacobites* or *Dissenters* had the Power of turning the Scale in the Counsels of State.

HERE it will be proper to make some Observations on the small Difference there is between a sound *constitutional Tory*, and a *Church-Whig*.

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THE Protection, the Honour, and Support of the *Protestant* establish'd *national Church*, and the Succession in his *Majesty's* illustrious House, are the grand Points the *Church-Whigs*, or *constitutional Tories*, never lose Sight of, but revolve round them as so many attractive Principles. They only move to one *Party* Side, or to the other, as they are more remote from the Party they have the greatest Aversion to. And as Bodies move towards each other by Gravity or Attraction, so these move from each other by Dislike or Antipathy. For the *Church-Whigs* never vote with the *Dissenters*, because they have any Affection for them arising from their religious *Tenets*, but because they have a greater Aversion to the *Jacobites* their direct Opposite, and so cling to the *minus Malum* to avoid the *majus*.

THE *constitutional Tory*, indeed, sometimes sides with that Party, in which some few *Jacobites* make a
Part.

Part. This they do from an Apprehension, that they being few in Number, are less dangerous to the Constitution than the *Dissenters*. The *Church-Whig* joins with the *Dissenter*, as thinking the *Jacobites* more dangerous. And herein they must be allow'd to judge right, if the *Jacobites* could be supposed any great or formidable Body. But as our former Remarks shew the greatest Probability they are not, I shall not take upon me to determine whether the *constitutional Tory*, or *Church-Whig*, acts for the greater Safety to our Establishment. But this I shall endeavour to shew, that a *constitutional Tory*, and a *Church-Whig*, are the same in Principle to the Constitution, but differ only in their Opinions about the *Means* of preserving it.

WHAT I have already urged, I think sufficient to elucidate, that the greatest Part of the *Tories*, even supposing they have once err'd in Point.

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of Judgment, in the *Ways* and *Means* to preserve our present Establishment, are yet *Well-Wishers* to it, good Subjects to the *King*, and ought not, in any Respect, to be treated as in the least Degree disaffected to the Government. And,

WHILE I am shewing the *Tories* not unworthy the Regard and Favour of their *Prince* and *Country* at present, I shall here observe, what a good Opinion, in many Cases, his late and present *Majesty* have been pleased to entertain of them, under the particular Circumstances of their Reigns.

IN this Enquiry we shall find, that the Church and Constitution have been maintain'd, and upheld, to the same Degree of Excellency as ever; that the same Rights and Privileges are still continu'd to us, and to our happy and well *constituted Church*; and all its decent, wise and pious *Discipline* still remains in the same State.

State as in the Reign of her late *Majesty*.

I KNOW there are many *Tories*, who imagine that the whole *Body* have merited greater Favours, and higher Honours, than in these Reigns have hitherto been conferr'd upon them. But if I may be allow'd, without Offence, to speak freely, I cannot but say, they have receiv'd all the Favour they could in Reason expect, or that his late or present *Majesty*, consistent with the Rules of good Policy, and the Laws of Honour and Gratitude, could bestow upon them.

THO' great Numbers of the *Tories*, I am well assur'd, wish'd well to the Succession, and had the *Protestant* Interest at Heart, as much as the most active *Whigs* at that Time a Day; and tho' his *Majesty*, it may be presum'd, was sensible of this; yet such were the unhappy Effects of Party Divisions, that in Point of Wisdom and Policy, he could, upon no Ac-

count confer Honours and Dignities upon any of that Body, without hazarding the Affection and Attachment of the whole Party who had so strenuously espous'd his Cause; for 'tis highly reasonable to imagine, his known Friends would have been highly disgusted at the least Countenance of the *Tory* Party, and might have occasion'd a general Defection of those who had openly signaliz'd themselves to fix him on the Throne.

DURING the whole Course of his *Majesty's* Reign, no Step in his *Administration* appears to be taken with a View to prejudice the *establish'd Church*. The whole Series of his Conduct displays a steady and *princely* Resolution, not only to protect his Subjects in the complete Enjoyment of every Right they were possess'd of at his Accession, but to confer additional Privileges and Immunities upon the Lovers of Liberty, whose Principles alone are the only *Ba-*
sis

his on which he himself can stand secure.

WE can never suppose the *Dissenters*, who have so long desir'd the Destruction of the Establishment of the Church, to be destitute of Schemes for that Purpose, or want Inclination to put them in Execution. This, I say, we can never suppose. The only Reason why they have declin'd such bold Attempts, is, that they had all the Assurance in Life, that any Project, calculated to be the least detrimental to the establish'd Church, would meet with nothing but Detestation and Contempt from the *King*, and his *Ministry*.

THE Reign of his present *Majesty* furnishes us with all the Testimonies and Convictions we can desire, both from the *Royal Family* and the *Ministry*, of their sincere Regard for the establish'd Constitution in Church and State. The Favours that have constantly flow'd from the *Royal Fountain*,

tain, on those several worthy and able Pens, which have conspicuously exerted themselves in stopping that impetuous Torrent of *Deism* and *Infidelity*, which has of late Years so violently broke in upon us, is an incontestable Demonstration, that his Majesty is resolutely determin'd to stand by Religion, and as well protect the *establish'd Church* as the *Toleration*. Those immoral Writings, which have attack'd the grand *Pillar* of our Faith, and have threatened the Destruction of *Christianity*, and the Ruin of the *Church*, make it highly expedient, that his *Majesty* and *Ministry* should stand stedfastly by them. And as by their Conduct hitherto, they have manifested their great Care and Concern for the Church, so I doubt not but we shall ever find hearty Friends in them, if we shew ourselves dispos'd to adhere inviolably to the Interest of her in Conjunction with them.

THE Expulsion of the *Bill* to prevent *Suites* for *Tythes*, effected solely by the Opposition of the *Ministry*, must be an irrefragable Argument, with every true Member of the establish'd Church, that their Fears and Suspensions, of its wanting Friends in the *Administration*, are groundless and chimerical.

To form a just Idea of the Benefit done to the establish'd Church, by rejecting that Bill, it will be necessary to consider the End for which it was calculated; and we shall find it was levelled at nothing less than the total Destruction of the *Rights* of all the *Clergy* of *England*; and this to be effectually accomplish'd in a small Revolution of Time.

To deprive the *Clergy* of their common Right to *Tythes*, as the Law now stands, was the Design of this Bill; or the Presumption of Law, that all Lands ought to pay *Tythes*, unless the Proprietor can shew any *Exemption*, or
 legal

legal Reason to the contrary, by inverting the Case, and giving to the Proprietors of *Land* that common Right, whereby *Lands*, for the future, would have been in Law presumed *Tythe-free*. This was the Intent, unless the *Incumbents* could prove such *Lands* liable to pay *Tythes*, within a certain Term of Years; which must be very difficult to be done, since a Proof that *Lands* had paid *Tythes* within the Memory of Man (the common Rule of fixing Right in other Cases) could not be admitted, but the *Clergy* were confin'd to a *Retrospect* of forty Years only. Within which Space of Time, if they were not able to prove *Lands* had paid *Tythes*, these Lands were for ever after *exempted*.

THE extreme Hardships of the *Clergy*, and the pernicious Consequences to the Church, had this Bill pass'd into a Law, will still appear more formidable, if we consider, that

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all Receipts for *Tythes*, and such like Evidence and Credentials to prove the Payment of them, being given to, and in the Possession of the Proprietors of *Lands*, whose Interest it would have been to have conceal'd them, would be difficult, if not impossible, to be brought to Light. Besides, the *Clergy* holding their *Living*s for Life only, many may neglect taking due Care for their *Successors*; and what Evidence might be preserv'd and collected would frequently never have been deliver'd up, or communicated to the succeeding *Incumbent*, by the Executors of his Predecessors. So that in a short Period of Time, a considerable Part of the *Lands* in the Kingdom would have become *Tythe-free*, the Church strip'd and rob'd of its antient Rights, and the Subsistence of the *Clergy* expos'd to the voluntary Contributions of the People.

IT is unnecessary for me to expatiate further upon the fatal Effects this

Bill must have occasion'd to the *Church*, since the Reasons against its passing into a *Law*, were set in a strong and a just Light by the *Honourable Gentleman* in the *Administration*, and by an eminent and worthy *Prelate* of the *Church*, whose unanswerable Reasons, in Conjunction with those of the *Ministry*, were attended to by *Parliament*, and the *Bill* rejected.

BUT, without casting our Eyes much back upon the Conduct of the *Ministry* in Regard to the establish'd *Church*, we have a late Instance, at present fresh in every Man's Memory, of their strong and inviolable Affection and Attachment to her Interest: I mean the Reception the *Dissenters* met with in their strenuous Efforts and Struggles to obtain a *Repeal* of the *Test Act*, the only distinguishing Criterion whereby to exhibit who are hearty Friends to the *Constitution* both in *Church* and *State*.

T H E S E

THESE short Reflections on the Situation and Circumstances of the *Tories*, at his late *Majesty's* Accession; their Behaviour ever since, and the Conduct of his late and present *Majesty*, and the *Ministry* towards them, must dissipate all Fears and Terrors for the establish'd Church, from the Breast of every *Tory* in the Nation; and manifest, that his *Denomination* does not forever exclude him from the Royal Favour, tho' Circumstances of Affairs made it necessary for a Time.

HUMAN Societies, as well as the Circumstances of every individual Member, are in an eternal Change and Fluctuation. Such who by wise Conduct, or lucky Events, may be entitled to the chief Favours of Government, and Smiles of them in Power, may, by other Scenes of weak and ungrateful Management, forfeit them; while others, more remote from royal Regard, by a steady and good Conduct,

may obtain those Favours their *Rivals* have shew'd themselves unworthy of.

THIS naturally leads me to consider the Behaviour of the *Whigs* in general, during the Periods I have alluded to. It cannot be said, with any Colour of Truth, that they have been so unanimous in promoting the Interest of his *Majesty*, as the *Tories* have been unanimous in not opposing it. Tho' they frequently chose such *Members* as dissented from several Proceedings in the *Administration*, when perhaps they tended to give too great Countenance to *Dissenters*, or were prejudicial to the establish'd Church; yet from whatever Motive the Opposition of the *Tory* Members might proceed, it never terminated in any Thing more, than a bare *Dissent* in the House. They, nor any others, but those who eat the Bread of Scandal, ever went such Lengths, as to use seditious Declamations or Aggravations without Doors, to enrage the
 People

People against every Design of the *Administration*, merely out of a Spirit of Opposition and Defamation.

THE Conduct of some of the *Whigs*, in this Respect, has been quite different from that of the *constitutional Tories*. Tho' his late and present *Majesty* bestow'd almost all Honours and Preferments on the *Whigs*; yet because it was out of their Power to bestow *Titles* and *Places* of the first Rank in the Nation upon every *Whig* in the Kingdom, How many have deserted his *Majesty's* Interest? How many, from private Pique and Resentment, have flew in the Face of the *Administration*, and, from strenuous Advocates and Approvers of his *Majesty's* wise and mild Government, have metamorphos'd themselves into his implacable Enemies? Have they not run headlong into Schemes of the rankest *Jacobites* in the Kingdom, and acted in open Concert with them? Have they not united with the most
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inveterate Foest to our Constitution, and the illustrious Family on the Throne, purposely to libel the Government, and embarras and perplex every justifiable Step in the *Administration*? No despicable Project or Stratagem has been left unattempted to render the *Ministry* contemptible in the Sight of the giddy Rabble, and unthinking Multitude; and even to ripen and prepare them, if possible, for Rebellions and Insurrections. To effectuate this wicked Design, this matchless Iniquity, the most palpable Falshoods, the most vile Suggestions and Insinuations have been for many Years trumpeted thro' the Nation, to alienate the Affections of the good People of *England* from their gracious *Sovereign*, and his wise, his try'd and experienc'd *Ministry*.

ACTIONS the most virtuous and heroic have been laugh'd at, and ridicul'd. Policy, the most profound, conspicuous by its happy Effects, treated with low *Sarcasm* and *Buffoonery*;

a Series of wise *Negotiations*, only tending to one grand and notable Point in View, sneer'd at, misrepresented, and painted in the most ludicrous Colours. In a Word; a Scene of the most deep-lay'd Wisdom, and of the most inestimable Benefits to *Great-Britain*, at a Time too, when we were most in need of them, has been set forth, as a Scene of Folly, Perfidy and Blundering.

As the *Danger* of the *Church* was formerly found of extraordinary Use in deluding the *Tories*; in like Manner the *Danger* of our *Liberties* has been judg'd a delicious Bait, to trap many short-sighted *Whigs* from the Interest of his *Majesty* into a *factious Cabal*, in order to unite with the *Tories*, the better to distress the *Administration*; imagining the *Tories* were weak enough to be decoy'd into any wicked Scheme, calculated only for the private Interest of a few unhappy and disappointed *Malecontents*.

THESE

THESE modern *Politicians*, in their popular and luxuriant Libels, have stretch'd the Principles of *Whigism* to those of unbounded *Republicanism*; and, instead of tenaciously adhering to the Purity of our happy *Constitution*, have labour'd with unwearied Industry and Application to plunge us into a State of Anarchy and Confusion. The *Crown* has been strip'd naked of all its *Prerogative* and *Authority*, a *King* represented as a Cypher, and below a *Ministerial* Officer, who holds his *Crown* at the Caprice and Instability of the Populace, or at the Pleasure of every petty Faction, that may rear its contagious Head from base and self-interested Views and Designs.

THE late Prevalency of those licentious Principles, which make it fashionable and polite to speak Ill of Government, and rail at the *Administration*, has poison'd and infatuated those, who have ever valued themselves upon being hearty Friends to
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the Constitution, and the present illustrious Family. I mean the *Dissenters* from the establish'd Church, who lately have dissented in their Politicks as well as their Religion, and run such Lengths, in some of their Writings, as to menace the Government, and to hector them into a Compliance with their Schemes to break in upon the Peace and Tranquillity of the Church.

SUCH Conduct from that Body is of so extraordinary and unprecedented a Nature, and so directly opposite to their wonted Behaviour towards the Government, that an impartial Spectator cannot attribute it to any Thing less than the Machinations of some first-rate *Malecontents*. We can never suppose the *Dissenters* of themselves would have used such Threats and Insults to a Government they have receiv'd such Indulgences from, without being spirited up to it by some latent *Incendiaries*, or *Sham-*

Patriots, who had schem'd them for their *Dupes*, and as *Props* to their dying Cause.

AND, indeed, many of those judicious *Gentlemen*, who sagely oppos'd such rash and precipitate Proceedings, were fully convinc'd, that the clamorous Ebullitions of their Fraternity were owing to the secret Operations and Influences of *antiministerial* Madnefs and Enthufiasm; and therefore they vigorously interpos'd to reduce them to Reason; and by a happy Address they fo pacified and quell'd them, that they are not likely to become the Tools of fuch a despairing Clan.

I WOULD not be thought to throw any Reflection, or exprefs myself with the leaft Afperity, or with an unchristian Temper againft the *Difsenters* as fuch; but I would be understood to fet forth, in its proper Colours, the ungrateful Conduct of many who profefs themselves *Whigs*.
Nor

Nor would I by any Means be suspected to say any Thing derogatory from the Character of *Gentlemen* of that Denomination, whether *Churchmen* or *Dissenters*. My Design is principally to evince, that such trite and threadbare Distinctions are no certain and infallible Marks of a good or an ill Subject; but the only Criterion whereby we may justly know the one from the other, is, their steady Adherence and inviolable Attachment to our happy Constitution both in *Church* and *State*: And some of these truly good Subjects are to be found among all *Parties* and *Persuasions*, such only excepted whose profess'd Principles are apparently subversive of our whole Establishment.

WHEN we view Men in their private Capacity, moving unbiass'd thro' the various Scenes of Party-Fury and Party-Malevolence, opposing every Project, and every Artifice which appears manifestly form'd for Usurpa-

tion, Oppression, and Destruction of the Constitution: When we behold them resolutely struggling to suppress every turbulent Faction, rais'd without Foundation, merely by the Contrivance of Men whose Politicks are more calculated to satiate and glut their own Ambition, and to sport themselves upon the strong Passions and weak Judgments of the Commonalty, than to enlighten their Understandings by a fair and candid Illustration of the Affairs of State; when such Men, such genuine Patriots make their Appearance among us, they cannot be too much care's'd by a *Prince* and his *People*.
But,

ON the other Hand, when we see Men indefatigable in cherishing and fomenting the Spirit of Party Dissention, Bitterness, and Enmity; when we behold them nursing up Faction, kindling the Fire of Discord in the Heart of the Nation, and ripening the
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the unthinking Herd for any Innovation or Revolution in the Constitution: When these Monsters spring up in the State, they only merit the utmost Contempt and Indignation from a wise and a steady People, a People not given to Change, or fond of new-fangled Principles of Policy or Religion.

No sooner does a Nation listen to these scribbling and prating Reformers of the State, or begin to think and speak freely hard Things of Government, and inroach upon the Prerogative, but some *upstart Novelists*, or some *enthusiastick Don Furiosos* set upon reforming, as they call it, Religion, and new-moulding and kneading of that in Conformity to the Projects of our civil Reformers. Hence 'tis we find of late the Honour and Dignity of our *Religion* attack'd, the *Clergy* ridicul'd, their *Peccadilloes* magnified to *Enormities*, and our *Bibles* laugh'd at, and made a Jest
of

of by *deistical Republicans*, who are as great Enemies to our civil Constitution as to Christianity itself; and therefore level their Battery against both, that they may fall together.

NOTHING gauls these *antimonarchical* and *antichristian Gentlemen* more, than to behold a *Prince* and his *Ministry* bent upon standing immovably by the *Church*, and suffering no Infringements upon her Oeconomy or Discipline, nor permitting any Breaches or Inroads to be made upon her peculiar Privileges; not even by those who have been Friends to the Royal Family. Nor,

Is it less chagrining to Persons of this Stamp to find, they can make no Encroachments upon the Prerogative and Authority of the *Prince*, which is our constitutional Barrier to their licentious Principles of Policy. While a *Prince* possesses his just Proportion of Power, consistent with our Constitution, the due Balance between

tween the *Lords* and *Commons* may be preserv'd, and all Innovations effectually impeded. What these *Latitudinarians* in Politicks, as well as Religion, aim at, is, to deprive the *Crown* of every Degree of Power, and of every Friend who contributes to support its just Dignity and Authority.

To this End every common Officer, according to our modern Politicks, employ'd in any Branch of the *Revenue*, is to oppose the Measures of the *Administration*; and every *Gentleman*, who has the least Post under the Government, must be no Aid or Assistance to the Government in carrying on the grand Business of the Nation. This is laying the Axe to the Root of the Tree; this is an infallible Way to reduce the Power of a *King*, and render him of as little Significancy or Moment in the State, as one of his ordinary Subjects. Nay, these
Maxims

Maxims of Policy have been carried so far, as to esteem it a Crime of a most heinous Nature, for any one to act in Concert with our *King* and his *Ministry*, let their Measures appear ever so wise and justifiable to them. The greatest Virtue, and most exalted and sublime *Patriotism*, is, in this Age of Wisdom, to oppose, to bellow and rave at every Thing, right or wrong, and to harangue against every Proposition that may encrease their Popularity, and captivate the Ears of the Vulgar.

IT is not to be doubted, but many true Friends to our Constitution are mingled and incorporated with every *Party*; but the Difficulty lies in judging who they are, and which Party abounds with most of them. By one Party, which has remarkably distinguish'd themselves in our Days, it has been frequently urged, that *good Actions are not to be condemn'd or censur'd, from whatever Motive they*

they may have proceeded. However true in the general this may appear to these *Casuits*, yet if consider'd, in a political Light, I am inclin'd to think it very exceptionable, as being attended with many bad Consequences.

THIS Kind of Doctrine is generally propagated by Men who are extremely sollicitous to evade a severe Scrutiny into their Motives; the better to gloss and varnish them over, is to dazzle us with a pretended Exuberancy of good Actions, and with Works of Supererogation. But,

IF Men act merely from *Self-Interest*, from *Ambition*, *Faction*, or *Revenge*, and only set up the *Shape* and *Figure* of *Publick Good*, to conceal the grand and occult Spring of their Actions, they will no further pursue the real common Good, than it quadrates and coincides with their own private Designs. Nor will they ever be satisfied till those Passions,

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which

which were their primary Motives, are fully gratified and indulged. This was the Case of *Cromwell* and his *mercenary Crew*, who, under the colourable Pretext of Liberty, acted in Concert with his Emissaries to distress the State, till they reduc'd it to a State of Anarchy and Rebellion, that he might, with less Difficulty and Opposition, get Possession of the Crown. I would be very cautious of insinuating any Thing that was chimerical or romantick; but it is remarkable, that, in many Respects, the Conduct of our modern *State-Reformers*, resembles that of some *Republican U-surpers*.

THESE thundering *Patriots* of our Days, are compounded of all the Extremities and Contrarieties of the *Constitution*, viz. *Papists* and *Jacobites*, *Deists* and *Atheists*, *Bigots* and *Enthusiasts*, *Despoticks* and *Republicans*. Some have entered the List from Disappointment at Court, others

others from Despair ; some from Pride and Affectation, others from Ignorance and Folly. In short, such a Medley of opposite and repugnant Principles, constitutes the whole *Band* of Opponents and Adversaries to our present Constitution, both in Church and State, that if they could meet with their desir'd Success, I am greatly at a Loss to imagine who must have the *Cooking* of the State, and the *Mangling* of the Church. To hit the Taste of every one of these *Gentlemen*, we should certainly have a most delicate *Hodge-Podge* of *Government*, a most whimsical *Constitution*.

'TIS more than probable, that these reforming *Gentry* have one general Point in View, tho' they pursue it by different Mediums. One point their Cannon at the Power and Prerogative of the *Prince*, at his *Friends*, and his *Ministry* ; while others are laying violent Siege to the Authority of our *Religion*. These latter Species of

Renovators, indeed, do not hold out the Ensign, and appear publickly in the Field of *Faction*, but are employ'd in providing proper Food for its Subsistence and Encouragement.

ONE of these *Refiners* of Religion has step'd forth in the Disguise of a *Country Clergyman* *, that, with a better Grace, he may propagat his *Craft*; for there are *Craftsmen* in Religion as well as *Politicks*. The Way this *Gentleman* has judg'd most eligible to destroy *Christianity*, Root and Branch, is, not only by sneering at its Points of Faith, but by laughing at its Professors and Advocates, for pretending to use *Reason* in Vindication of the *Gospel*. For, says he, it is ridiculous to urge *Reason* in Defence of that which is universally allow'd mystical and incomprehensible. But that Author does not seem to distinguish between defending the *Scrip-*

* Remarks upon the *Minute Philosopher*, in a Letter from a Country Clergyman.

tures in general, as being of divine Authority, and explaining the *Mysteries* he asserts to be contain'd in them. No one, that ever I heard of, has presum'd to account for, or demonstrate what they have allow'd *Mysteries* and *Unaccountables*. The utmost that the warmest Advocates for Christianity have attempted, is to illustrate what are deem'd *Gospel Mysteries*, from some glimmering Analogy, Similitude or Resemblance they bear to many of the Phænomena of Nature; which, in variety of Cases, are equally mysterious with our Points of Faith, and yet, on proper Evidence, are credited by the freest Enquirers. The Book of Nature exhibits Variety of *Mysteries* and *Riddles*, which hitherto have not been demonstratively accounted for by the most celebrated and acute Philosophers; (as *Gravity*, *Attraction*, the *Properties* of the *Loadstone*, or the *Cohæsion* of *Matter*;) and yet no one will presume

sume to say, Nature is not of divine Original, or that the Universe had not Deity for its Parent.

BUT this *Gentleman* makes a further Advance, and artfully draws a Parallel between the Authority of the *Gospel*, and the Story of the *Warming-Pan*, relating to the *Pretender*. Here he helps two Points at once, *viz.* weakens the Foundation of our Religion, and propagates the Legitimacy of the *Pretender*. This is a bold Stroke at both *Church* and *State*. But the *Gentleman*, indeed, to speak freely of him, seems to be a *Papist* in Masquerade; because, like them, he is for resolving all Religion into *Faith* and *Mystery*, and reducing it to nothing more or less than a Bundle of State Policy. To accomplish his Design, he certainly takes the most infallible Way; for if he can once bring us back to *Paganism*, it is but an easy Transition from that to *Po-pery*.

How-

HOWEVER contemptibly we may think of the *Pope* and his *Jesuitical Gang*, they seem, in this Case, to lay their Policy very deep and profound. *Englishmen*, they well know, have no *Relish* for *Popery*, no Taste for *Priestcraft*, *Superstition* and *Idolatry*; but, say they, if we can once reduce them to *Heathenism* in Religion, and *Republicanism* in Government, then the Nation will be full ripe for our Stamps and Impressions. For as the *Romish* Religion is no more than the Revival of the *Heathenism* of antient *Rome*, so *Deism* and *Republicanism* most naturally lead to it *.

To return to our Author. The *Gentleman* acknowledges the good Effects of both the *Gospel* and *Warming-Pan*, tho' he treats them equally as egregious Impositions. Now, if the Effects are so good and so beneficial to the State, the Cause which produced

* *Vide* Dr. Middleton's Letter from *Rome*, &c.
these

these Effects (*i. e.* the divine Authority of the Scripture) ought always to be preserv'd, as the Continuance of the Cause will ever be a Means of continuing the Effects to Posterity.

IF it be Folly for the Patrons of Religion to bring Reason into the Field in its Defence (as he allows its good Effects, and that it is the strongest Tye of Society) it must, according to his own Way of Reasoning, be superlatively wicked and uncharitable in him, and all his Fellow Labourers, to bring Reason into the Field against Religion, and attack it where nothing but Reason can defend it.

ALL deistical Principles are destructive of moral Good, whatever the Pretence may be to the contrary. For this must be granted, *viz.* that as Religion is establish'd, agreeable to our own Constitution, it can produce no more Evil in the World than what would have existed without it. Now
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it is certain, that Thousands do good Actions, not from the Amiability or natural Love of Virtue, but from the Efficacy of the Belief of future Rewards and Punishments annex'd to Christianity. If then there are Numbers, who without the Force of that Belief, would have indulg'd themselves in the most enormous Scenes of Wickedness, then there is so much real Good, arising from Christianity, added to Society, as Men are more virtuous under its Dispensation, than they would be was it destroy'd. Every *Deist*, therefore, must be allow'd so far an Enemy to Society, as he labours to extirpate all that Good produc'd to Society by Religion, and does not ascertain to us, how we shall receive an equal Quantity of Good in its stead.

As *Deists* are for shaking off all the Restraints of Religion, and for destroying the *Church*, so are they for exempting themselves from those of

Civil Government. Accordingly they alarm us, that all Civil Government is an Infringement upon natural Right, and so they are for unhinging, and quite eradicating *that*, and being confin'd to no settled Constitution. But, *Our Constitution*, says an ingenious Writer, *is the main Point ever to be regarded ; which, God be praised! hath been preserved thro' so many Ages. For tho' there have been some Men often found, and of great Parts too, who, for their private Advantages, are aiding, sometimes the Monarch, and sometimes the Party that would be a Commonwealth, under specious Pretences for the Publick Good, to exceed the Limits the Constitution hath prescribed in this Country ; yet the Nation still finds, in all Ages, some truly publick Spirits, that preserve it from being long imposed upon. There is a Craft, and a perpetual Subtilty, that Men of private Interest must work with to support*

port their own Designs : But the true Interest of the Kingdom is the plainest Thing in the World : It is what every body in England finds and feels, and knows to be right, and they are not long a finding it neither. This is that Interest, that is supported Non tam fama, quam sua vi ; its own Weight still keeps it steady against all the Storms, that can be brought to beat upon it, either from the Ignorance of Strangers to our Constitution, or the Violence of any, that project to themselves wild Notions of appealing to the People out of Parliament (a Parliament sitting) as it were to a fourth Estate of the Realm ; and calling upon them to come and take their Share in the Direction of the Publick, and most important Consultations.

As an unfeigned Affection and Good Will towards my Brethren the Tories, the constitutional Tories, disposed me to this Undertaking, I can_

not conclude these Papers without addressing myself to them in a particular Manner.

GENTLEMEN,

THE general Charge against us *Tories*, is, that we have ever been too strenuous, and too warm for the *Royal Prerogative*, too tender of the Person of the *Prince*, and too tenacious for supporting the *Power of the Crown*; that we are too much *bigotted and Priest-ridden*, that we magnify the Power of the *Clergy* beyond Reason, are for aggrandizing the *Church*, and for persecuting the *Dissenters*. These are our Accusations; and, I think, the chief, which we have ever been stigmatiz'd with, even at a Time too when it was fashionable for every Party to be fiery Zealots for their Principles. Shall we then run from these Principles, which are term'd the *Extreme*, into the direct Opposite? Into an *Extreme* infinitely

finitely more prejudicial to our happy Constitution? Shall we, instead of embracing the *Mean*, run into the Arms of them, who are for destroying all *Royal Prerogative*? Who have no Regard to the Person of *Majesty*, nor to the Name of a *King*? Shall we unite with such Men, who are for stripping the *Prince* of that Balance of Power, absolutely necessary to be held in the Royal Hand, as a Security for the Protection of the *Church and State*, and the Suppression of --- *Republican Faction*? Shall we, who 'tis said, have had too great a Regard for the *Clergy and Religion*, join ourselves with Men, who are for bringing both into Contempt, in order to pave the Way for an *antimonarchical, deistical and republican* Government, which must inevitably be the total Subversion of our Constitution in *Church and State*?

Y o u have been once already thoroughly deceiv'd, to the great Pre-
 judice

judice of yourselves and Families, by these wicked Men, who roar'd out that the *Church* was in Danger at the Accession of his late *Majesty*; but you have now a thorough Conviction and Experience to the contrary. The *Papists*, *Jacobites*, *Republicans* and *Deists* are still working under Ground to deceive you again, and to make you imagine your *Liberties* are in Danger, tho', 'tis demonstrable you never enjoy'd so great a Share. This Cry hath been clamour'd thro' the Nation these seven Years, and still we are a brave, a happy, a free, and a flourishing People, and our Trade daily encreases. Are we for ever to be made the *Dupes* and *Muckworms* of every idle *Faction*, of every ambitious *Statesman*? Are we ever to be thought Enemies to the Royal Family, and treated by those who would keep us out of Favour with his *Majesty*, with the opprobrious Names of *Jacobites*, whose Principles we detest?

test ? Shall we never, by our Conduct, shew ourselves deserving of Royal Regard; and, as worthy as any Men, of being receiv'd into the highest Posts of Trust and Honour under the Government ? Shall we ever be estrang'd and distinguished from the *constitutional Whigs*, who are for preserving the Church and the Prerogative upon the same Footing with ourselves ? Shall these trifling, unmanly and unchristian Diffensions and Animosities for ever separate us, and be an eternal Obstacle to our Union and Concord in adhering to our *Church* and our *King* ? Shall we two *Parties*, who have the same grand and glorious Point in View, and who are the very *Stamina* and *Pillars* of the Constitution of GREAT BRITAIN, be divided by wicked and designing Knaves ? By a Medley of *Papists*, *Jacobites* and *Republicans*, who have nothing at Heart but their own Interest, and the Destruction of all Polity,

Polity, both Civil and Ecclesiastical?

O U R former Observations sufficiently evince, that both his late and present *Majesty* have always reckon'd up many of their true Friends amongst the *Tories*; but as hitherto our Misfortune has been, that his *Majesty* could never distinguish us, let us now with Unanimity distinguish ourselves; let us, by our loyal Conduct, our hearty Zeal, and our hearty Love to our Country and Constitution, and to his *Majesty's* Royal Person and Illustrious Progeny, convince the World, that since we have had undeniable Testimonies, that his *Majesty* and *Ministry* are determin'd to adhere to the *Church*, and to preserve and uphold all its antient Privileges and distinguishing Characteristics, nor will suffer any Breaches or Encroachments to be made upon her; I say, let us convince the whole World, that since his *Majesty* and *Ministry*