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If we in *Scotland* had not felt the woful Effects of their Tyranny, it is likely a less Degree of Jealousie wou'd have serv'd turn; but the Impression it made is hardly cool upon our Minds. The Persecution we fell under by an Exorbitant *Church Power*, made such a Wound as is ghastly enough to consider; and tho' the Anguish is, in some measure, abated, and skin'd over by the Sovereign Ballom of *Liberty*, and the Restoration of our *Church Government*, yet, as the Change and Alteration of the Air affects Old Bruises, so the great Alterations and Changes in the State alarm us, especially when they seem to proceed from Principles that have an Appearance of the Old Bloody Complexion. Sufferings are not so agreeable to Humane Nature, but we may start at the Apprehensions of Danger, how groundless soever they may be, without being Censur'd as Ridiculous. 'Tis no Crime to be afraid of the Fire that once scorcht us, and had almost Given the finishing Stroke to our Valuable Blessings. Whether any Prospect of this Kind presents it self from the Circumstances we are in, let Impartial Reason judge, and then we shall see whether such an Alteration is not more than probable. Such Measures and Proceedings are intended to produce suitable Effects; the Means and the End bear some Proportion to each other. And whatever eventually proves otherwise, it is owing to the Over-ruling Hand of Providence which often interrupts the Course of Humane Affairs, and directs to an End so far besides the Intentions of Men, that it justly challenges our Reverence to the Wisdom of *Divine Government*, which can with so much ease supersede the most pernicious Scheme of Humane Affairs, when it is necessary for some eminent Illustration of his Glory, and the Safety of his People. It's well our Confidence is above Men, who commonly make Interest the Rule of Right and Wrong, and regard the Laws of Civil Societies and Humanity no further then just will serve a Turn, or else represent them with such false Glosses, as are only calculated to feed the Humour and Enmity of a *Prevailing Faction*.

What can we expect as the Result of this *Union*, while such a Law is in force as enjoins the *Sacramental Test* to be the Qualification of every *Civil and Military Trust*. How can it be imagin'd that ever such an *Union* can be for Common Good, or the Equal Interest of both Nations, when the Terms are so very unequal? The *Foundations* of our *Government* have been unhing'd; our *Fundamental Laws* chang'd; our *Constitution* quite alter'd, and yet the Repeal of the *Test*, which is but one single Law, can't be procured to Cement the Coalition. It seems more like a Politick Conquest of our Liberties than an *Union*; while, by such a Fence as this is, one *Faction* effectually secures the *Guardianship* of it. This is a Power in Reserve, that if there is not a due Homage done to it, they will not find it difficult to strain an Article to Oblige us to it. Articles are as little likely to prevail against Power, as the *Laws* of *Sicily* were against the Sword of *Pompey*.

This



Let's consult the sacred Oracles, and see how they direct. *Jesus*  
 Matth. 26. took Bread and blessed it, and brake it, and gave it to the Disciples, and said,  
 26, 27, 28. Take eat, This is my Body: And he took the Cup and gave Thanks, and  
 gave it to them, saying, Drink ye all of it, for this is my Blood of the  
 New-Testament, which is shed for many for the Remission of Sins. So in  
 Luk. 22. 19. another Gospel they are required to eat and drink in remembrance of him.  
 1 Cor. 11. This is the Account the Apostle Paul had received of the Lord, and  
 23, 24. has given us, Do this in Remembrance of me. The Sense of all  
 which amounts to this, that these common Elements should be recei-  
 ved as a Memorial of his Sufferings, in regard of the Cause, Occasion,  
 Manner, and Ends thereof. This is the plain End of the Institution,  
 and there is an Aptitude in all the Circumstances of this great Solemnity,  
 and in the various Actions that are requir'd of us to give a just  
 Representation of the Extent of his Sufferings; and whatever subordinate  
 Ends may be thought of or imply'd in this, are suitable to the  
 glorious End of his Dying for us. This Sense is confirm'd by the Do-  
 ctrine of the Church of England, as contain'd in her Liturgy, Articles,  
 and Homilies, and by the concurring Opinions of several of her  
 Divines.

In the Liturgy the Minister is directed to use this Exhortation be-  
 fore the Celebration of the Sacrament: *Dearly Beloved, I purpose, thro'*  
*God's Assistance, to administer to all such as shall be religiously and devoutly*  
*dispos'd, the most comfortable Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ,*  
*to be by them received in Remembrance of his meritorious Cross and Passion,*  
*whereby we alone obtain the Remission of our Sins, and are made Partakers*  
*of the Kingdom of Heaven.*

In Article 28. they say, *It is a Sacrament of our Redemption by Christ's*  
*Death, insomuch that to such as rightly, worthily, and with Faith receive*  
*the same, the Bread which we break is a partaking of Christ, and likewise*  
*the Cup of Blessing is a partaking of the Blood of Christ.*

Homily the 21st, *Now with like or rather with more Brevity you shall*  
*hear how many Sacraments there be that were instituted by our Saviour*  
*Christ, and are to be continued and received of every Christian in due Time*  
*and Order, and for such purpose as our Saviour Christ willed them to be*  
*received.*

Bp. Kildr The Opinions of all the most religious Divines harmonize in this  
 in his Dis- Point. Says one, *The Ends of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper are*  
 course of these that follow: 1. *The Renewal of that Covenant which we enter'd into in*  
 the Lord's our Baptism. 2. *That we should remember the Lord Jesus Christ in laying*  
 Supper. down his Life for us. 3. *That Christians might by it be united together in*  
*the strictest Bond of Love and Charity.* 4. *Another great End of this Sa-*  
*crament is, That we might have a full assurance of God's Readiness to bestow*  
*upon us a Pardon of our Sins, and the great Mercies of the Gospel, which*  
*God hath declared himself ready to bestow upon all those who perform the*  
*Conditions of the new Covenant.*

Pelling's Another says, *This Mystery was instituted as a Federal and Covenant*  
 Discourse Rite, to be used under the Gospel, to engage all such as use it to the strict  
 of the Sa- observance of that Religion which is established by the Gospel.  
 crament, pag. 76. I might





of Christ, to prostitute his Laws to such mean Uses as they never were appointed to? Which must infer either an Invasion upon his Prerogative, or else that it is within the Verge of humane Authority to pervert the Laws of Christ as may be most convenient for the common Interest of Civil Societies.

What may be objected against this will be the Title of the Act which is, *An Act for preventing Dangers which may happen from Popish Recusants.*

I do not at all question the hearty Concurrence of all true Protestants in promoting this Design. The frequent Attempts of that Party upon our Religion and Constitution, had made it necessary to find out some proper Methods for our Common Security; but still the Means should be regular and correspondent to the Rule of Justice and Equity. There are unlawful Means as well as Ends, and a Defect in either does entirely cancel the virtue of the Action. *We are not to do Evil that Good may come of it.* How then can it be justified, to prostitute the most Sacred Mysteries of Religion in order to preserve it? This is but purging it of Superstition to debauch it with the grossest Immoralities, which are certainly more unsuitable to the Dignity and Design of Religion, and the most expeditious way to bring it into Contempt, and to introduce Atheism; besides, it is a considerable Reflection on the Wisdom of the Nation, and also on the very Principles of the Reformation, as if they were built on so weak a Foundation, that nothing could be thought on for its Safety but such Methods as are inconsistent with the very End of Religion it self.

But there might be a farther View in this, and it might be what many of the Promoters of this Law were more irreconcilable to, and that was, to Guard against what they call *Fanaticism*. This is a Term of Reproach, and a great Impropriety, unless it could be justified from the Principles of Dissenters in *England*. However it was judg'd proper enough to serve the purpose of branding Men of Conscience with the most odious Character. If this Law did not spring from these malignant Principles, yet it may be evident they had a powerful Influence in the passing of it, if there is any regard to the Observation of a worthy Gentleman that has writ upon this Subject, who expresses himself thus.

Collection  
of State  
Tracts,  
Vol. I.  
P. 703.

‘ But if you please, Sir, to recollect your self, and call to Mind  
‘ that this Act of Parliament was made in that very Year that Alder-  
‘ man Love complain’d in the House of Commons of the Invasion that  
‘ King Charles II. had made upon the Law, in issuing a Declaration  
‘ for Liberty of Conscience against express Acts of Parliament, (for  
‘ which that Gentleman hath been deservedly had in very great Esteem  
‘ by *Englishmen* of all Persuasions) you may give a shrewd Guess out  
‘ of whose Quiver this Arrow flew; for altho’ the Word *Popish Re-*  
‘ *cusant* was made use of, yet it is to me very plain, that the *Prote-*  
‘ *stant Recusant* was intended, and that out of Revenge, because he  
‘ was then so just to the Liberty and Property of the Subject in gene-  
‘ ral, that he would rather abridge himself of his Liberty of serving  
‘ God



pendent Church Government, that as soon as ever Episcopacy was restor'd, they run into the same Measures. This was it that straitned the Terms of Conformity, and required such Solemn Declarations to all the Parts of the Prelatical Constitution. This gave Birth to that absurd Maxim of, *No Bishop, no King*: And it had no inconsiderable Influence in passing that Declaration, *That it is not Lawful upon any Pretence whatsoever, to take Arms against the King, &c.* and that they should not at any time endeavour any Alteration in Church or State. This was a plain Design upon the Constitution, and of laying the Foundations of Episcopal Jurisdiction on the Ruin of our Liberty, and laying Snares for those that wanted the Craft and Villany to betray the Liberties of their Country. This was seconded by the Doctrines of *Passive Obedience* and *Nonresistance*, which might still have pass'd as Current Articles of the Doctrine of the Church, if Providence had not confuted 'em and rescu'd our Libertys, which were almost swallow'd up by 'em. All the Severities which fell upon Dissenters, the *Test Act*, *Occasional Bill*, were Branches springing from the same Root of Bitterness, and principally intended to Disarm Dissenters of all Legal Power, and to render them incapable of Supporting the Civil Interest of the Nation, which they were always zealous for. When all these Considerations are join'd together, how could it be expected that Divine Institutions should meet with the Regard which was due to them, when it was not Religion, but a Temporal Grandeur they principally endeavour'd to establish; for it was impossible for Men of Sedateness and Consideration, who had the least generous Concern for the Honour of Religion, to venture upon such Measures as notoriously tend to debase it to so vile a Purpose, as to make it the Instrument of Oppression, and depriving Men of their Natural Rights and Liberties.

2. Another Objection against this *Act*, arises from the Obligation it lays on all in any Post in the *Civil Government* to take the Sacrament, without any Regard to the Fitness the Law of Christ requires before we make our Approach to those Solemn Mysteries. The Words of the *Act* are thus, *And be it further Enacted, That all, and every Person or Persons that shall be admitted, entred, placed, or taken into any Office or Offices, Civil or Military, or shall receive any Pay, Salary, Fee or Wages, by reason of any Patent or Grant of his Majesty, or shall have Command or Place of Trust from, or under his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors, &c. shall Receive the Sacrament of the Lord's-Supper, according to the Usage of the Church of England, &c.* Is it not a just and a fair Inference from the Tenour of this *Act*, that the bearing any Office in the *Civil Government*, is suppos'd to be a sufficient Qualification for the Partaking of the Lord's-Supper? Otherwise the Obligation to so Solemn a Duty, should have been limited to those Qualifications Christ hath required, and which are suitable to the Nature of the Institution. But what Respect is there to this? Is it not then a Notorious Invasion of the Prerogative of Christ, and a superseding of his Law as Unnecessary? Does it not ruin the Fence that



\* Page 176. \* Dr. Hammond delivers his Opinion consonant to this in his *Practical Catechism*. Quest. *What is required of them which come to the Lord's Supper?*

*Ans.* No more but that every Man is infinitely concern'd to have his Soul always possess'd with every part of that Preparation; that the careless Oscitancy and fatal Stupidity of the World, in never so much as considering whether they have any of them or no, is a most prodigious Thing; that the time of preparing our selves for the Sacrament, is a very fit time for that Examination; that till that be done, and all and each of those Graces found sincere in our Hearts, we ought not to come to that Holy Sacrament: The Particulars, of which we must thus examine, and which we must thus require of our selves, are five, 1. True Repentance. 2. A stedfast Purpose to lead a new Life; a Resolution to reform all, and that Resolution such as will stand fast in the Hour of Tryal and Temptation. 3. A lively Faith in God's Mercy thro' Christ; a Faith, and that a Vital one. 4. A Thankful Remembrance and Commemoration of his Death. 5. Charity with all Men.

It would be endless, as well as unnecessary, to add the Opinions of as many of the most eminent and devout Church-men as agree in this, having offered what is sufficient to lay before you the Qualification which is required of all those that Partake of the Lord's-Supper. Certainly, if there was no Obligation from any Precept, yet the very Nature and Design of the Institution require it. The remembering the Death of *Christ* is a solemn engaging our selves to a Conformity to him, and to answer all the Ends of his Dying for us, else to what purpose, if we consider this purely as a Religious Action, do we celebrate the *Lord's-Supper*. If Atheism, Ignorance, Impenitence, Prophaness, are no Bars to the Partaking of the Sacrament, what Regard is there then to a Divine Constitution, wherein all the Methods of our Proceeding in this Affair are settled? Or how (since the Church is oblig'd to admit such Persons) can they reconcile their Doctrine and Practice, when such offer themselves to their Communion, whose Principles and Practices render them altogether incapable according to their own settled and stated Doctrine?

2. It will easily appear (if these are the Qualifications which are required by the Law of Christ) that this Law is inconsistent with it.

1. If a Man does examine himself according to the Rule the *Apostle* prescribes in the Account he gives of this Institution; and if he is thereby convinc'd (tho' he could comply with the *Usage* of the *Church of England*) that the Receiving of the Blessed Sacrament as a Qualification for a Civil Trust, is inconsistent with the Nature and End of so Holy an Institution. Therefore he is afraid to comply with it, least, by eating and drinking for such unworthy Ends, he should be guilty of the Body and Blood of Christ, and eat and drink Damnation to himself. Yet this Law incapacitates him, however great his Ability may be, for the Serving of the Government.



the Matters of Fact which might be heap'd up to evidence the Truth of this. If one was to make a Scrutiny into the Lives of all the Civil and Military Officers of the Kingdom, however capable they might be for the Service of the Nation; yet one would be at a loss to apprehend whether many of 'em had any Sense of Christianity, unless it can be suppos'd that the highest Profaneness can ever be reconcil'd to it. It is in a manner become as common as a Proverb among Sea Officers to make this profane Invitation, *Come, let's go and take the Sop*: And yet this Law qualifies these Wretches to be Partakers of the most Solemn Mysteries of Religion. Who knows not that Cursing, and Swearing, and Drunkenness, is their common Character; and can Persons distinguish'd by these be esteem'd fit Members of any *Christian Church*?

This Leaven of Profaneness has spread it self throughout the far greater number of both Civil and Military Officers: There wants Words to express the Atheism, and Blasphemy, and innumerable Impieties that are commonly vented; and yet that they should be receiv'd as Members of the *Church of England*, is strange and unaccountable, when by their avow'd Principles and Practices they are Enemies to the very being of any Religion. There are such evident Reasons against this Practice as can't well be answer'd.

1. It is contrary to the *Doctrine and Rules* of the *Church of England*, as express'd in the *Liturgy and Canons*. The *Liturgy*, as is before mention'd in the Exhortation before the Sacrament, *Advertises and Admonishes such sort of People, that they do not in any wise presume to come*; and adds likewise, *That it is to be administer'd to those that are religiously dispos'd*. The 26th Canon is to the same sense. What signifie these Doctrines and Rules of Discipline without a due Regard to the Execution of them? But what room is there to hope for this, while the Law of the Land lays waste the *Doctrine of the Church*, and absolutely blunts the Edge of Ecclesiastical Discipline, which the more licentious *Clergy* (who are the major Part) are willing enough to connive at, as having a Tendency to secure their secular Preferments, which is the only Thing they aim at?

2. It is a considerable Reflection on the *Clergy of the Church of England*, as if they were wanting to represent those Grievances to the *Parliament* which such a Law oppresses them with, by laying so many *Remora's* in their way to a conscientious Discharge of their Ministerial Office. Here is a Man swallow'd up in Debauchery, that has found Interest or Money enough to prefer him to some Trust in the Government: The Law requires them to administer the Sacrament to him; but with what Conscience can they do it, without betraying the Ends of their Office, and giving up the Canons and Doctrines of the Church as insignificant Trifles? Does not this look like the highest Prevarication and Partiality, that there should be so much Zeal spent about a Ceremony, and so little against the approach of the grossest Immoralities? To give the Sacrament without Kneeling, would be thought inconsistent with that Reverence that is due to it;  
and





it will create a perpetual Abhorrence in the Hearts of all good Men against such Compliances as visibly tend to the Prostitution of the Body and Blood of Christ. I shall trouble you with no more upon this Head, but shall consider it in relation to our *Civil Interest*, and endeavour to represent to you its Inconsistency with that as well as with our holy *Religion*. Here I must follow it in a wide Compass, and trace it in all the malignant Influences that it has upon the Common Good of *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*.

I shall begin with *England*, where this Law had its first Rise, and shall submit it to the unprejudic'd Judgment of any, whether it is not Repugnant to the real *Interest* of *England*, a Weakening of our *Constitution*, and of the happy *Settlement* and *Government* we are under. To illustrate this Matter with all the Evidence and Light I can, it will be necessary to give, 1. Some Account of the Principles and Behaviour of *Dissenters*, whom this Law affects, and puts on the same Level with *Papists*, as if they were equal Enemies to our *Constitution* and *Government*. 2. I shall advance those Reasons that render it impolitick.

1. It will be necessary to give a View of the *Principles* of *Dissenters*, which are not to be understood of their Religion, but of Government. Were their Adversaries admitted to be competent Judges of this Matter, as far as I am able to inform my self, their Principles are represented with a quite different Turn than what they are in reality; which can admit of no other Interpretation, than an ill Design of rendring them Obnoxious, and of justifying all the Severities they have been loaded with, and if it were possible, to aggravate and increase their Hardships.

It is evident the *Dissenters* in *England* (supposing some few to have imbib'd *Republican Principles*, tho' probably upon Scrutiny scarce one in Ten thousand would be found to acknowledge the Charge) have been free in declaring for the *Liberties* of *Mankind*, against the Usurpations of all Governments, distinguish'd by what Kind or Form soever, as being contrary to the *Fundamental Rights* and Freedom they derive from the *Law of Nature*. This Principle has led them into a Fondness for the Constitution of the Civil Government of their own Native Country; which they can't but judge has provided a happy Accommodation between a Despotick Monarchy, and the Confusion that a meer Commonwealth lies expos'd to; and has so adjusted the Bounds of the Sovereign Authority, that it can't exert it self without an illegal dispensing Power, to the Ruin of the Rights and Property of the Subject. Upon which account they have been zealous Asserters of the Civil Liberties of their Country, against the Encroachment of Arbitrary Power; and have accordingly declared against such Maxims as were only calculated to feed the Extravagant Lust of Dominion, to wit, *Illegal Prerogatives*, *Dispensing Power*, *Unlimited Extent* of Kingly Authority, the divine Right of *Lineal Succession*, the Doctrine of *Passive Obedience* and *Non-Resistance*; all which were once almost the only Gospel that was preach'd from the Pulpit,



\* Lords  
Debates in  
the Con-  
vention of  
Original  
Contract.

1. It is a Principle of undoubted Certainty, and on which the late glorious *Revolution* turn'd, \* That the Civil Constitution of *England* is founded upon *Contract*, whereby the People have not entirely subjected themselves to the arbitrary and uncertain Will of the Prince, without reserving some *Rights* and *Liberties* to themselves. According to the Tenour of this Contract, the essential Branches of the Supreme Power are shar'd between the Prince and People; and if you reckon up all the Integrating Parts of it, there is only a *Moiety* lodg'd in the Person of the Prince. Legislation, which is the most eminent and considerable Part of *Sovereignty*, belongs to the *Two Houses of Parliament*, as well as to the *Prince*; and whatever Claims he may make to the Executive Power, yet he is under such legal Restrictions, that his Authority reaches no farther than the Law allows of.

2. Whether the People have a Power to defend the reserved *Rights* and *Liberties*, is a Question easily determin'd. The *Original Compact* entitles them to this, or else it is plain they have no Security at all for their *Constitution*, but it would be ruin'd at the pleasure of any Pr. without Opposition, who should once be affected with the Charms of *Arbitrary Power*. Besides, this is a natural Inference from the Law of Nature, That formed Societies are under as real Obligations to defend the *Rights* and *Liberties* wherein the common Good and Interest of the whole Body are concern'd; as private Persons can be from the Principles of Self-Preservation to defend themselves against all unjust Assaults.

3. That the *Rights* and *Liberties* of the People were Invaded by King *Charles I.* is notorious enough: The *Ship-Money*, *Loans*, *New Oaths* imposed upon the Subject, and other arbitrary Taxes, without consent of *Parliament*, are a sufficient Evidence. To enumerate all the Evils of that Reign, would be endless. The Principles of Despotick Power were openly abetted and promoted; the Laws of the Land and Liberty of the Subject were under a continu'd Violation; which wrought the Kingdom into such a Ferment, that nothing but Violence could rescue an Invaded *Constitution*, and *Civil Liberty* from the Approaching Chains of Slavery and miserable Bondage. It was not the legal Authority of the Prince which met with so much opposition, but Dominion without Law; for had one been the measure of the other, it is not likely, nor could there have been any justifiable Pretence for throwing the Nation into such a dreadful Convulsion.

4. Supposing all these *Principles* to be false, and the Charge true in all the Circumstances of it, as represented by the opposite Party; that is, if the Opposition made by the *Parliament* to those Arbitrary Measures be really Rebellion, how or which way can this be charg'd  
on



Constitution, that they saw no Reason to espouse any Opinion inconsistent with its Preservation: And upon this Account they as warmly remonstrated against all the Designs of the *Parliament* upon the Constitution. \* Accordingly there were early Attempts made to have removed *Cromwell*, whose Conduct gave Suspicion of some other Designs, than what were consistent with the Interest of the King and Kingdom: But his Power in the Army was too Great for the Opposition.

\* *M. Roper's*  
*ger Cake,*  
*p. 161.*

Did not their Friends in the House declare the King's Concessions from the *Ile of Wight*, a sufficient ground of Peace? For which the Army, by the underhand and subtle Management of *Cromwell*, turn'd them out of their Places in *Parliament*? Did not the *Presbyterians* make a Bold Remonstrance against bringing the King to Tryal, and cutting off his Head? Did they not oppose the War *Cromwell* made upon *Scotland*? Was it not upon the Account of their being *Favourers* to the King and Kingdom, that several *Presbyterian Ministers* were imprisoned; and for which *Mr. Love* lost his Head, notwithstanding the invidious Reflections that are thrown upon him? Did they not declare against the *Rump*, refuse the *Engagement* and the Observation of their *Fast* and *Thanksgiving-Days*, after they had chang'd the Cause? Did they not declare against the Usurpation of *Oliver*; and after all the Politick Arts he could use, he could never draw them into his Interest? Did they not in Conjunction with *Monk* bring in the King, when the Episcopal Party were not in a Condition to do him much Service? By all which we may judge; If the Civil Constitution be the stated Measure of the Interest of the Kingdom, they are far greater Friends to their Country, than those, whose continued Design has been to encourage Prerogative, and other Arbitrary Methods, to swallow up both our Laws and Liberties.

\* *Hist. of*  
*England,*  
*Vol. 3.*  
*p. 238.*

\* Tho' the *Presbyterians* were Zealous for the Restoration of King *Charles* the Second, and as it happen'd at the Expence of their own Ease and Liberty; yet they were tenacious of their Old Principle of keeping close to the Constitution against all the Arbitrary Encroachments of his Reign. They neither abetted his Prerogative, or Dispensing Power; witness the Speech *Alderman Love* made in the *House of Commons*. Nay, when the Folly and Rage of a Faction had found Interest to Pass such a Bill, wherein such an Oath was required, *That it was not lawful, upon any Pretence whatsoever, to take up Arms against the King, &c.* The Generality of them refus'd it, and rather chose a Banishment five Miles from a *Corporation*, than to justify any Conduct that had a Tendency to betray the Liberties of their Country.

\* *Calamy's*  
*Abridg.*  
*p. 506.*

Their Opinion and Honesty in this Respect were sufficiently justify'd by the *Lords* in *Parliament*; \* for when the *Bishops* would have impos'd the same Oath on the *Lords* and *Commons*, several of the *Lords*, who look'd upon it as a Project to divide the *Protestants* and strengthen the *Popish Party*, entered their Protestation against it, as

De.



least the *Presbyterians* from the Crime of Rebellion; they having no Hand in the first beginning of that Unnatural War, and how far soever they concur'd in taking up Arms, it was intentionally no further than to defend their just *Rights* they were entituled to, by Virtue of the Constitution; and as far as they proceeded, would be justified by *Grotius*, and by the Opinions of several of the most eminent Doctors of the Church of *England*; yet as they protested against the Consequences of that War, in several Matters of Fact, it is the unfairest Way imaginable to charge upon a Body of People the Transactions of some designing Men, or else of Persons that were hurry'd on by a Spirit of *Enthusiasm*, or secretly prompted and encourag'd by Popish Counsels, which they as much abhor and detest as the Accusers themselves. But suppose it were true, is there no room for Repentance? The Church has quitted her Doctrines of *Passive Obedience* and *Non-resistance*; and why may not Dissenters quit these fatal Principles of Rebellion? Or must their Posterity needs adopt them, since we see their Loyalty from the time of the Revolution has been as distinguishing as that of the *Church*; and it may be they have more unanimously express'd it, especially in their hearty Concurrence to the present Settlement and Protestant Succession.

Nor do they entertain Principles inconsistent with the Interest of the *Nation*; or else the Church would never have run into Principles (the Dissenters espous'd) for their own Safety. The Doctrines of *Passive Obedience* and *Non-resistance* would never have given Check to the Extravagancies of Popish Counsels: For had several of their Political Maxims been as universally observ'd as they were zealously preach'd in the *Reign King of Charles II.* the Constitution of the *Church of England* must of necessity have been Popish.

The Apprehension of this soon determin'd the Church of *England* to take up Arms, contrary to their avow'd Principles for their own Defence, which had all along been censured as a Traiterous *Position* of the Dissenters.

But since the *Church of England* have justified this *Position*, it being that on which the Revolution turn'd, and which they value themselves upon having the greatest Hand in. It must be granted, that if these Principles are only appropriated to Dissenters, the Church are beholding to them, as well as the State for maintaining those Maxims that effectually opened the Way for our Deliverance and future Security.

2. It would be so far from being a Prejudice to the Interest of the Kingdom, that it would contribute to its highest Benefit and Advantage to admit Dissenters into Places of Trust, especially if *Unity* and *Strength* are any additional Security to our present *Establishment* and the Protestant Succession. To demonstrate this, take the following Reasons.





Supported either by mistaken Friends, or by such as are secret Enemies to the Protestant Religion, or an *English* Government.

2. Notwithstanding the Consistency of their Principles and Zeal, with our Common Safety, and the Civil Constitution ; yet this Law (if it is not rack'd beyond the original Intent and Meaning of it) incapacitates all *Dissenters* from giving their Assistance to Maintain the Government in the time of publick *Hazard* and *Danger* ; and that for a meer Scruple of Conscience, about a Matter that the very Imposers themselves think Indifferent, and which cannot be warranted either by the Rule of Religion, or the Practice of Apostolick Times. Where is the Kindness or Love to our Country, to hazard the Safety of the State for such an inconsiderable Trifle ? If Kneeling at the Sacrament is indifferent, why is it not left so ? Why should it be made Necessary to a publick Prejudice and Hazard, to oblige the Humour of a particular *Faction* ? Why should the Government straiten its Security, contrary to all the Rules of *Policy*, for such Reasons as the Interest of it is not concern'd in ; and deprive it self of the Assistance of such a considerable Body of Men as are dispos'd to Serve the Kingdom with more Fidelity and Care than many that are entrusted ? Can we be too firmly united against the formidable Attempts of a potent Adversary, who would subject us to the Slavery of a *French* Government ; and against secret Enemies, who are straining their political Invention to subserve so barbarous a Design ?

There have not been wanting Instances which might have given us a prospect how fatal this piece of Policy might have been : If the late glorious *Revolution* had cost us a Civil War to have effected the happy Consequences we enjoy by it, would it have been any Prejudice to the Nation, or Damage to the Church, to have capacitated *Dissenters* to have fought for the Liberty of their *Country* and the Protestant *Religion* ? Or would the Church have been able to have defended themselves without their Assistance ; if we consider how probable it might have been that those destructive Notions of Liberty, which for a long time had been the Cant of the Church, might have influenc'd many to have took up Arms in the Defence of that arbitrary Prince ? Or if you please you may reflect on a later Instance : If the *Pretender* had Landed in *Scotland*, and had brought the Flames of War into the midst of us, it is very likely such a Necessity might have dispos'd us to have thrown down these Walls of Partition. Is it not then an amazing part of Improvidence to neglect our future Security, since the same Enemy waits for a Power equal to their Inclination to bring us into a Subjection to all their enslaving Designs ?



and Badge of Servitude, seem probably enough to intimate to the unthinking *Populace*, who are not capable or willing to enquire into such Misrepresentations. And on the other hand, by alienating the Affections of those who are under such an Incapacity; whereby they suffer in their Legal Rights, contrary to the common Rules of Equity and Justice, for no higher a Reason than a meer Non-compliance with the Usage of the *Church of England*, in receiving of the Holy Sacrament; which can be no Prejudice to the Safety of the State. The Toleration has put an end to Persecution; and it were well if that Root of Bitterness was quite destroyed. The Kingdom has received so considerable an Advantage by it, that one would think the Genius of the Nation shou'd be dispos'd to perfect our Happiness. So far the Hopes of our Enemies are defeated, as that the Toleration has put it out of their Power \* to play one Party against the other as they formerly did, to effect the Ruin of both. This has been so visible a Design, that it is high Time utterly to disappoint all Attempts of this Nature, by cementing the closest Union possible: Otherwise we are but reserving the Bones of Contention, and thereby give them Hopes of another Opportunity of playing the same Game over-again with us.

\* *History of Eng.*  
Vol. 3.  
p. 294.

*Obj.* But still this will be thought necessary to secure the Constitution of the Church, as establish'd by Law.

*Ans.* 1. If it were so necessary, as is alledged, there might be some Method found out to secure the Church without so much Danger and Hazard to the State.

2. There are several other Fences that are as good Security to the Church as this is; and which the Dissenters are less likely to get over for any Ecclesiastical Preferment.

3. The High-flying Principles more endanger the Church, by introducing such *Innovations* in *Doctrine* and *Worship*, as are inconsistent with the *Homilies* and *Articles* of it, than a Dissent from the *Ceremonies* of the Church; which are of far less moment in Religion, than the *Doctrines*, which they firmly adhere to: Therefore it is not an entire Security of the Constitution that they are so much concern'd about.

4. *Occasional Conformity* has brought many of the Dissenters into Places in the Government, and yet there has not been the least Violence offered to the security of the Church.

5. This does not hinder Dissenters from being chose Members of *Parliament*; and the Danger is, if there be any, that if a number of them should get into the *Legislature*, they might attempt the Subversion of the Church; which can't be probable, there being so few of the Gentry who will own that Character.

6. If the Dissenters were such Enemies to the Church, they had an opportunity of venting their Prejudice against it, in the Reign of King *James*.

7. The Church then promis'd to come to a Temper when they were in so much Danger in King *James's* Reign, and to exercise a tender Regard to their Dissenting *Brethren*, who have carried it all along with that Deference to the Church, as they have had no occasion to alter their Sentiments.

Thus far this Law has been considered, as it does more immediately affect *England*; which, if it does not afford Reason enough for the Repeal of it, yet certainly the Prejudice it offers to the late Union with *Scotland*, should give some farther Weight to it. The Union did not pass with so universal an Approbation of the People of this Kingdom, as to render all further Methods for the strengthening of it, unnecessary. However advantageous the Union may be in it self, which certainly might produce all the Happiness that a Kingdom may be capable of, as Unity, Strength, increase of Riches, as well as an impregnable Security to the Civil Liberty, and to the establish'd Religion of the Country, if the Terms were so exactly calculated to the Interest of both Kingdoms, as might give satisfaction on all hands. In order to effect such a Cement as this, it would be necessary to remove all those Inconveniencies which tend to dis-



\* History  
of Eng.  
Vol. 3.  
pag. 519.

so close a Conjunction, and prompted them to the forming of those Laws, and the Bloody Execution of them, which might effectually bear down all Opposition to their several Interests. These were our Sufferings and the Reasons of them; and can any blame our Jealousies and Fears, who suppose us to be acted by the same Principles of Preservation with the rest of Mankind. Though their Power is under an Eclipse; yet they could nor, nor can't recede from their old Principles, nor be oblig'd to pay due Homage to Providence that had so miraculously sav'd us. \* Therefore they address'd King *James*, expressing all the Regard, that Words could do, to his Arbitrary Proceedings just before his Abdication. They were Enemies to the Revolution, pray openly for the *Pretender*, refus'd the Oaths to King *William*, and Queen *ANN*. So that ours is the common Safety; and what's a Security to us, is to the Whole; and it is impossible there can be too strong a Guard against the Approach of such Enemies, whose Principles are so dangerous and destructive: Which Consideration should influence us to lay aside ungrounded Prejudices, or any thing that might occasion Distrust, or prevent the Cementing of such a Union as might be a common Bulwark to our Blessings.

2. It is not altogether without Reason, that we suspect the event of this Union may prove the Reestablishment of *Episcopal Jurisdiction*; which has been so bloody to us. 'Tis true, the Moderation and Justice, of the Government of *Queen Ann*, are a present ease to our fears, tho' these cannot be a perpetual Security.

Besides, our present Circumstances are some sort of a Defence; for it might be of dangerous Consequence, and too open a design of serving the Enemy to attempt any Alteration of this Nature, while we are engag'd in a War against so Potent an Enemy. But the Demise of the Queen will weaken our hopes of the continuance of our Ecclesiastical Establishment, it being certain we shall ye more exposed to the Violence of a Faction, whose Enmity is implacable, and who are irreconcilably set against a Constitution so opposite to their Power and Grandeur. Laws are changeable, and derive (in common Estimate) their Justice and Equity from the Principles of those that are uppermost in the Administration: What is call'd Rebellion now, in another Reign may be call'd Loyalty; and if ever Arbitrary Principles come into Fashion again, certainly Rebellion, Sedition, and other Artifices will be thought just and reasonable to misrepresent and ruin an Establishment that is so admirably fram'd to support our Legal Liberties, and to oppose the designs of Despotick Power. It would be well therefore, while the Nation is in a Disposition, and warm'd with a Resentment of these dangerous Notions, to enter upon such Measures as might, if possible, so far weaken the Hopes of our Enemies, as to frustrate the very Thoughts of any further attempt upon us. But this cannot be conceiv'd while there is any occasion of Distrust to weaken a mutual confidence, remaining: This must breed Diffidence, keep up Animosities, give a Handle and Hopes to our Enemies, especially while such a Law as the *Test Act* continues. The very Demur argues Suspicion: On the contrary, if the repeal of this Law could be obtain'd. 1. It would bring a further Assurance to the Friends of the *Union*, satisfaction to the doubting, and shame to the Prejudices of malignant Opposers, to see such an Engine of Division quite remov'd. Otherwise how can it be, but the *Scots* must imagine themselves suspected, while rendered incapable of any part of the Publick Administration beyond the Articles of the Union: Besides, it will raise an Imagination of the worst of Events, of a design tending to the Subversion of our Ecclesiastical Constitution, when there is so great a stiffness to part with their Interest in that Power that may occasion it, or at least in adjusting it so, as might serve the common Good and Welfare of all of us. 2. The *Church of England* cannot so much as pretend they shall weaken their Security by the Repeal of it. They have so much the odds of us in this, that to effect their



**Projects in Execution.** The Episcopal Clergy in Scotland are generally in the Interest of the Pretender, disown our present Settlement, and would be glad to sacrifice both Religion and Liberty to a French Power; and there are multitudes in England have adopted the same Principles, as has been evident by continued opposition to every thing that might subserve the true Interest of the Nation. Though they have found out a method to save their Consciences in pretended Compliance with the present Government, yet they are more sincerely engag'd in a design that would quite over-turn it. These are the Men who entertain those Principles that have distemper'd the State, thrown us into frequent Convulsions; and it is demonstrable by several remarkable Events, how dangerous they are to our Liberties and Pernicious to the Protestant Cause, by the Efforts they have made for a Reconciliation with the Church of Rome. Which upon Reasons founded on the perfect Rule of Faith, and according to the Opinion of the first Reformers, is impossible. Do not these Considerations require a stricter Union than hitherto we have arrived to? How strange is it that nothing but a visible Danger will convince Men of their Mistakes! Is it worth while to run the Risque of our Peace, and all that we can call valuable, by imposing such Things as are thought indifferent, and consequently cannot be of such an importance as to be laid in the Balance with our common Good and Safety? What Spring did these Divisions rise out of? Are they not the effect of Popish Counsels? And it is certainly acting pursuant to Jesuitical Maxims, to promote them. It is notorious enough how far they have been concern'd in all our Civil Differences, and what Arts they have used to widen them, that so they might insinuate themselves through our Breaches into the Supreme Government, in order for the Reestablishment of Popery; so that maintaining any Principles of Division, promoting the Cause of it, is a real acting for their Interest and Serving their Designs to our own Destruction. How happy would it be if there could be a method fix'd upon, which would effectually prevent any consequence of this Nature: A removal of the Causes of Discontent, and a mutual Condescension would be a great Step towards it. There is no Party can pretend to Infallibility so much, as to suppose they are certainly in the Right. First Impressions are the strongest Arguments for most Opinions; and if this is the Rule we are to steer by, we are all in the Right. If Mankind had a greater sense of their own Weakness, it would give an Allay to their Prejudices against any Party, and would so moderate their Temper, that it would render them at least somewhat capable of a Reconciliation.

I shall wind up my Thoughts in a Word or two for Ireland; which, as it has severely felt the miserable Effects of Popish Tyranny in a more remarkable manner, so there ought to have been a greater and more tender Regard to their Sufferings and future Security, than to have introduc'd such an Engine of Division as must expose them more openly, the next opportunity, to the Barbarous attempts of the Irish. The Protestants in Ireland were before firmly united in their Civil Interest, and in that respect there was no other Distinction but Protestant and Papist. The Weight of their Sufferings produc'd such an Unanimity, as that there was an Universal Agreement in a grateful Sense of their Deliverance, and of the Government of King William; insomuch, that the Irish Gentlemen, when they came over to England, were surpriz'd to hear Protestants rail against their Protestant Deliverer.

Where's the Policy, or what Service or Safety is it to the Government of that Kingdom, and to the Protestant Interest, to weaken their Strength by dividing them, and rendring so great a Body of them incapable of giving their Assistance, which has been so remarkably serviceable to the Church of Ireland? Who was it that preserv'd London-derry? was it not Protestant Dissenters? Were not the Ink-killing Men so fam'd for their Valour, Presbyterians? And must the Dissenters in





they may seem to Her Majesty's Government, yet it is to be fear'd that those who so vigorously appear'd against the Act of Settlement, have hardly renounc'd those Principles, which may, when occasion serves, prove destructive to our Liberties. Therefore, how odly soever the Presbyterians may be represented, they are Her Majesties sincere Friends, both in *Scotland* and *England*; that so it is apparent the present Incapacity they labour under, is a real Disaffection to Her Majesty, and a weakening the Foundation of the Protestant Succession: Beside it makes room for Men of arbitrary and narrow Principles to work their own Advantages by our Divisions, who want neither Art nor Industry to carry on their fatal Designs against us. There would be the less Reason to fear, were all the Members of the Church of *England* as united in their Civil Interest as the Presbyterians in *England* and *Scotland* are. But it is notorious they are not: Some of them still hold the Doctrines of Passive Obedience and Non-Resistance, as taught in the late Reigns; others are for reconciling those Doctrines with the Principles of the Revolution; others are against those unreasonable Maxims, as prejudicial to Her Majesty's Interest, and the Safety of the Kingdom. To act upon Revolutionary Principles is certainly the only conducive Means for the Security of our present Happiness. This is confirm'd by Her Majesty's own Opinion, in her Answer to the Address of the House of Lords: Which is thus. *I must always place my chief Dependance upon those who have given such repeated Proofs of the greatest Warmth and Concern for the Support of the Revolution, Security of my Person, and of the Protestant Succession.* A great number of the Church of *England* are of quite different Sentiments, and have acted so strictly pursuant to their old Principles, as has given a considerable Check to the Success of our Councils, and all along has been a Clog to our Affairs, and a cause of all the Mismanagement in the Administration. Who is it then can be rely'd on? A Churchman, who has not taken the Test, and yet a secret Enemy to the State; or a Presbyterian, who cannot bring his Conscience to every Ceremonial Compliance, but yet an inseparable Friend to the Queen and Government. A Churchman, as is evident, does not always harmonize with the present Interest of the Nation; but the Presbyterians do, without exception. Therefore, while the Government is confin'd to this Party, it stands on a broken Foundation, which can't be more effectually supported, than by changing this Religious Test into a Civil one, whereby the Kingdom would be secured against all the hidden Artifices of its Enemies, and let in to its Assistance those who are known to be Cordial Friends. Without this the *Scots* may truly suppose their Condition to be defenceless, and they too exposed to the Invasion of Prelatical Power; and that they are to expect no better Treatment than *English* Dissenters, who are so industriously kept out of Places of Trust, that the *Occasional Bill* seems to be as effectually executed as if it had really Pass'd: And how this will comport with the Preservation of the Union, it is easy to imagine.

I shall exercise your Patience no further, only be assured I am fully persuaded, that what I have here offered is for the Honour of God and the Interest of my Country: So I conclude, begging you to make an Allowance for all the Imperfections you find, and to believe the hearty Sincerity of,

*Edinburgh,*  
*Octob. 20th.*  
*1708.*

S I R,  
Your Humble Servant,

C. H.

F I N I S.

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