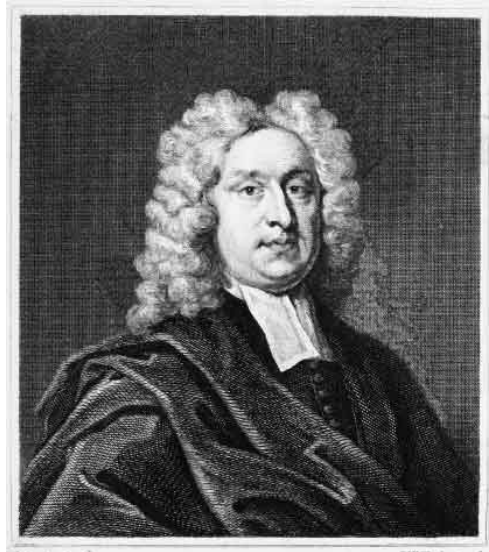


*A Letter to Mr. Archdeacon Echard,
upon occasion of his History of England*

By Edmund Calamy, D.D.



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A
LETTER
TO
Mr. Archdeacon ECHARD,
Upon Occasion of his
HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND :

WHEREIN

The true Principles of the *Revolution* are Defended,
The WHIGS and DISSENTERS Vindicated;
Several Persons of Distinction clear'd from As-
persions;

AND

A Number of Historical Mistakes Rectify'd.

By EDMUND CALAMY, *D.D.*

The Third Edition

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Mr.

MR. ARCHDEACON,



HAVE read over your three Volumes of *the History of England*, which I can easily believe cost you a great deal of pains; and have made some Observations upon them, which I address to yourself, to make what use of them you please, except it be that of representing me as *a discourager of useful and laudable designs*; which is a character that as I am not conscious to myself I deserve, so I am not fond of bearing it to posterity.

Pref. to
Vol. II.

I am naturally a great lover of history, and particularly of the history of my own country, as well as of the government of it, which I take to be the best in the world; And therefore it is no small pleasure to me to observe, how divine providence has interposed from one period to another, to keep it upon its proper basis, when there have been so many things that have endanger'd it, and so many designs form'd to alter and overthrow it.

IT

IT has long been complain'd. That we wanted an history, that should with an even thread continue the account of ages pass'd down to our own times.

I was in hope, that you, Sir, having so agreeable an historical genius, would by ingaging in such a design and undertaking, have bid fair for giving general satisfaction; But am sorry both upon your own account, and that of the publick, to find it so much otherwise.

I can safely say. That when I took your work into my hands, I was rather prejudic'd for, than against you. I was as sensible of "the great Benefit and general Usefulness of the *English* history to all the nobility, "and gentry, and a great number of others "in the nation," as most men. I look'd upon you as well qualify'd to draw up such a work, and apprehended diligence and care would not be wanting on your part. I did not indeed expect a *compleat historian*, according to the strict Rules of *Rapin* and *Le Moyne*. I am one that take a perfect performance either in history or any thing else to be a meer chimæra. A work *absolutely free from errors*, was what I was not so weak as to look for. I reckon that the best history that is freed from faults. And when I became your reader, I was ready to make all the *candid allowances* you could desire. According to your own motion, I *perused your work in order as it was written; and not by leaps, and starts, and distant parcels*. And now I have gone through the whole, am so little inclin'd to detract from you, that I can freely say a great deal in your commendation. The clearness of your method, and the perspicuity of your language.

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Vol. I.

Pref. to
Vol. II.

language, are two very great excellencies, which I admire. I am singularly pleas'd with the *refreshing divisions* of your matter, and the *chronological distinction of the several parts of your history*. I neither make any objections against *the Form of it as irregular or disproportionate, nor the general method as intricate and confus'd, nor the colouring as weak, and un-affecting, nor the stile as mean, flat, and insipid*, which are the things about which you appear peculiarly concern'd: And yet I thought a *publick Animadversion* both proper and necessary, and can meet with none of your readers, how different soever in their sentiments, views and principles, but what herein agree.

I readily grant, 'twould be unjust to charge you either with the tediousness and voluminousness of *Hollingshed* and *Speed*, or with the brevity and confinedness of *Milton* and *Daniel*. I own your history to have several beauties above many that have gone before you. But this consideration, instead of discouraging the making Remarks, rather renders it the more needful. The reputation you have gotten by your former performances, and particularly your *Ecclesiastical History*, which Dean *Prideaux* commends as *the best of its kind in the English tongue*; together with the smooth and polite way in which your present history is written; the great name of his Majesty King *GEORGE* prefixed to your two last volumes, and your presenting him with the whole, and receiving such a reward from his royal bounty, (notice of which has been given in all parts by our publick news papers) are such advantages in order to a general reception, that apprehending ill im-

B

pressions

Ibid.

Connexion of *Old*
and *New*
Tést. Vol.
III.

pressions might be made by your misrepresentations both of persons and things, I thought there was reason to fear, that if no notice was taken of them, they would seem to have a sort of publick sanction, and be propagated to posterity with a shew of Authority.

You know very well, Sir, that Animadversions upon historical as well as other works, have not been uncommon among us. The *Examen Historicum* of Dr. *Heylin*, which is made up of Remarks on Dr. *Fuller*, and Mr. *Sanderson*; and the *Specimen of the Errors and Defects of the Hijtory of the Reformation*, publish'd by Mr. *Wharton* (under the disguiss'd name of *Harmer*,) together with Bishop *Burnet*'s Reflections on the History of Mr. *Varillas* are very noted instances of this kind: But there is such an acrimony in each of those Writers, and such a contempt of the Authors they were dealing with runs through all their Remarks; and I take that to be a method that so little contributes either to the conviction of such as fall into mistakes, or the satisfaction of any ingenuous readers, that instead of affecting, I shall studiously avoid an imitation of them: And shall make my Remarks with the frankness of a friend, rather than the tartness of an adversary.

AND I am the more encourag'd to hope you'll herein bear with me, because you have not only given my name a place pretty frequently in your margin among the authors you refer to, but have also interspers'd several reflections upon what I had publish'd, tho' taken mostly out of the *Compleat History of England*, without much notice of the Returns I had made. However I hardly think I should
upon

upon this account have given you any trouble, had I not met with things of much greater consequence in the course of your history, which I tho't ought not to remain unanadverted on, for the sake of those that are to come after us. And therefore tho' I shall not wholly overlook what seems particularly pointed at myself, yet I shall reserve it to the close of my Letter, where it will take up but very little room.

I can say as you, "That it was with Pref. to Vol. II. the advice, and at the instance of several "considerable friends and others," that I set myself to make these Remarks: And I have been not a little *advis'd and urged* to communicate my observations, on a work that does not seem barely design'd to amuse, or to turn the penny, but is an account of past transactions, drawn up by a dignify'd clergy-man, to satisfy the present and future ages, as to the most considerable facts and their consequences, as far as they are yet discover'd. And I must own I was herein a little encourag'd as well as you, by my having some advantage that I thought were not common to all.

HAD Bishop *Burnet's* history, that is as yet kept secret, been publish'd to the world, I believe both you and I might have been clearer as to some things that are yet in the dark: But till that comes out, we must make the best use we can of what light we have.

I have little to say to your first volume, which I confess I reckon much the best of the three: And yet even there, there are some things that I think deserve your second thoughts. In your account of the reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, you most certainly bear too

Vol. i. p.
803.

Vindicat.
of the
Dissenters
Part. I. p.
71, &c.

Vol. I. p.
911. &c.

Pag. 474.
&c.

Ib. p 913.

hard on that learned man Mr. *Cartwright*, in representing his opposition to the ecclesiastical establishment, as arising meerly from a personal pique: And I am inclin'd to believe you might be convinc'd of it, if you'd take the pains to consult Mr. *Peirce*. You are to severe upon the Puritans, who when you have found all the faults with 'em you can, were generally men of great piety, and true to the interest of their country, and therefore favour'd by our greatest patriots, tho' run down by zealous ecclesiasticks, who thought allowing others to differ from 'em tended to their own diminution.

IN the reign of King *James I*, your representation of the conference at *Hampton Court*, is very defective. I should have thought it had not been amiss for you to have taken notice of the account of that conference given by *Calderwood* in his *History of the Church of Scotland*, which is so different from that publish'd here in *England* by Bishop *Barlow*; and has been so oft referr'd to, as more faithful, and more particular.

WHEN you come to the proclamation which that King publish'd for *Uniformity* after this celebrated conference was over, you tell us, "It became a doubtful question amongst many. Whether the Jesuits or the Non-conformists were greatest enemies to the Church of England?". Was this a doubt amongst many at that time of day? reconcile this if you can to the temper and proceedings of the parliaments in that reign. In the next reign I'll grant it was so, amongst too many: And it is too evident what lamentable consequences follow'd upon it. But I hope this is no doubt with you. Sir; I won't allow

allow myself to charge it upon you unless you own'd it, tho' I could have wish'd you had freely disclaim'd it. If you are in any hesitation about the matter, give me leave to tell you a passage I had not long since, from a reverend aged clergyman of your own Church, yet living. Being in company where one signified it as his apprehension, that the *Papists* were not so much to be dreaded as the *Presbyterians*; this worthy person reply'd, he must beg leave to differ from him: For, said he, the latter aim but at taking my *Surplice* from me, whereas the former would have my *Bible*; which I should be much more loth to part, with. I would hope that you are herein of the same mind with him.

AND when you add, "That at the beginning of K. *James's* reign, of the ten thousand Ministers in *England*, not above forty-nine stood out, and were depriv'd;" you fall too short in your number: For *Calderwood*, whose authority I know no reason to call in question tells us, "That in the second year after the King came into *England*, 300 ministers were either silenc'd, or depriv'd of their Benefices, or excommunicated, or cast into prison, or forc'd to leave their own country."

Vide Præfat. ad Alt. Damascenum.

BUT I'll dismiss your first volume, of which I believe you'll hear more hereafter, from one that is taking no small pains, in order to the setting the *History of Nonconformity* in its first rise and original in a clearer light than ever it has appear'd in yet; and shall proceed to your second and third volumes which I am the most concern'd at; and which I think, as much need revising, as any thing that has yet come from the press in the reign of
King

King GEORGE, either with his name or without.

AND now I have mention'd so great a name, I can't forbear taking notice how unhappy it is for you to have two so different patrons, to the different parts of your work. I find it startles not a few of your readers, to see the name of the Duke of *Ormond* in the front of your first volume, and the august name of King George prefix'd to the two last. All that I gather from thence, is that it was more lately that you ask'd or obtain'd his Majesty's leave, and did not know that ever you should do it, when you made use of the name of the Duke of *Ormond*; who bore so different a character when you fix'd on him for your patron, from what he does now. But some will have it, that it is to the latter dedication, that the fine things you say concerning the *Revolution* are entirely owing. You tell us indeed, as to your *Introduction* to your second volume, "That tho' it has been written eleven years, "during which time there have been several material changes in the government and "ministry, to which a designing man might "have been tempted to cast a squinting eye; "yet you have not alter'd a single passage "upon the account of the times, for the "sake of parties, or with respect to any particular person." And yet some that pretend to know you, are of opinion, you are not so intirely free from *views* and *expectations*, as to have declar'd so openly for the *Revolution*, which you frankly own, "is said "to have innumerable inconveniencies attending it," without some regard to your second patron, whose advancement to the
British

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P. 7.

Pref. to
Vol. III.

British throne, and consequent capacity of disposing of ecclesiastical preferments is wholly bottom'd upon it, and owing to it.

HOWEVER, his MAJESTY having allowed you (I enquire not upon whole motion) the honour to use his name, and condescended so far as to become your second patron, and you having profess'd so much zeal for him in your dedication, I should have thought the utmost caution had been afterwards needful, in every thing that might be likely to touch him in person, or any that belong'd to him: And after this, a reflection on any for their warm affection to the Family of his royal Grandmother, the Queen of *Bohemia*, carries in it so manifest an indecency, that I could hardly have imagin'd Mr. *Archdeacon* could have been guilty of it.

WE that are the posterity of the honest *Puritans*, reckon it their honour and ours joyntly, that they and we, from first to last, have been as much distinguish'd by our affection to that Branch of the Royal Family, as they themselves have been by their steady adherence to the interest of the Reformation, and the cause of liberty: And suppose this affection may not at all times have been free from mixtures of imprudence, we yet reckon the hearty friends of the illustrious House of *Hanover*, should easily excuse us, without discovering any thing like a pleasure, in making things of this kind matters of accusation. Now it seems by you it so happen'd, that when there formerly was great rejoicing in the court of King *Charles* I, upon the pregnancy of his Queen, a leading man among the *Puritans*, was heard to say, "That he could see no
"such

“such cause of joy; for which he gave
 “this reason: That God had already pro-
 “vided better for them, in giving such an
 “hopeful progeny to the Queen of *Bohemia*,
 “brought up in the reform’d religion;
 “while it was uncertain what religion that
 “King’s children would follow, who were
 “to be brought up by a mother devoted to
 “the *Church of Rome*.” Suppose this expres-
 sion of zeal was a little ill timed, yet when
 the event has so fully prov’d the wisdom and
 justness of the remark, and the nation has since
 suffer’d so much from that King’s children,
 and our honour has been so expos’d by their
 management, that the descendants of that
 good Queen are like to find it very diffi-
 cult to retrieve it; the reflection you have
 added upon this occasion, might I should
 think very well have been spar’d, by one
 that inscrib’d his book to King GEORGE,
 who is the first of her family that wears our
 crown. And when you yourself own, that
 that excellent Queen was so different from
 her two Nephews, that while nothing would
 satisfy them but matching with *Papists*, (tho’
 nothing could be more against their interest)
 she upon a talk of her son’s being bred in the
 court of the Emperor, in order to the mar-
 rying his daughter, freely declar’d, “That
 “she had rather be his executioner, than
 “suffer her child to be bred up in idolatry:”
 I cannot see any reason for your *wondring*,
 that such warmth and steadiness as this,
 (which has not been very common in courts)
 should cause her to be very dear to that party
 in *England*, that reckon’d their religion and
 liberty their chiefest interests. I move there-
 fore, good Sir, for your own sake, that
 your

your reflections here, may for the future be forborn.

It must be own'd, you speak very honourably of that renowned Queen, and give her a great character, which she well deserved: But I can't think it very decent for you, (considering whose name you have in your front) to say of the old Prince *Palatine* her husband, who was no other than his Majesty King GEORGE's unfortunate grandfather, "that he had nothing great in his character." It might here have been consider'd, how hard a thing it is to keep the spirit from sinking, when a man is abandon'd by those whose interest and honour it is to support him; which was his unhappy case, through the prevalency of *Spanish* counsels at that time in our court.

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p. 70.

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p. 100.

NOR is it in my apprehension very court-like, to speak with so much contempt as you have done of the young Prince *Palatine*, that unhappy Prince's eldest son, and King GEORGE's eldest uncle. He did indeed, "joyn with the parliament. But how do you know what reasons he had for doing so? Perhaps he had ground to hope for assistance from them in recovering his dominions, which he had little reason to expect from his uncle Charles. And if so, 'tis hard to blame him. And if "the two Princes *Rupert* and "*Maurice* receiv'd him with scorn, when "(as you express it) he thrust a visit upon "them, before their going beyond the "seas, for which they had passes granted "them:" I am far from thinking they were on this account to be commended: For still he was their elder brother, which gave him such a title to respect from them, that the ve-

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p. 555.

ry mentioning their failure in it, is a great reflection upon them. If I may be allow'd to advise you, I would drop such things as these, or at least alter them in any future impression: For it has but an odd aspect to take such freedom with his MAJESTY's near relations, when his great name appears in such splendour at the head of your history.

ANOTHER observation I make on your performance, is. That tho' you have several things new and entertaining, for which I thank you, yet are there some omissions not easily to be excus'd. And when you take the liberty to charge the great Lord *Clarendon* himself, to whom you are so much indebted both for matter and stile too, with *unaccountable omissions*, you can't, I suppose, think much of the same censure upon yourself, if there be occasion for it.

YOU are large enough in your account of the confusions in church and state, both before and all along the civil war; and yet I can't perceive you take any notice of the meeting in the *Jerusalem-Chamber*, in the latter end of 1640, some call it 1641, of a sub-committee of divines, who were to draw up proposals in order to a peaceable settlement of ecclesiastical matters, about which there were then such warm debates. Your silence as to this is the more inexcusable, because "this meeting in the opinion of some, might "under God, have been a means not only "to have check'd, but choak'd the civil war "in its infancy." The author cited in the margin, is far from being singular in that sentiment. I am well satisfy'd that my worthy grandfather, who was one of 'em, (from whom I count it an honour to be descended,

not-

Prof. to
Vol. II.
P. 5.

Fuller's
Ch. Hist.
Book XI.
pag. 174,
175.

notwithstanding you are pleas'd to stile him an *incendiary*) was in this of the same opinion Mr. *Collier* says, "That the greatest part of this company being *Calvinists* either in doctrine or discipline, 'tis no wonder to find them remonstrate against the management of church matters." But the design of their meeting was not so much remonstrating, as making peace. The persons that were summon'd upon this occasion by Archbishop Williams, and met upon his summons, were Archbishop Usher, Dr. *Morton* Bishop of *Durham*, Dr. *Hall* Bp. of *Exeter*, Dr. *Ward*, Dr. *Brownrigg*, Dr. *Prideaux*, Dr. *Holdsworth*, Dr. *Twisse*, Dr. *Hacket*, Dr. *Sanderson*, Dr. *Burges*, Dr. *Featlye*, Mr. *White*, Mr. *Marshall*, Mr. *Hill* and Mr. *Edmund Calamy*. Perhaps more likely persons to answer the end intended could not have been brought together. And I have some reason to believe that if they had been suffer'd to proceed, they would have fix'd upon some such settlement as that which was afterwards propos'd in that declaration of King *Charles* II, which you yourself speak so well of; and (after the compiler of the third volume of the *Compleat History of England*) represent as "an excellent pattern for posterity, when they are best dispos'd to consider of the most proper and healing methods, either for the restoring of the discipline, or the making up the breaches of the establish'd church. The best account that I know of, of the proceedings of this sub-committee, is to be met with in Dr. *Fuller*, and in Mr. *Baxter*. Now for Mr. *Archdeacon* to publish a large *History of England*, and take no notice of this matter, is not easily to be accounted for.

Eccl. hist. of Great Britain. Book IX. pag. 799.

Vol. III. p. 31.

See his Life in Folio, p. 369. and Bp. Williams's Life.

Vol. III.
pag. 66.

AFTER the Restoration, before things were fully fix'd, you mention a great noise of *plots*, and say, "That the *Presbyterian* defenders "alledge, that these were only sham-plots to "help forwards the severe act of *Uniformity* "then in embryo; but others (you say) be- "lieve the contrary:" And then with all the calmness of a person wholly unconcerned, you add, That "we cannot fully de- "termine a matter that at this time wants "so much light." Here is another omission which is hardly to be excus'd: Because you quite overlook what might have helped you *fully to determine*, by giving you all the *light* that could be said to be *wanted*; I mean the Narrative of Captain *Yarranton*, which is very distinct and particular, and has been often referr'd to as decisive in the case, and giving such proof that those *plots* were forg'd intrigues to serve a turn, as is equivalent to demonstration. One that was willing to see things in a true light in a matter of so great moment, should have taken some notice methinks, of a pamphlet that has been so frequently cited as giving a full and satisfactory evidence.

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P. 2.

NOR can I see how it is to be excus'd, that when you so frankly own that you had the sight of the Journals of the Lords and Commons in the two last reigns of which you write, you should not have so much as a single word of that explication of the *Assent* and *Consent*, mention'd in the *Act of Uniformity*, that was given by the Lords, and refus'd by the Commons, in a Conference between the two Houses, soon after the passing
of

of that Act. Sure I am, you have given us from thence things of much less consequence to clergymen; and therefore you must allow me a little to wonder that this should be altogether overlook'd.

YOUR redundancies also seem as remarkable as your omissions. Thus you tell us a long and very incredible story about *Cromwell's* conference and contract with the Devil on the very morning of the memorable day of the fight at *Worcester*: And yet you own, the account you give is more *wonderful* than *probable*. For my part I can't perceive that it is at all to be *wonder'd* at, that such as are hot and indiscreet should raise and spread stories that have not the least *probability* in 'em, of those whom they are set against. But why an author that values his reputation and the credit of his history, should tell a story that he owns to have no *probability* in it, and reckon that it will give his reader *diversion*, when there is no likelihood of its giving him any satisfaction, I cannot imagine. I think verily you might as well have given us an account of Dr. *Fausftus*, or the *Lancashire witches*. But to tell such a story, and then leave the *credibility* of it to your *readers faith and judgment*, looks so like an insulting him, that I believe few will think it either contributes to the *inriching* or *enlightning your work*, about which you sometimes appear so much concern'd. — But whoever compares your account of this matter, with your relation of *Oliver's Death* afterwards, would imagine, whatever your readers may do, you yourself believ'd it, and that very firmly too.

I am one that can without much difficulty make allowance for the ebullitions of zeal,
which

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pag. 712,
713.

Ib. p. 825.

which often incline men to use very strong figures; and yet must own you sometimes seem to run to far; and to be too severe in your sarcasms and invectives: Thus methinks you bear a little too hard upon my native City of *London*, when you represent the Citizens as frighten'd out of their wits by a notion, "That there were deep designs by gun-powder to blow up the *Thames*, and choak them with the water in their beds." Its a fign your opinion of the Citizens runs very low, for which they are not much oblig'd to you. This is such a rodomontade, that I know not how to reckon it any great ornament of your history. I think so much respect is owing from every author to his readers, as not to impose any thing upon them, which has not at least the appearance of Truth, which I am of opinion most men will think this has not.

BUT to come to that which I take to be more considerable; you don't seem to me to be so consistent with yourself, and the scheme you are most fond of, or so free in owning your quitting of it upon better light, as I should expect from a judicious historian. In the dedication of your second volume, and preface to the third, you applaud the *Revolution*: And in the history that follows, you as zealously applaud the principles that would have effectually prevented it: and do what in you lies to explode the principles upon which it was bottomed. This to me looks like a man's appearing to be transported upon the recovery of one whose Case appear'd desperate, and extolling the healthful state he is restor'd to, whilst yet he takes pleasure in inveighing against the medicines, to which
his

his recovery was owing. You stile that in 1688, "A great and happy *Revolution*, (and "say) that it infus'd life and spirit into three "expiring kingdoms:" In which I most heartily agree with you. And yet you frequently declare against that *resistance*, without which it could never have been brought about; and appear pleas'd in the last degree with the latter part of the reign of King *Charles II*, which was one continu'd invasion upon the rights of the people, and brought us into that expiring state, from whence nothing but a miracle of mercy could recover us. The two reigns of which your third volume gives us the history, were indeed closely connected together, and naturally follow'd each other. The one laid the foundation, and the other rais'd the superstructure. But as he that puts a sword into a madman's hand, must bear the blame of the mischief he does with it; so, as far as I can perceive, must they that were so very zealous first for freeing King *Charles* from all restraints, and then for securing the reversion of the crown to his brother *James*, take it upon themselves, that we were so much expos'd, when King *James* that came after him, took the liberty to go beyond all Bounds.

FOR your part, you would not by any means have King *Charles* be under any restraint; you are so profoundly loyal, you abhor the thoughts of it. You appear greatly pleas'd with the Corporation Act, which obliges all corporation officers to make oath, *That it was not lawful* upon any pretence whatsoever, *to take Arms against the King*, &c. This you rejoyce in, as a *severe mortification and blow to a party*, whom you take all opportunities

Dedicat.
to King
George.
P. 1.

Vol. III.
p. 69.

tunities to run down; and reckon it a mighty happiness, tho' it threw many of the best members out of all the corporations of *England*, by a pretended regulation. When you afterwards mention the oath again, upon occasion of the *Militia Act*, which obliged all military officers to take it, your heart seems to misgive you, and you discover a sort of fear "of giving up the whole constitution, and "encouraging a doctrine hard to be reconcil'd to our great deliverance." But this qualm is soon over: For when you come to the *Uniformity Act*, which required of all clergymen a subscrib'd declaration, in the very words of the oath that had been impos'd by the Acts foregoing, you represent it "as "an expedient awe and restraint, fix'd by "the wisdom of the nation." And when an oath to the same purpose, was by the *Oxford Act* required of the Dissenting Ministers upon pain of being banish'd five miles from all corporations, you intimate, that the Parliament did it for *Self-preservation*. And when in 1675, there was an attempt on foot in the House of Lords, to make this oath general, and in effect universal, by extending to all in any office civil or ecclesiastical, and to Privy-counsellors and members of Parliament, in which case there was as great a struggle as ever was known in the House, the debates lasting for sixteen or seventeen whole days, you tell us of a certain, "warm author, who said, (and I think with a great deal of sense and truth, "That "this would have been a dissettlement of "the whole birth right of *England*:" But it does not appear you were in any fear about the matter. You bring this in, in such a way.

Ib. p. 80.

Ib. p. 81.

Ib. p. 150.

Ib. 379.

way, as intimates that you were of another mind. *Resistance in any case whatsoever*, is what you are so much against, that you vindicate the letter of Dr. *Tillotson* upon that subject, to the Lord *Russel*, on the very day before his execution; “which letter, (you “say) fully gives the reasons and grounds “for passive-obedience:” Tho’ others are of opinion, that this letter was such a blemish to that excellent person, as could never be wip’d off, but by an open retradation. And I could name to you a person of some eminence, (and one whom you yourself mention in your history with honour) who tho’ he before had a great respect for that Doctor, yet upon account of that letter, which was never publicly retracted, was not to be prevail’d with to enter into any free conversation with him to his dying day.

WHILE others were grieving and lamenting, as dreading the consequence, you rejoyce, as one carrying your point: And tell us, “That the ill success of the whig party, “made the tories ride in triumph, and occasion’d the straining, and *perhaps* not “sufficiently explaining the points of prerogative and subjection.” Methinks, this *perhaps*, is a very diminutive word, in a case where the safety of our whole Constitution was the thing depending. You add, “That “the doctrine of passive-obedience seem’d “equally espous’d by the court, the pulpit, “the bench, and the bar; and the humour “of the people, carry’d it to that height, “that it was dangerous to oppose it.” But I can’t perceive, that you in the mean time thought it needful or worth your while to drop the least word by way of caution, let

the consequences prove what they would. You appear to be wholly of the mind of those who cry'd up a *popish* successor, as the only means to preserve the *Church of England*.

You proceed to the *Oxford Decree*, condemning twenty-seven propositions, which pass'd in the Convocation there, on the very day of the Lord *Russel's* execution: But I can observe nothing like a censure on your part; nor any intimation given, that it was order'd by the House of Peers to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman, after the tryal of Dr. *Sacheverell* was over. This *Oxford Decree*, plainly raises passive-obedience, and indefasible hereditary right, to the utmost height. Had that been adher'd to, we had had no *Revolution*, and by consequence no King *GEORGE*. Give me leave here to refer you to a clergyman of your own church, who makes a greater figure than yourself, whom you have here deferred, as closely as you follow'd him in remarks level'd against the Dissenters. That gentleman frankly owns, "That many of the *Churchmen* "out of their zeal, carry'd the principles of "prerogative and subjection, to a much higher "degree than their forefathers had ever "thought of, or than they themselves could "ever practise: And then adds. That upon "whatever order from any higher place this "*Oxford Decree* was drawn up by a single person, and impos'd upon a Convocation in "surprize; whatever excuse might be given "for the making, and the passing of it: Yet "there was this justice due to it at the *Revo-* "lution, that it should then have been adher'd "to, or as openly retraced and condemn'd.

"Whereas

“Whereas the maker and chief promoters of
 “it, did evidently contradict it, in their
 “avow’d principles, and apparent practise,
 “without any reversal of it, or any other
 “sign of confession, but only a tacit condem-
 “nation of it, by privately ordering the
 “printed copies of it to be taken away from
 “the halls and other publick places, where
 “they had before hung in triumph. A way
 “of proceeding so offensive to some of the
 “younger students, that it occasion’d some
 “reflexions and pieces of wit: Among
 “others, this distich.

Cum fronti sit nulla fides, ut carmina dicunt;

Cur tibi bifronti JANE sit ulla fides?

AT length however, you yourself appear to be under some concern: and when King *James* comes to build upon King *Charles*’s foundations, you own, “That his power and
 “authority was brought to such an height,
 “as had not been known for many years,
 “and such as might well prove formidable to
 “a free and jealous people.” And who may we thank for this, but those that were for extending the prerogative of the Prince, whatever became of the freedom of the people? and could not be persuaded it might be carry - ed to far? But what signifies your concern, which so soon wears off, that when you come to the declaration which the Divines that were present made to the Duke of *Monmouth* upon the scaffold. “of his not dying a protestant
 “of the *Church of England*, if he did not own
 “the Doctrine of the *Church of England*, in
 “the point of non-resistance, you han’t the least caveat to put in, notwithstanding

Vol. III.
p.721.

Ib. p.772.

the acknowledg'd *formidablness* of a power that was in no case to be resisted!

BUT at last your fear returns with a vengeance, and you are full of your complaints. "King *James*, it seems, pretended to arbitrary and despotick power." And did not his brother lead him the way? And did not the clergy give both the one and the other a warrant? And what should hinder him from doing what he would, after it had been so long inculcated, that it was not lawful to resist upon any pretence whatsoever? "He violated the laws of the land." A proper complaint enough for such as limited their obedience by the laws; but not so decent in the mouth, or from the pen of a passive-obedience man. "He gave people sufficiently to understand that he design'd to shew very little regard to the established laws of the nation." 'Tis amazing, this should not be understood before! However, 'tis better for people to open their eyes at last, than not at all: But then methinks, if they have kept them long clos'd, they should not boast of their clear-sightedness beyond their neighbours; nor defend the principles that kept their understandings in a mist! However, I congratulate the gentlemen that recovered their eye-sight. You tell us, "When the King appointed a form of thanksgiving for the Queen's being with child, the most obnoxious expressions were omitted in the reading it, by the greatest part of the clergy, and the day in most places was kept with great coolness and indifferency;" And that when another thanksgiving was ordered for the birth of the suppos'd prince, "they were for the most part silent and reserv'd, as
 "doubting

Ib. p.797,
798.

Ib. p.800.

Ib. p.843.

Ib. p.839.

Ib. p.862.

“doubting the fact, and dreading the consequence.” Far be it from me upon this account to blame them: Only I cannot see why they might not have stopp’d much sooner, and then we need not have been apprehensive, either of arbitrary power, or a spurious heir.

“THE Ordering the Declaration for Liberty of Confidence to be read in all the Churches, was (*you say*) an Attempt that help’d to bring all things to a crisis. Could nothing then justify *Resistance* but the great danger of the Church? Or could that justify it, if *resistance* was *not lawful under any pretence whatsoever*? Solve the difficulty at your leisure. ’Twas now it should seem found out by the bishops, upon their consulting together, “That loyalty was nothing but obedience according to law.” Thank you Sir, for your concession. Had it been made sooner, it had prevented a great deal of mischief. But pray Sir don’t forget, this was all along the Principle of those whom you set yourself to oppose: though in them ’twas called *faction*. Such an obedience they none of them ever scrupled. ’Twas certainly something more than this you were contending for all along before, or there is no difference at all between you and your Antagonists. But you tell us, the Bishops were *still for maintaining the principle of suffering, without any unchristian opposition*. I am far from thinking the opposition they made unchristian: But would fain know, how they could invite the Prince of *Orange*, to assist ’em against King *James*, as you own they did, without opposing him; or how their so inviting him can be reconcil’d with christianity, if that makes *resistance*

Ib. p.858.

Ib. p.856.

Answer
to a Paper
intitl A
New Test
of the
Ch. of
England's
Loyalty.

stance unlawfulness under any pretence whatsoever. Commend me to the ingenuous confession of bishop *Burnet*, who own'd in so many words, "That the *Church of England* set herself to "support his MAJESTY's Right and Succes- "sion with so much Zeal, that she there- "by not only put herself in the power of "her Enemies, but also expos'd herself to "the scorn of those who insulted over her "in her misfortunes." The only relief in the case was a retraction.

Vol. III.
p. 864.

Ib. p.605.

AND you are forc'd to that in effect, tho' not willing to own it. When the pinch came, away goes the principle, "That resistance is "not lawful upon any pretence whatsoever." And it was indeed high time to discard it, if we would have any thing preserv'd: For we are told, "That all things at length "seem'd to conspire to accomplish the Ruin "of the protestant interest," Others clearly discern'd that they more than *seem'd* to do so, long before, and were for preventing it, but could not be listen'd to. About seven years before this time, a number of as wise men as any in the kingdom, met in Parliament, had according to your own relation, represented it to King *Charles* as their sense, "That "there was no security or safety for the *pro- "testant religion*, or the government of this "nation, without passing a bill for disabling "*James Duke of York* to inherit the imperi- "al crown of this realm, and the domini- "ons and territories thereunto belonging: "And to rely upon any other means and re- "medies, was not only inefficient but dan- "gerous." And when there was a great talk of *expedients*, you own the nation was freely told by Col. *Titus*, "That to accept
of

“of expedients to secure the *protestant religi-*
“*on*, after such a King mounted the Throne,
“was as strange as if there were a lion in
“the lobby, and they should vote that they
“would rather secure themselves, by letting
“him in and chaining him, than by keeping
“him out.” But a number were for run-
ning the venture. And what was the fruit?
Why truly when one thousand six hundred
eighty-eight came, “All found such brea-
ches into the English constitution, as must
shortly amount to a dissolution or a total
subversion.” Nothing but feeling could
convince them. The brave Lord *Russel* par-
ticularly gave fair warning, and declar’d in
the paper he left behind him, “That he be-
“liev’d popery was breaking in upon this
“nation; and that those that advanc’d it
“would stop at nothing to carry on their de-
“sign: And that he was heartily sorry that
“so many protestants gave their helping hand
“to it.” But it made little Impression. Too
many were for making a *dangerous Experiment*,
which had it not been for the wonderful
Mercy of almighty God had been fatal. But
he was pleas’d to prevent it, “and a signal
“Deliverance was brought on, in which you
“own the arm of God seem’d more visible
than the hands and hearts of men.” By
which suggestion, you very fairly put us in
mind, how little we were oblig’d to those men
or their principles, who had not hearts to use
their *hands* to do any thing towards our de-
liverance, till things were brought to such
an Extremity, that it was ten thousand to
one we had not been past recovery.

WHEN you afterwards start a plain Ob-
jection against the agents in the *Revolution*
the

Ib. p. 88o.

the answer return'd appears very lame and defective. The objection, is, "That the Church had carried the doctrine of obedience farther than was confident with the safety of a protestant church, or the privilege of a free born people." Instead of an acknowledgment, which had been very becoming, you return an answer in the words of Bishop *Sprat*: "That the main Body of those who made so brave a stand, were all of the Church of *England*, and the principles on which they stood, were all Church of England principles." Which answer tho' it came from a Bishop, and is repeated by an Archdeacon, yet won't bear scanning. A celebrated author, (and he a Clergyman too) is of a quite different sentiment, as to the former part of the answer. For he says, "That the Revolution was without doubt accomplish'd by the immediate Favour of divine Providence, and by the wisdom of his Majesty: (*King William*.) But whether the church-men or the presbyterians were more instrumental in it, is a hard question to determine." And if you were put to it, you'd find it no easy task to give good proof of the latter part of the answer, that they that were active in the Revolution, *stood upon church of England principles*. If I know any thing of *church of England principles*, and if either the acts that pass'd in parliament, the *Oxford Decree*, or what came with one consent from bar, bench, and pulpit in the reign of King *Charles*, or your history, can help me to understand them, they are against *resistance upon any pretence whatsoever*. *Church of England principles* could not do any thing towards

See Life
of King
William
in 3 Vol.
Vol. II.
p. 143.

wards our eminent deliverance, because they excluded that *resistance* without which it neither was, nor could have been compass'd. So that either they that have all along pass'd for *Church of England principles*, and that you yourself have represented as such, were not really such, or it was not upon *Church of England principles*, that the *Revolution* was brought about. Extricate yourself here how you can.

YOU are afterwards angry with the Bishops of *Scotland*, "for renouncing the principles, on which the invation of the Prince of *Orange* was founded." And what were these principles, but the lawfulness of a nation's defending itself, when in danger of ruin from tyrannical rulers; and the warrantableness of resistance, in order to the maintaining and supporting Religion and Liberty? It was by renouncing these principles that the Scots lost themselves; and by consequence, 'twas by espousing them, that the *English* Bishops sav'd themselves. And were these always their principles? Let the writings they publish'd, their votes in Parliament, the oaths they were for imposing, their reflections on their brethren, here be consulted, and the matter will easily be determin'd. Thus then, in short, the case stood. The Bishops of *England* and *Scotland*, till the year 1688, equally renounc'd *resisting principles*. They had done so in a continu'd course from the restoration to that year. But then we were come to our last gasp, and the Bishops of *Scotland* still persisted; but those of *England* stopp'd short, and left them in the lurch. If the *English* Bishops were the most fortunate, it must be own'd the *Scottish* Bishops were the most consistent

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p. 903.

sistent wick themselves. If the latter were ruin'd, 'twas because they stuck to their principles; and if the former were sav'd, 'twas because they chang'd. But they most certainly would have come off with more reputation, had they and their adherents when they acted against their former principles, in a order to a deliverance from the dangers that threatned, been frank in acknowledging, That it was not owing to the principles they had all along maintain'd, but to their quitting them, that we were not ruin'd beyond recovery.

Ib. p.909.

Ib. p.912.

YOU tell us, "King *James* found himself "deceiv'd." And well he might, when they who before declar'd *resistance unlawful upon any pretence whatsoever*, on a sudden joyn'd with the *Prince of Orange*, against him, "for the defence "of the Protestant religion, and for maintain- "ing the ancient government, and the laws "and liberties of *England*, &c. as is signify'd "in the *Association*, which was first sign'd at "*Exeter*, and afterwards by the Archbishop "and other Bishops at *Westminster*." How this could be justify'd, if no resistance was war- rantable, and the old principles had been still adher'd to, is past my skill to comprehend. If you are not opener upon this Point than hitherto, I doubt you'll be a little puzzled, if you proceed, as you seem inclin'd, to the reign of *King William*.

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Vol. III.

I freely own with you, That our escape when our danger was so very great, can be call'd no less than "a mighty deliverance, "a deliverance in which the hand of Heaven "appear'd eminently visible and conspicuous. "And yet while you are for *admiring the wisdom* "of Heaven, which has maturely and in due "season brought about that establishment, "which

“which some factious and misled persons,
 “by a crude anticipation, were weakly at-
 “tempting in the latter end of King *Charles*
 “the II^d’s reign, which in that Juncture
 “must in all probability, have involv’d three
 “Kingdoms in blood:” I on the other hand
 am rather for admiring that merciful Provi-
 dence, which has surprizingly brought a-
 bout a deliverance for us, which some per-
 sons that were designing, and others that
 were weak, by an unaccountable infatuation,
 were furiously driving in the latter end of
 King *Charles* the II^d’s reign to render imprac-
 ticable; and which was not at last to be
 compass’d without our being brought within
 an hair’s breadth of ruin. And whereas (as
 you intimate, and I readily agree) *there sprung* ^{Ibid.}
from the prolifick womb of our Revolution, a num-
berless series of Blessings which reviv’d many parts
of Europe; I reckon we are the more indebt-
ed for. ’em to a special Providence, because
they could not be brought forth, without our
being at a great expence of blood and trea-
sure, which must all be plac’d to the account
of those, who were not by all the arguments
that could be urg’d upon them, to be brought
to prefer fore-thought before after-wit; nor
are now to be convinc’d they were at all in
the wrong, because they brought us only to
the brink of that ruin, which we might have
kept at a distance from, had we acted like a
people that had eyes in their heads. And
methinks it is a good evidence, that my view
and scheme is preferable to yours, and more
confident with itself, in that the deliverance
which you and I agree in extolling, was no
sooner compass’d than such an exclusion was
agreed to, as before was represented as most
absurd,

Ann. 1.
Gul. &
Mariae.
Sepp. 2.
Cap. 2.

absurd, irrational and illegal, and had been the main hinge upon which the controversy between the two contending parties turn'd. For presently after the *Revolution*, an Act pass'd the two Houses, and had the royal assent, in which there is this remarkable clause: "Whereas it has been found by experience, "that it is inconsistent with the safety and "welfare of this Protestant Kingdom, to be "govern'd by a Popish Prince, or by any "King or Queen marrying a Papist, the said "Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Com- "mons, do farther pray, that it may be en- "acted, That all and every person, and per- "sons that is, are, or shall be reconciled to, "or shall hold communion with the See or "*Church of Rome*, or shall profess the Popish "religion, or shall marry a Papist, shall be "excluded, and be for ever incapable to in- "herit, possess or enjoy the crown, and go- "vernment of the Realm, and *Ireland*, and "the Dominions thereunto belonging, or any "part of the same, or to have, use or exer- "cise any regal Power, Authority or Juris- "diction within the same, and in all and "every such case or cases, the People of "these Realms shall be, and are hereby ab- "solved of their Allegiance; and the said "crown and government shall from time to "time, descend to, and be enjoy'd by, such "person and persons, being Protestants, as "should have inherited and enjoy'd the same "in case the said person or persons so re- "concil'd, holding communion, or profes- "sing, or marrying as aforesaid, were na- "turally dead." So that without a *Bill of Exclusion* carry'd, we had never had King GEORGE, nor the Blessings we hope for from
his

his illustrious Family. And as far as I can see, it's but a vain thing, to talk of being *discourag'd by the rage and blindness of Parties*, if you let your account of such things as these, pass uncorrected.

ANOTHER thing in your history, which I am not a little surpriz'd at, is, that you should with so much freedom and openness declare yourself, upon several matters, where you could not be insensible you were liable to much counter-evidence and opposition. The great Instance here is the *Popish Plot*, which made so great a noise, not only here, but all over *Europe*. For my part, I see no reason to doubt but that there was a Popish Plot against this land all along from the Restoration: And it was carry'd on very plainly in *Ireland*, in 1665, and 1666, and 1667, as is evident by the Testimony of *Florence Wyer*, and several other Papists; and the dealings of the *Irish* with the *French* in order to bring in Popery, is very plain in *Plunket's Trial*. And as for the Plot that was discover'd in 1678, it was believ'd by four several successive Parliaments, in which perhaps there were persons of as good sense, as ever were summon'd by the writs of a King of *England*, or chosen by the People. And yet this you run down; as not having the least foundation. Nay, your account of this, you seem to reckon your Master-piece.

FOR you declare as to the Plot, "That
 "you have been more than ordinary careful
 "in tracing out the Heps, and examining in-
 "to the bottom of that mystery of villainy:
 "And that if you have not done it so perfect-
 "ly as it deserves, you have done it more
 "compleatly and regularly than it is to be
 "found

Pref. to
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“found in any single Writer before you; “and that you believe you have set the whole “in a better light than it has been generally “seen in before; and if that Plot appears to “be another thing than what it has been “commonly taken for, it is owing to evi- “dence and conviction, more than to hu- “mour and opinion.” This I must confess is pretty strong. But it is no new thing for a man that has the *jaundice*, to fancy his friends go to persuade him out of his senses, that would induce him to believe that the objects that are before him, are not of the colour in which they appear to him: Which I take to be much your case.

ALL that I can make of your account of this *Popish Plot*, is, That it was a contrivance of the Lord *Shaftsbury*'s, to unHINGE the Government: And that he making use of the Dread of *Popery* that was then stirring in the Nation, and a variety of other incidents and occasions, and tampering with some that were weak, and getting the ascendant over others that were designing Men, and having some tools that were very needy, and ready to swear any thing they could gain by, and others to work upon that were easily terrify'd and fear'd, manag'd his engines so, as for a good while to keep King *Charles* himself in awe, and to frighten the Privy-Council, several successive Parliaments, our Judges, and Juries, and in short, the whole Nation out of their wits: and then cunningly turn'd all to the serving of his own purposes, in running down the Papists, and exposing the Duke, 'till he had almost excluded him from the Throne. By putting things together, this seems to be your scheme, as it was the scheme of one that

that went before you, whom you mention among your Authors; who tells us, that *Tong* unknennell'd the Fox, and *Shaftsbury* the Matter of the blood hounds govern'd the Chace.

L'Estran.
Brief Hi-
story of
the times.
Part II.
p. 85.
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Now, tho' I'll readily own with you, "It is not to be expected, that every sentence should be supported by a particular Authority," yet when a matter of this nature, that as to the main of it was believ'd by so many parliaments, and by the whole body of the nation, is run down and banter'd, the Authority had need be very good: It should be more than ordinary. Believe me. Sir, licking up the spittle of such a party, such a popish pensioner as *L'Estrange*, and transcribing his *History of the Times*, (a viler book than which my eyes never saw) won't do in such a cause; There needs somewhat more authentick, than the confident strains of one who you know is represented by an eminent Prelate of your Church, as "a buffoon that was hir'd to plague the Nation, with three or four papers a week, which to the reproach of the age, (he says,) had but too great and too general an effect, in poysoning the spirits of the Clergy."

Bp. Bur-
nets Apol.
for the
Ch. Eng.

As far as my memory serves me, the best evidence you produce to prove this Plot a shamm and forgery, is a passage, which you say, was related by K. *Charles* himself to a person of full credit, (tho' you don't name him) from whom you had it. It is this; "That *Oates* and *Tong* being at a great entertainment in the City, which was provided for them by twenty rich Citizens, quarrell'd before all the Company: At which time *Tong* told *Oates*, (the chief evidence) that he knew
"no-

Vol. III.
pag. 472.

“nothing of the Plot, but what he learn’d from him.” This passage which you tell us, was not hitherto publish’d, was, what you intimate, confirm’d the King in the disbelief of the Plot; and it should look as if you would insinuate, that it might reasonably influence others the same way. But this story does not sound well. It’s pretty much that such a number of Citizens as twenty, should hear such a passage, about a matter of so great moment, and all keep it to themselves, and you be the first publisher of it so long after! It’s a very surprizing thing that it should not come out sooner. Had the Papists, who wanted not for diligence, got it by the end, it might have done them special service, and been so improv’d as to have help’d to save the lives of a number of their friends, whom they would gladly have preserv’d at any rate. Had it come to the ears of *L’Estrange*, it would have been of no small use to him in writing his *History of the Times*, and particularly the Second part of it; in which he undertakes to “shew the pretended Popish Plot to have been quite another thing than it has been taken for:” Which undertaking of his methinks (by the way) most wonderfully harmonizes with the account you give, of your own performance as to this Plot. That Author triumphs enough as it is; representing (with all the assurance in the world) *Tong* as managing the whole affair of the Plot from one end to t’other. He tells a great number of Stories: As that “*Simpson Tong* confess’d and protested, that the “Plot was contriv’d by his Father and *Oats*. But that Son was a known profligate wretch, whom no one regarded. And he tell us of a
Squabble

squabble between *Oates* and *Tong* in the lobby, who was the first discoverer. But had he got your story by the end, of twenty rich citizens present at a contest between them two upon that subject, he would have triumph'd much more, and made woful work on't, and worried us to death with it. However, methinks 'tis much, that you should not be able to find out one of the twenty citizens to bring him in as a voucher. And why should you not tell us the name, that the world may judge as to the credit of your informer, in a matter of so great confequence? I should be a little surpriz'd if any person that was unprejudic'd, should think this outweigh'd what may be thrown into the other scale.

Ibid. Part II. p. 95, 96.

THE two main evidences of the reality of this plot, besides the depositions of *Oates* and *Bedlow*, &c. were the letters of Mr. *Coleman*, who was secretary to the Duke of *York*, and the murder of Sir *Edmund Bury Godfrey*, which *L'Strange* calls *the two stilts of the plot*. Your way of evading both, appears borrow'd from that celebrated author, as no man can forbear observing, that compares his account and yours together.

Brief History of the times.

“As to *Coleman's* Letters, (that author says) they were a particular matter of a personal practice, and undertaking; and his crime at the uttermost stretch of it, amounted to no more than a forward intermeddling with state matters, without a commission. He had a plot upon fingring *French* money; but without any malice against either the king or government.” And you very readily chime in with him, and tell us, “That these Letters shew him to be very bold and pragmatical, working hard

Part I. p. 148.

Ibid. Part II. p. 39.

“for money, as well as the advancement of
 “his religion; promising by the power of
 “that to dissolve and make parliaments, and
 “to do many other great things improper to
 “his station.” But there you stop. The *cri-*
minal part of the Letters you have little to say
 to. Whereas the trial makes him appear to
 die as justly as ever any man did.

AND as to the story of Sir Edm. *Bury God-*
frey's murder, *L'Estrange* says, It is wholly
 “inconsistent with itself; and never was
 “any thing more ridiculously projected,
 “more scandalously attested, or upon com-
 “paring of evidences, more impossible to be
 “true. And you say, “That this murder
 “was immediately charg'd upon the papists,
 “and was made not only a part, but the
 “grand supporter of the credit of the plot:”
 Which looks the same way, especially, when
 you afterwards add, “That the story had
 “insuperable difficulties, and inconsistencies.
 'Tis hard to find any thing more ridiculous,
 than the account you give of the paper
 brought to *Prance* in *Newgate*: And you in-
 timate that *Green, Berry* and *Hill* who lost
 their lives as murderers, had but hard mea-
 sure. And yet you yourself own, that Sir
William Scroggs, who was Lord chief Justice
 at that tryal, when the Jury brought them in
 guilty, express'd himself in these remarkable
 words: “Gentlemen, you have found the
 “same verdict that I would have found, if I
 “had been one with you; and if it were the
 “last words I were to speak in this world,
 “I should have pronounc'd them guilty.”
 Now for you, tho' you mention'd this, to
 represent the things which those criminals
 had to alledge in their defence as material,
 and

Brief Hi-
 story of
 the times.
 Part III.
 p. 161.

Vol. III.
 pag. 467.

pag. 505.

Ib. p.513,
 514.

Ib. p.515.

and to come with such a flurt as that, that
 “the story was invented by some body else
 “of a greater capacity,” has a peculiar as-
 pect. It looks but ill in *L'Estrange*, but it
 looks much worse in a dignify'd clergyman,
 at this rate to arraign the Justice of the na-
 tion. p. 509.

As for *L'Estrange*, he says, “That we
 “are not more certain of any thing, than
 “we are morally sure, that the pompous
 “history of the pretended villainy of the
 “murder, has been from end to end of it a
 “state-cheat, and no other than a palpable
 “imposture. And as for the conspiracy in
 “general, that cost so many innocent lives,
 “and wrought so much mischief both to
 “king and people, (he says) it was only
 “scandalous imposture, bolster'd up with
 “perjury and subornation.” And you seem
 to be much of the same mind, by the account
 you have given of it. For the farthest you
 can go upon the whole, is to own, “That the
 “popish party had given too great an occasion
 “of suspicion, and had been too busy and in-
 “dustrious in promoting and propagating a
 “religion and a cause, that was inconsistent
 “with the government and genius of *Eng-
 land*.” But as for a conspiracy, you seem
 to know nothing of it. Brief Hi-
story of
the times.
Part II.
p. 48.

WHEREAS I think to a man that is willing to
 be satisfy'd, there is what may be sufficient for
 his conviction, if we had no more than the
Votes of the two Houses of parliament. For
 the Commons, *Oct.* 31, 1678. “Resolv'd, *ne-
 mine contradicente*, That upon the evidence
 “that has appear'd to this House, this House
 “is of opinion, that there is, and has been,
 “a damnable and hellish plot, contriv'd and
 carry'd Vol. III.
p. 599.

Ib. p. 526.

“carry’d on by popish recusants, for assassinating and murdering the King, for subverting the Government, and rooting out and destroying the protestant Religion: In which the Lords also readily concurr’d. And in the next Parliament also, the Commons came to this unanimous grand resolve; “That the House doth declare, that they are fully satisfy’d by the proofs they have heard, that there now is, and for divers years last past hath been, a horrid and treasonable plot and conspiracy, contriv’d and carried on by those of the popish religion, for the murdering his Majesty’s sacred person, and for subverting the protestant Religion, and the ancient and well-establish’d government of this kingdom.” And to these I think it not amiss to add. Sir *William Jones*’s speech at the tryal of the Lord Stafford. That gentleman was attorney general while the plot was prosecuted, had all the papers relating to it before him, and could not but know very well how disagreeable to the court such prosecutions were. And yet in the tryal of the Lord Stafford, where he was a manager, he express’d himself thus “My Lords, I think I may take leave to say, that the plot in general hath been now efficiently prov’d, “And if we consider what has been prov’d at former tryals, upon which many of the offenders and traitors have been executed, what hath been publish’d in print, and above all *Coleman*’s Letters, written all with his own hand, and for that reason impossible to be falsify’d, we may justly conclude, that there is not a man in *England* of any understanding, but must be fully convinc’d of the truth of the plot in general, &c. So that

“I

Ld. Srafford’s Trial p. 169, 170.

“I think now none remain, that do pretend not to believe it, but two sorts of persons, the one those that were conspirators in it, and the other those that wish’d it had succeeded.” And I should think that there are few sensible persons, but what will have a greater regard to this gentleman’s assurance, than to the confident strains of *L’Estrange* on the opposite side. Upon the whole, I think your account of this plot well needs a revisal, as ever you would convince your readers, “That truth and fidelity are your principal aims.

Pref. to
Vol. I.

NEITHER are you less warm and eager in asserting the truth, reality, and horridness of the *protestant plot*, than you are in running down that of the *papists* as a meer sham. The *Rye-house* conspiracy is with you exactly true. And nothing can be more easy than it is to observe, how much more tenderness you discover, for those that suffer’d for the *popish plot*, than for the sufferers for that which was call’d the *presbyterian plot*; and how much more favourable you are to the evidences in one case, than in the other. Your great author here is Bishop *Sprat*, who wrote the history of the *Rye house conspiracy*; a special book to convey a true account to posterity! But I should have thought, if the belief of a Bishop had been such an evidence with you, the many more who in their parliamentary capacity declar’d their full belief of the *popish plot*, might have been allow’d to outweigh. You have quoted one thing from Bishop *Sprat*, which I believe had it never been corrected, would have heighten’d the credit of the reporter with but very few, ’Tis this: “That the paper which my
“Lord

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p. 164.

“Lord *Russel* left behind him, was full of enormous falshoods: Of which the proof given is this: “That the private confessions of “the Duke of *Monmouth* and Mr. *Carstaires* “made his Lordship appear more acquainted with the transactions of the conspirators, than he was willing to acknowledge.” His Lordship was as positive and full as he well could be. He declar’d by word of mouth to the sheriff, “That he knew of no plot, “either against the King’s life, or the government; and that in the words of a dying man.” And in his Paper he solemnly declar’d, “That he lov’d his Country much “more than his life; and never had any “design of changing the Government; and “would always have been ready to venture “his life, for the preserving it; and would “suffer any extremity, rather than have “consented to any design of taking away “the King’s life, &c. and that as he had not “any design against the King’s life, or the “life of any man whatsoever, so he never “was in any contrivance of altering the “Government.” So that if he was in a conspiracy against the government, in the way and manner that the Bishop’s history represents, he must leave the world with a gross lie in his mouth. As to the two evidences that the Bishop produces that he was guilty of enormous falshoods, viz. the Duke of *Monmouth* and Mr. *Carstaires*; as I think that there is but very little likelihood that the former would make any such confession as would give a just foundation for such a charge, so I am well assur’d that the latter neither did, nor could do it. I therefore think there is but little likelihood, that the former would
make

make any such confession as would give a just foundation for a charge of that nature, against my Lord *Russel*, because in the accounts we have publish'd of what pass'd between King *Charles* and the Duke, after his surrendring himself, and making his peace, we are told of some discourse they had with respect to that Lord, which intimated the Duke's most tender affection and peculiar respect for him, which would not be any way to be reconcil'd with his bringing any such charge against him. Tho' you have omitted this, you'll find it in the *Compleat History of England*, and in the Duke of *Monmouth's Pocket-book*. And then as for Mr. *Carstaires*, I can with assurance say. That he never did bring such a charge against the Lord *Russel*, because I had it from his own mouth. Nay, he could not do it: For he has with solemnity declar'd to me, that all that he knew with relation to those consultations for which he was call'd in question, was, that several lovers of their country were with concern considering together how they might best preserve their religion and liberty, which they apprehended to be in no small danger: And that if what came from him while he was under torture, was put together, it would not be found to amount to more than this. And therefore he could not charge my Lord *Russel* with any thing of that nature that you quote Bishop *Sprat* for. And I apprehend you yourself will be satisfy'd of this, if you'll but cast your eyes upon the account given by Mr. *Peirce* in his *Vindication of the Dissenters*, which Account was sent to him in a letter from Mr. *Carstaires* himself, that was drawn up at my request, and pass'd through my hands. In short,

Vol. III.
p. 415.
See Appendix to
Dr. Wel-
wood's
Memoirs.
Num. 14.
pag. 375.

Part I. p.
255, 256,
257, 258.

short, the conversation I had with this worthy gentleman, who was one I could depend upon) is to me better evidence that the main of that conspiracy lay in considering how they might best screen themselves from the dangers which they found hung over their heads, than any I can find produc'd by you, that there wes any thing more in it. For as for Dr. *Sprat's* history, I freely acknowledge I have very little regard to it. 'Twas drawn up to please the court, by one that was wholly in that interest. And he himself acknowledges, that King *James II*, "call'd for his papers, and having read them, alter'd divers passages, and caus'd them to be printed by his own Authority." And who can pretend to say how far the alterations made might go? And be able to distinguish between what is the King's, and what the Bishop's? I shall only add the account given by the writter of King *William's* life, who says, "That the eloquent pen of Dr. *Sprat* was industriously see to work to varnish over and palliate the flaws of *Keelings*, and the other witnesses depositions. Accordingly he publish'd an account of the horrid conspiracy against the late King, his present Majesty, and the Government, adorn'd with all those flourishes of oratory, which are so far from persuading, that they rather give truth an air of fiction. But however as affairs were then manag'd, a romance was as fit to serve the court as a true history." And if the credit of this book fails, the plot falls together with it.

But it deserves a remark withal, that Bishop *Sprat* himself, having been oft upbraided on the account of his undeserv'd reflection on my

See the
Bp. of Ro-
chest. two
Letters to
the E. of
Dorset.
edit. Oct.
p. 12.

Vol. I.
p. 172.

my Lord *Russel*, own'd at length in Print "That he was folly convinc'd by Discourse "with the reverend Dean of *Canterbury*, of "that noble gentleman's great probity, and "constant abhorrence of falshood." By which acknowledgment the Bishop publickly retract-ed his having charg'd that Lord with *enormous Falshoods*. And you by repeating this charge, without taking any notice of this subsequent acknowledgement, have at once been unjust, both to the Bishop whom you cite, and to the memory of my Lord *Russel*, by endeavouring to perpetuate a groundless Calumny.

See Bp. of Rochest. two Letters to the E of *Dorset*, ed. in Oct. p. 13.

OF all those concern'd in that which was commonly call'd the *Fanatick-plot*, none is generally reckon'd to have had worse usage, than the Earl of *Essex*, who lost his life in the *Tower*. And it really amazes me to find you so confident, that he murder'd himself there. Nay, you lay in for this long before the fatal stroke, and prepare people for it, when you give an account of the father's exit. You this way either discover a peculiar fondness for his being taken for his own executioner, or at least shew your good-will, by taking a method that has a tendency to cause it to make the deeper impression upon your readers. And I must needs say, if it really was by his own hands, that this noble Earl lost his life, he discovered an hearty good-will to disfpatch himself! He shew'd he was in earnest in the fact; in that he cut through wind pipe and gullet, and both the jugulars, even to the *vertebra* of the neck! A like instance with which won't easily be produc'd. And it is pretty much he should happen to do it just at that time when the King and the Duke were in the

Vol. III. p. 689.

Vol. III. p. 660.

the *Tower*, where they had not been in many years before; and on the very day of the tryal of the Lord *Russel*, as if he intended to give an advantage against that noble Lord, to those who before were sufficiently disposed to condemn him, and who did improve it to purpose, at the *Old-Baily*, as soon as they receiv'd the news of it. And it must be own'd to look a little suspicious, that the Earl's body should be taken out of the closet where the fact was committed; and that it should be strip'd, and the closet also wash'd, and the cloathes carry'd away, before the Jury was impannell'd. The attending Officers could not be so unacquainted with the Law in this case, as not to know, that these things ought not to have been done. And tho' a Jury-man that was inquisitive into the reason of these proceedings, was told, that it was the body, and not the cloathes they were to sit upon, yet as they according to Law, ought to have had the sight of the body in its cloaths, and in the posture in which it was first found, so is it evident, they might this way have made some discoveries: And it looks as if they that had the management of matters, were willing herein to prevent them. And why should the Jury be told, that the King had sent for the Inquisition, and be urg'd to dispatch it, before the Relations were consulted, if there was no design to be this way serv'd? If the Relations did afterwards acquiese in the verdict of the Jury, who brought him in *Filo de se*, it is easy enough to conceive, that their finding it to no purpose to contend with the Court, who now carry'd all before them with an high hand, and their desire to secure the honour and estate

estate, was the occasion of it. And suppose the Earl might sometimes have pleaded for the Lawfulness of *Self-murder*, I can't see that that is a convincing argument, that he actually was a self-murderer, when there are so many concurring circumstances, giving just ground of suspicion, that the Court whose turn was remarkably serv'd by it, had a hand in dispatching him. You are pleas'd to complain of "the nice taste of some, and the wrong taste of others:" But if you let such things as these pass uncorrected, I'm afraid you'll be charg'd with contributing to the vitiating the taste both of the present and succeeding ages. And I leave to your sedate thoughts, whether there will not be some reason for it.—

Pref. to
Vol. II.
P. I.

AND now my hand is in, give me leave a little to vent my concern, that a man of your character should upon so many occasions in the whole current of your History, discover so little regard to the true interest of your Country. Tho' my Lord *Clarendon* wrote his history with a design to his utmost to vindicate King *Charles I.* in his contest with the long parliament, yet he freely owns and censures several of his mismanagements, and points to the mistakes that were committed in his Reign, both to Church and State. He blames him for his unreasonable, unskilful, and precipitate dissolutions of Parliaments; his long intermissions of them, and his unprecedented, and justly exceptionable methods of getting supplies, during those intermissions. He intimates, that in order to get Money, "un-just projects of all kinds, many ridiculous, and many scandalous, and all very grievous to the subjects, were set on foot." And

Hist. of
the Reb.
Vol. I. p.
67, & 69.

he calls the determination about *Ship Money*, "A logick which left no man any thing that "he could call his own." And this shews, that notwithstanding his zeal for the prerogative, he had yet a concern for *Liberty and Prosperity*. I should be glad to find any thing of this nature in you, who are rather for palliating, than censuring irregularities; and tho' you now and then hint that some things were thought illegal, yet you tell us in the general, in your *Introduction*, that you had another view, which was instead of declaring against them, so to draw up your Account, as to do what in you lay to give your readers satisfaction, "That if there "appear'd any mismanagements or miscarriages in the Government, tho' they were "of no threatning consequence in themselves, they yet were liable to be made fatal by the aggravations and misrepresentations of designing men." You tell us, you have sometimes improv'd my Lord *Clarendon*: But I hope you have better instances to produce than this, if there should be occasion.

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p. 2.

Pref. to
Vol. II.
p. 6.

THE great grievances of the reign of King *Charles II*, were the growth of *Popery*; the being sway'd by the counsels of the *French*, who were visibly aspiring after an *universal Monarchy*; and *arbitrary Power*: And I cannot perceive that you, Sir, declare against any one of them, in such a manner as would have become a friend of your country, and our legal constitution.

As to *the growth of Popery*, it was freely complain'd of by the Parliaments of this reign from one session to another; and many grounds were alledg'd to justify their apprehensions

hensions concerning it: As the Advancement of known Papists to Places of Power, the free resort of Priests and Jesuits into these *British* Islands, the Marriage of the Duke of York into the Family of the Duke of *Modena*, and the Prospect of that Duke's Succession to the Crown, &c. But you in the Course of your History appear to make Light of all, as if *the Growth of Popery* was but the Pretence of a Party, to cover other designs.

THE Influence of *French* Counsels was then another grand complaint, and reckon'd by our patriots to expose us to no small danger. To this we must ascribe the Sale of *Dunkirk*, the pernicious consequences of which might easily be foreseen: But this you rather justify than otherwise; telling us, "That at "that time, we don't find many complaints "against it." 'Twas the *French* that rais'd jealousies between us and the *Hollanders*, which occasion'd the first *Dutch* War, with an Intention to see us destroy each other, or at least weaken and exhaust ourselves, that they might with less Opposition encrease their Naval Strength; and yet this War you applaud. 'Tis true, the Lords and Commons chearfully contributed to the Charge of it: But it is no difficult Matter, now to discern, under whose Influence it was that they did it. And tho' you signify, that the solemn fast appointed throughout the Kingdom, upon the occasion of the second *Dutch* War, "was indeed a "Day of Sorrow and Humiliation to many "discerning persons;" yet so little are you for *suspecting the intrigues of the court*, that you appear more concern'd for the *Indulgence to the Dissenters*, with which it was attended, than for the Tendency it had to strengthen the
French

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pag. 84.

Ib. p. 116.
&c.

Ib. p. 298.

Ib. p. 294.

French interest. And pursuant hereto, you are all along for screening the Earl of *Danby*, who was freely charg'd with being long a *French* pensioner, while he was at the Head of our *English* counsels, whatever he might be afterwards.

ARBITRARY *Power*, which is what so many in this reign were so much afraid of, to you appears a meer bugbear; and the dreading it, you represent as a great weakness. You applaud the King's *declaration touching the Causes and Reasons that movd him to dissolve his two last Parliaments*: And seem well pleas'd with the seizure or surrendral of the charter of London, and those of other corporations, which stood in the way of an absolute Government. And all you have to say of the matter, is, "That the reins of Government "were now held with a more ftridt and fteady hand, than in several Years before." But I should have thought you should here have consider'd the a& of Parliament, that pass'd after the *Revolution*, "for reversing "the jugment in a *Quo Warranto* against "the City, which runs thus: Where- "as a judgment was given in the court of "*King's Bench*, in or about *Trinity-Term* in "the 35th year of the reign of the late King "*Charles II*, upon an Information in the nature of a *Quo Warranto*, exhibited in the "said court, against the mayor, and commo- "nalty, and citizens of the city of *London*, "that the liberty, privilege and franchise, of "the said mayor, and commonalty, and citi- "zens, being a Body politick and corporate, "should be seiz'd into the Kings hands as for- "feited: And forasmuch as the said judg- "ment, and proceedings thereupon is, and "were

Ib. p.724.

Ib. p. 665.

Ann. 1.
Gul. &
Mariæ.
Sess. 1.
Cap. 8.

“ were ILLEGAL and ARBITRARY; and
 “ for that the restoring of the said Mayor,
 “ and commonalty and citizens, to their an-
 “ cient Liberties of which they had been de-
 “ priv’d, tends very much to the Peace and
 “ good settlement of this kingdom: Be it de-
 “ clar’d and enacted, &c.” When your History
 comes to another impression, if you must
 needs have the Text remain unalter’d, I move
 that you will print this preamble to the act of
 parliament for the restoring the city charter,
 as a note in the margin, that so the reader
 may the better be able to pass a judgment. I
 forbear the reflections which such a method as
 this of writing the history of your native
 country would lead to, and justify, for fear of
 heating you. And shall leave you to your own
 farther thoughts about it.

ONLY there is one thing that is of that
 moment, that I know not how to let it
 pass without a particular remark: It relates
 to that wonderful infatuation which you ap-
 prehend the *Whigg*-party were under, that
 those expedients and concessions which were
 offer’d to evade the *Bill of Exclusion*, should
 not be accepted: This out of your abundant
 kindness, (or from what other principle you
 best know,) you tell us “ must be from the
 “ spirit of faction or delusion, or an unac-
 “ countable mixture of both.” But you
 have a fair account enough of that matter,
 (had you thought fit to have taken notice of
 it) in my Lord *Russel*’s paper. Mentioning
 the *Bill of Exclusion*, he has these remarkable
 words; “ I (says he) thought the nation in
 “ such danger of popery, and that the expe-
 “ ctation of a popish successor put the King’s
 “ life likewise in so much danger, that
 “ I

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 p. 542.

“I faw no way so effectual to secure both, as
 “such a bill. As to the *Limitations* that were
 “propos’d, if they were sincerely offer’d, and
 “had pass’d into a Law, the Duke then would
 “have been excluded from the power of a
 “King, and the Government quite alter’d,
 “and little more than the name of King left:
 “So I could not see either sin or fault in
 “the one, when all people were willing
 “to admit of the other; but thought it
 “better to have a King with his prerogative,
 “and the nation easy and safe under him,
 “than a King without it; which would
 “breed perpetual jealousies, and a continual
 “struggle.” This carries so much plain
 and strong sense in it, that I should have
 thought it might have deserv’d your consid-
 eration: And when you have view’d and con-
 sider’d it again and again, it will be hard to
 find either *Faction* or *Delusion* in it. And if
 you will but stand to your own maxim, That
an Historian ought never to be of a Party, you
 cannot but be free to own as much; and that
 the rather, because the principle mention’d
 by my Lord *Russel* in his paper, is what the
 Convention-Parliament fell in with, after a
 close debate, about a *Regent* or a *King*, after
 the *Abdication*.

Pref. to
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Pref. to
 Vol. II.
 p. 6.

You seem to boast much of your being
 so *impartial*. And tho’ you own, “That a
 “strict impartiality is so rare a quality in
 “most writers of history, that many are
 “ready to think, an impartial historian is
 “a man not to found in the world; (yet
 “you freely declare) that impartiality has
 “always been your great Aim.” And no-
 thing is more easy to be observ’d, than that all
 Writers in this respect are apt to have fa-
 vourable

vourable thoughts of themselves; while yet their readers will set up for censors, and pass sentence according to their own judgment. For my part, after the strictest search for your *impartiality*, I cannot say, that you have dealt forth your favours to the *Papists* and the *dissenters*, with an equal hand. Perhaps you might not think the doing so, necessary to prove your *impartiality*: And yet I believe there is a considerable number of your readers, that are of opinion, your history had not wanted any of its ornaments, if you had either been less favourable to the *papists*, or less eager in your reflections upon the *dissenters*.

METHINKS you more than once discover a great tenderness to the *papists*. They seem to pass for an harmless sort of people, of which we have had no great occasion to be apprehensive; at least of late. You are by no means for charging them with the burning of *London* in 1666, tho' they have generally born the blame of it; and tho' that part of the inscription upon the monument which was cut out in the reign of K. *James*, and restor'd after the *Revolution*, (of which you did not think fit to take any notice,) charges it home upon them. But you are for suspecting *French Hugonots*, and *Dutch* and *English Republicans* rather than the *papists*, tho' they were evidently prov'd the authors and instruments, by a great many depositions that were taken by the order and authority of Parliament in 1667, and afterwards printed. You tell us very gravely, "That after weighing of all circumstances, we can still make no exact determination: And are for judging on the charitable side." This is extremely mild and "gentle, I confess! and would almost tempt

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p. 167.

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a man to think you had no gall in you. So also, when they that were executed for the popish plot, pleaded their innocence, in solemn speeches, back'd with strong asseverations, you seem concern'd that they were not believ'd. Thus having said. That *Langhorn*, (who was executed some time after the five Jesuits, *Whitebread*, *Harcourt*, *Fenwick*, *Gawen*, and *Turner*) "persisted in the most solemn, "positive and strong expressions of his innocence, which he had written down in a paper, and deliver'd to the sheriff; (you add "these Words) but all that he or others could "say, would gain no credit at this time; it "being a general belief, that they thought it "lawful, to utter the greatest falshoods and "lyes, in favour of their religion and cause." Which is a plain intimation, you thought that they might have been believ'd at another time; and that they had hard usage, and met with such treatment as they did not deserve: Had you been alike favourable to all, who differ from, you in their Sentiments, this would have deserved the less notice."

Ib. p. 558.

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Vol. I.

You tell us indeed, That you have, "care-
"tally endeavour'd neither to exasperate or
"flatter any one party of men in the nation;
"and that you have industriously avoided
"all expressions either way. It is strange
that many things, that at first view don't ap-
pear very agreeable to such a declaration,
should have escaped you, alter all your careful
endeavours. As to your *flattering* the dissenters,
I can easily acquit you: But whether there are
not some things a little *exasperating*, may de-
serve your second thoughts.

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YOU acknowledge, "That the *Presbite-*
"*rians* had a very considerable hand in the
Re-

“Reftoration:” owning of vy which you have done ’em a piece of justice, which some others have deny’d them. Being so serviceable at that juncture, might they not have expected other treatment than they afterwards met with? I don’t preceive you are free to go that farther step. You rather seem afraid, lest they should hereupon over-value themselves, or be over-valu’d by others, upon the account of their merit from the government: And therefore presently declare, “that it was “only to relieve themselves from the oppres-
 “sions of the independents.” But I don’t know they would have had any more cause to expect that, by restoring King *Charles*, than either by continuing *Richard* as Protestor, or by setting up General *Monk*. And therefore this is no true account of the matter: Nor is it ingenuous and candid. Should the disse-ters take the freedom to reflect on the leading men of your Church, whose carriage towards them at the latter end of the reign of King *James II.* was so different from what it had been before, and say, that the kindness and tenderness which they then discover’d, was not out of any true respect to them, but only-owing to their fear of being ruin’d by the pa-pists; I believe you’d be apt to count it disin-genuous, and it would bid fair for raising your resentment: And yet I confess I can’t see, but they would have as much, reason for a censure of this nature, as you can pretend for your reflection.

You afterwards tell us, “That when the
 “disputants at the *Savoy* conference, charged
 “eight things in the common-prayer book
 “as flatly sinful, and contrary to the word
 “of God, they either begg’d the question,

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p. 295.
Abridg.
Vol. I.
p. 165.

“or fail’d in the proof.” You have this objection from the author of the *Compleat History of England*: And I thought I had made a sufficient return to it. ’Twas upon occasion of Dr. *Cosins’s* paper, that the Ministers brought this charge. That paper made a motion that they should *distinguish between the things which they charg’d as sinful, (i. e. which they apprehended or judg’d sinful, and would undertake to prove to be sinful, if they were put to it) and those which they oppos’d as inexpedient only.* Now in compliance with, this motion, the Ministers mention’d eight things, which they charg’d as sinful, and were ready to prove such, if they were put to it. In such a case as this, it seems impertinent to pretend that they either begg’d the question, or fail’d in the proof: For any man that is not dispos’d and resolv’d to find fault with them, may see with half an eye, that they did neither. They did not *beg the question*; they only gave their judgment, which they might certainly be allow’d to do when it was call’d for. They did not *fail in the proof*; for that was yet to come. ’Twas enough that they were ready to give the proof, when it was call’d for. But to suppose they apprehended that their affirmation would go for proof, is to make them ridiculous; tho’ without the least ground or occasion. As for what you add, that in the fifth, and sixth particulars, they went upon a supposition evidently false, I refer you to my answer in the *Abridgment*, in the place fore-cited.

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YOU farther in the year 1662/3 give it as your judgment, “That had the presbyteri-
“an Ministers lost all dependancce upon a
“court

“court interest, and had they found the King and the Ministry as intent upon the observance of the *Act of Uniformity*, as the commons of *England*, most of the sober sort would in all probability have been brought over, and so added great strength and glory to the church and nation.” That the presbyterian Ministers, both then and afterwards depended upon a court interest more than they had any just ground for, I believe to be very true: But that rigour and severity in enforcing the *Act of Uniformity*, would have gain’d them, is a thing in which I cannot by any means agree with you. If indeed the expedients which the King himself propos’d in his Declaration had been stood to, and confirm’d by law, I am very inclinable to be of Bishop *Burnet*’s opinion, “that of the two thousand Ministers that were turn’d out, above one thousand seven hundred would have staid in:” But that the strictest prosecution of that act, would have brought any number over, I cannot imagine. Whatever King *Charles* was at that time, both he and his Ministry, were sufficiently intent upon the observation of that act afterwards; but I can’t perceive that it was with any great success. I don’t find that more were brought to conformity afterwards than before. It is now towards 30 years that we have had our legal indulgence: And I’m satisfy’d it will be found upon a computation, that above double the number have gone over from the dissenters to your church since that time, than ever were prevail’d with before: Which does not so well agree with your supposition. But after all, to me it appears a little strange, that the *strength and glory of*
the

See his
 Reflecti-
 ons on a
 Pamphlet
 entituled.
*Parliamen-
 tum Pacifi-
 cum.*

the Church should upon all occasions be represented as depending so much upon our being *brought over* to you. I shall think it depends much more upon your making your Foundations wider, and taking away things offensive. Tho' Bishop *Wilkins's* similitude was but homely, yet I take it to be very instructive; when he told the Bishop of *Durham*, that he thought he was more for the strength and stability of the church than himself. For said he, "you are for a church, like a top set upon the piqued end, which can't be kept up without whipping: But I am for a church, that might be like a top, set with the broad end downwards, which would be able to stand of itself." To my mind nothing could so much contribute to the strength and glory of the church, as the method He declar'd for.

Upon occasion of the five mile act in 1665, you say, "it has been a general observation, that whatsoever hardships the dissenters met with from the laws, they arose more from the seditious practices of some of them, than the religious practices of any of them." Which is a reflection that has nothing in it; and it might easily be retorted. Nothing can save those from being charg'd with sedition, that are determin'd to be run down by Ministers of State. The greatest innocence in such a case is no sence. "The correspondence of some of them with the enemy, was too notorious to be deny'd." As if the corresponding of a handful of the remains of the old army officers with the *Dutch* would justify our Parliament, in passing a law which tended to reduce a number of ministers and their families to want and beggary.

You

You add, "and even the more moderate, "shew'd a manifest disinclination to the war "against the *Dutch*." This I believe true; but wonder you should call this *seditions*: For by the same rule, every thing that was against French counsels, must be so too. "When this "parliament was rous'd by the information "of the Chancellor, they thought they could "do no less than lay a new restraint upon "'em, by this call'd the *five mile act*." So that the whole of the matter is this; The Chancellor thought it for his interest to inveigh against the dissenters as *seditions*, and therefore they must be treated as if they deserv'd not to live in the same common air with their neighbours, and so roughly handled, that they might be reduc'd. But it should withall be remembered, that this very Chancellor in the apology which he left behind him when he fled into *France*, owns that after this session of parliament, his credit visibly declin'd.

THIS reflection also, such as it is, might easily be retorted: and Bishop *Burnet* has shewn us the way; who tells us, "That when "a session of Parliament came, and the King "wanted money, then a new severe law "against the dissenters was offer'd to the an- "gry men of the church party, as the price "of it; and this seldom fail'd to have its ef- "fect: So that they were like the *jewels of "the crown*, pawn'd, when the King needed "money, but redeem'd at the next proroga- "tion.

See his Reflexions on a Pamphlet entituled, *Parliamentum Pacificum*.

IN 1669, there was a treaty with the Lord Keeper *Bridgman* about a comprehension. Upon which occasion you tell us, "That "a warm writer who appear'd in 1706, as- "sures

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“sures us, That the dissenters in every meet-
 “ing making fresh demands, the Lord-Keep-
 “er and others grew weary, and despair’d of
 “fixing them even to their own concessions:
 “So that Sir *John Barber* finding nothing but
 “tervigersation and cavils, without any pro-
 “spect of a reasonable compliance, gave
 “them over for a company of whiffing fel-
 “lows, and could not believe there was any
 “thing of conscience in all their pretences:
 “And that Dr. *Burton* also, as fond and for-
 “ward as he was at first in that affair, at last
 “gave alike account; and as much despair’d
 “of ever bringing them to reason.” Tho’
 this is but a citation, yet you seem to pro-
 duce it with no little pleasure, and as what
 may be rely’d on: Which does not look as
 if you so *industriously avoided all expressions that*
had a tendency to exasperate, as you seem wil-
 ling we should believe you to have done. This
 is a home stroke: And a branding the poor
 dissenters to all posterity, as much as is in
 your power as an historian. But without en-
 quiring into the truth of this report, (which
 I think may be justly question’d) there is very
 good evidence that these dissenters were not
 such unreasonable and unaccountable men
 as you’d willingly have them pass for; since
 they were so ready, both before this treaty,
 and at the time of it, as well as afterwards,
 to have acquiesc’d in King *Charles’s* declara-
 tion for ecclesiastical affairs, which you your-
 self so much commend. This would have
 giv’n’em general contentment: and their rea-
 diness to take up with it, is a better evidence
 of their willingness to be satisfy’d with what
 was reasonable, than any you bring that they
 positively insisted upon any thing farther.

But

But the truth of it was. The Court had no inclination to give 'em satisfaction. And therefore instead of any lenity, after the talk of a Comprehension, farther severities were us'd toward 'em: and it is no difficult matter to judge, what ends were design'd to be thereby serv'd. And you seem to be well enough pleas'd that it was so; tho' I am apt to think you'd have reckon'd the usage hard, had the case been your own.

You go on with your complaints, and tell us that "their meetings were full and frequent, and they gradually assum'd a liberty that became very offensive to those who were by conscience in the communion of "the church of *England*." The offence good Sir, was taken, and not given. "To make "themselves a more formidable body against "the church, the two chief parties the presbyterians and independents, formerly great "enemies to each other, were now projecting an union and coalition. But had you acted upon St. *Paul's* maxim. That *Charity thinketh no ill*; I can't see how this attempt to lay aside mutual animosity, could have been any offence to you. And then you tell us, "That under this disposition and confidence, the whole body of the dissenters "appear'd so open in trampling upon the laws "and constitution, that it justly rais'd not "only the indignation of the churchmen, "but the jealousies of all who were honestly "concern'd for the government, and the "legal administration of it." Which tho' an heavy charge, has not as far as I can perceive, any evidence to support it. All that the dissenters did, was to meet together to worship GOD, according to their consciences,

Pag. 238.

with doors open, and prohibiting none that were willing to joyn themselves to them. I can't see how this could *raise the indignation of the churchmen*, unless they would have none worship GOD but themselves, or not worship Him at all, unless they did it in that way, that they thought fit to appoint 'em. And how should this affect the *Government*, or give any *jealousy* to the true friends of it, when none were more zealous for the *legal administration of it* than they, who are only charg'd with *trampling on the Laws and constitution*, because they would not subject their consciences, to the pleasure of others, in things in which God had left them full liberty, to judge and choose for themselves? If their enemies in the mean time were *honestly concern'd for the government, and the legal administration of it*; they took but an odd way to show it, by sacrificing liberty and property to the prerogative; and courting that arbitrary power, which threatn'd to swallow up every thing that was valuable to free-born *Englishmen*. It here deserves a remark, that we were no sooner beginning to recover out of our lethargy, than the house of commons, who appear'd to be as *honestly concern'd for the government, and the legal administration of it*, as any men whatsoever, freely voted, "The prosecution of protestant dissenters upon the penal laws, grievous to the subjects, a weakening the protestant interest, and an encouragement to popery, and dangerous to the peace of the kingdom."

Jan. 10.
1680.

UPON the dissolution of the long pensionary parliament, (and I believe it will continue still counted and call'd so, notwithstanding

ing

ing what you have offer'd from the Duke of Leeds by way of excuse) you again run upon the dissenters, and tell us, "That most of them were transported at the dissolution, and they and their friends exerted themselves in the elections after an extraordinary manner, having a hopeful prospect of a new struggle, either of a superiority, or an equal establishment." Which is so grating a reflection, that I should have tho't it a little exasperating, had you not given such a positive assurance, That *you have industriously avoided all expressions that had a tendency that way*. I shall here in return, give you the words of Mr. John Howe, which I think are much to the purpose: "Nor, says he, can any malice deny, or ignorance of observing *English* men overlook this plain matter of fact. After the dissolution of that parliament, dissenters were much caress'd, and endeavour'd to be drawn into a subserviency to the court designs, especially in the elections of after parliaments. Notwithstanding which, they every-where so entirely and unanimously fell in with the sober part of the nation, in the choice of such persons for the three parliaments that next succeeded, (two held at *Westminster*, and that at *Oxford*) as it was known would, and who did most generously assert the liberties of the nation, and the protestant religion. Which alone, (and not our meer dissent from the church of *England* in matters of religion, wherein *Charles II.* was sufficiently known to be a Prince of great indifferency) drew upon us, soon after the dissolution of the last of those parliaments, the dreadful storm of persecu-

"tion

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pag. 512.

See his
Case of pro-
testant Dis-
senter's re-
presented
and argu'd
in 1689,
which is
inserted in
my *Abridgm.*
Vol. I. p.
429, &c.

“tion, that destroy’d not a small number of “lives in jayls, and ruin’d multitudes of families.” So that you see, that as to the main of what you charge here upon us, it is the matter of our glorying; only the prospect was different. The prospect of the dissenters was only to have *the liberties of the nation, and. the protestant religion asserted*; and this you turn into a *hopeful prospect of a new struggle, either for a superiority, or an equal establishment*. And if the dissenters had thought this *prospect hopeful*, they must have been as weak and senseless as you can imagine or represent them. But I must own, that for my life I can’t guess with whom this hopeful struggle was to be, whether with King or Parliament; nor over whom they expected to get superiority, whether Church or State. The truth of it is, a charge of this nature is a meer jest! The dissenters neither then nor since, desir’d any more than to be treated as Christians, and *Englishmen*; and be left in the possession of all the rights of each, in common with their neighbours. And it is a sign, that neither their expectations, hopes, nor prospects, were rais’d very high, in that they were so well pleas’d, as to themselves, with getting at last a vote pass’d against the *prosecution of them upon the penal laws*, which I but now mentioned: Which yet in the issue prov’d inefficient to screen them from great severities.

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pag. 721.

At length you tell us, “That had the “reign of King *Charles II.* continu’d a “while longer in the course ’twas in, as it “had been the rise, so probably it had been “the ruin of all meeting-houses.” You ther this from hence, “That the dissenters
“were

“were reduc’d to the lowest ebb; and in
 “most great towns and corporations the
 “greatest part of them went regularly to
 “church, especially the less rigid, and
 “younger sort; and the city of London also
 “was reduc’d, &c. But why should the
 meeting-houses, good Sir, be such an offence
 to you? Why should you reckon it so great
 and so desirable a thing to triumph over
 them? Had your desire been compass’d, there
 would have been no accession either to real re-
 ligion, or the common liberty. And I must
 confess, I am not without fear, that had King
Charles’s reign continu’d a little longer, the
 whole body of the nation would have become
 both papists and slaves; and the *Church of Eng-
 land*, might have been glad of meeting-houses
 for protestant worship, without molestation.

BUT you han’t yet done with the dissen-
 ters: You renew your charges against them
 in the reign of King *James*, and tell us.
 “That upon that Prince’s publishing his de-
 “claration for liberty of conscience, (which
 open’d those formidable meeting-houses that
 were before kept shut) “the dissenters were
 “so transported, that they caught greedily
 “ly at the bait, without the least discern-
 “ing the hook in it. They were not
 “contented with a silent acceptance of the
 “liberty, but were drawn in to make insults
 “of joy for it, and presented addresses of
 “thanks so high and extravagant, that some
 “of them were thought offensive to the very
 “ears of the King.” But suppose, (as
 Bishop *Burnet* in his reflections on the first
 declaration for liberty of conscience, reckons
 before-hand to be very possible) they should
 some of them have been “under a temptati-
 “on,

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 pag. 817.

Ib. p. 818.

* Mr. *Tong's*
Brief hi-
storical
Account
of Non-
conformi-
ty; at the
End of his
Defence or
Mr. *M.H's*
brief En-
quiry into
the nature
of Schism,
&c. p. 153.

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p. 875.

“on, to receive what gave ’em present ease,
“with a little too much kindness, methinks
“it might have been consider’d, that they lay
“expos’d to a great many severe laws, of
“which they had rest the weight very heavi-
“ly, which requires some allowance.” You
have recited my reply to this objection at
large, and without a return to it, Have by
way of ballance, given *the historical account* of
an *opposite author*, and then left the reader
to his own judgment. And I can do the
same, as freely as you, only adding, That
if he’ll be at the pains to consult the author
cited in the margin, upon this head, I can
hardly think he’ll remain unsatisfy’d *.

You afterwards see in a little better pleas’d
with the dissenters, and tell us, “That the
“more moderate sort of them, were so
“fully satisfy’d with that stand which the
“*London Divines* had made against popery,
“and the unanswerable treatises they had
“writ against it, that they shew’d an unusual
“readiness to come in to them. It by this
you mean a coming in to their assistance
against popery, which was breaking in up-
on the nation like a flood, and therefore
call’d for a conjunction of all hearts and
hands to oppose it by *resistance*, ’tis very true:
But if by *coming in to them*, you mean joyning
in with them, in approving of impositions, or
owning the authority of any to impose in
things uncommanded in scripture, or inforc’d
by no circumstantial necessity or experience,
you widely mistake, and misrepresent ’em.
The truth of it is, The danger of the Church,
inclining those who had formerly been very
rigorous and severe, to declare, they were
willing to come to a temper, and for the
future

future life those as brethren, whom they had born so hard on before, they also in return, shew'd a forgiving spirit, and a readiness heartily to joyn in with them in any measures that were necessary to the common safety. But when after the *Revolution* was over, the business of a *Comprehension* and an *Indulgence* came to be debated in the two houses of parliament, and many of the churchmen were so cold and shy, and discover'd such a willingness to forget their promises in the time of their distress, and still to keep the dissenters under an undeserved brand, this appear'd to them so disingenuous, that it is not at all to be wonder'd at if it discourag'd 'em from having any farther expectations from 'em; and induc'd them to depend wholly upon the justice of their cause, and the providence of GOD, which notwithstanding the unkind treatment they have met with since, (in which 'tis needless for me to be particular) they don't see any occasion to repent of, to this day.

UPON the whole; tho' I'm as ready to grant, as you to desire it, "that it is a miserable mistake to charge a person with partiality, only because he determines on one side," when he's well assur'd, that that one side is right; yet when it so much becomes all (and especially clergymen) to do as they would be done by; whether you have follow'd this rule, and would not think you were hardly dealt with, if others should meet to you with the same measure that you hate met to the dissenters, I leave it to your own consideration; provided you'll but allow one thing, (than which I know nothing more reasonable) that the dissenters have as much right
to

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to differ from you, as you from them, which they who treat 'em as you have done, are too apt to forget.

BUT there is yet another thing that is so remarkable in your performance, that it by no means should be pass'd by: And that is, the freedom you have taken with the characters of a variety of persons of figure and reputation in the times they severally liv'd in. I am very sensible, "that proper characters "of men give life, as well as add instruction "to history:" and shall not scruple to own it my opinion, that notwithstanding my Lord *Clarendon* is sometimes severe enough, yet the characters he has given of those who were upon the stage of action in the time he writes of, is none of the least beautiful parts of his history. But I am far from thinking that you are herein equally happy.

As to the great men of the *Scottish* nation, it is a very rare thing for you to have a good word for any of 'em. You not only give ill characters of the D. of *Hamilton*, whom you stile unfaithful; and the Earl of *Traquair*, who you say, was accounted by Sir *Philip Warwick* a *versatile man, and by others worse*; the Earl of *Rothes*, whom you represent as *one of the first and most active instruments in the troubles and commotions* in the reign of K. *Charles I*; and who, you afterwards tell us, (from Archbp. *Laud*) *made a base and dishonour able end, in rottenness and a scandalous distemper, tho' his friends conceal'd it as much as they could*: And the Marquiss of *Argyle*, who you say, *was thought to have the blood of several lying heavy upon his head*: But I am not able to recollect so much as one nobleman or gentleman from the North, except the Marquiss of *Montross*,
that

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p. 258, 259.

Ib. p. 159.

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that you have a good word for: This looks so like a national grudge or antipathy, as I doubt will hardly recommend either your judgment, or your impartiality. But here I must leave you to the *Scots*, who are best able to make a particular reply, on the behalf of their own countrymen.

HOWEVER, it is plain, you are very free with the characters of many *English* as well as *Scottish* men. You seem to me to bear a little too hard on an eminent prelate of your own church: I mean Archbishop *Abbot*, who you say, "had a tincture of too little respect towards those who had the immediate cure of souls; and generally favour'd the laity above the clergy, in all cases brought before him: And add, that his temper was sour'd against the high party, by age and hardships." But I never find him charg'd with invading either liberty or property, which is more than can be said of one that came after him, whom you highly extol.

THE reflections which you make on the family of the famous *John Hambden*, Esq; (whom after my Lord *Clarendon* you deservedly represent as so great a man) is very unaccountable. To me I confess it appears a little hard, that this family which is as eminent for its antiquity and its reputation, as any among our gentry, should from time to time be with so much freedom reflected on by the writers of our history, as under the judgments of providence, which those that understand themselves the best, are commonly the least free with. My Lord *Clarendon* takes notice, "That his fate violently carry'd him to pay the mulct by his death, in the very place where the year before he had committed his transgression, in executing the ordi-

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p. 16.

Hist. of the
Rebell. &c.
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p. 264, &c.

“ nance of the *Militia*, and ingaging the
“ county, (in which his reputation was so
“ very great) in rebellion.” And now come
you, and intimate, that the judgments of
GOD follow’d his posterity. For you tell us,
“ That he left only two Tons behind him, one
“ a cripple, and the other somewhat like a
“ lunatick, as *Sanderson* tells us; and a train of
“ misfortunes kern’d to have been entail’d on
the family.” I can’t imagine why you should
quote *Sanderson* about this gentlemans two sons,
or what end you could propose to serve by it.
I suppose you would have forborn it, had you
been aware that such an author as Dr. *Heylin*,
who wrote animadversions upon *Sander-*
son, had long since taken him to task for that
very passage. I suppose you will not scruple
to own that Dr. *Heylin*, is a very good
author. Now it so happens, that he taking
notice or what *Sanderson* had said about this
very matter, expresses himself thus; “ On
“ what grounds he speaks this, as I do not
“ know, so neither is it worth enquiry. And
“ tho’ I might leave the children of Mr.
“ *Hambden* under this reproach, as an un-
“ doubted sign of God’s judgments on him,
“ for being a principal incendiary in that fire
“ which for a long time consum’d the King-
“ dom; yet so far do I prefer truth before
“ private interest, that I shall do him that
“ right in his posterity, which our author,
“ either out of ignorance, easiness of belief,
“ or malice, hath been pleas’d to deny him.
“ And therefore the reader is to know, That
“ the surviving children of that gentleman,
“ are not only of an exact and comely sta-
“ ture, but that they have in them all the
“ abilities of wit and judgment, wherewith
“ their father was endu’d, &c.” Since that
time,

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p. 414.

See Dr.
heylin’s
Advertis.
on the Hist.
of the reign
of King
Charles I.
p. 151.

time, one of these two sons has made a considerable figure in the world, and been a leading member in several houses of Commons, and particularly, in the Convention-parliament, where he argu'd strenuously for the *Abdication*, and the Settlement of the Crown upon King *William*; in which, I hope, it won't be thought he acted either like a lunatick or a cripple. He was afterwards *Chancellor of the Exchequer* for many years, in which station, as well as in the house of Commons and Privy-council, he acquitted himself so as to leave behind him the reputation of a Gentleman of excellent good sense, and always in the interest of his country. And as for the *train of misfortunes intail'don his family*, suppose it really was so, I don't see what of an argument could be drawn from thence, as to the justness or exceptionableness of principles either religious or political. If I should mention some families that flourish'd before the civil war, in which they joyn'd with the King's party, and have since declin'd; or that before were numerous, and have since been in danger of being extinct, or actually are extinct, (which might be no difficult matter) I believe you'd think it hard for me to represent such things, either as judgments of GOD, or as a proof that the parties concern'd were, in the wrong. And if the argument won't hold on one side, it can have no force on the other. But however, when you mention'd *the train of misfortunes that seem'd to have been entail'd on this honourable family*, you should have done well to have remember'd, that a great grandson of the same gentleman is now in being; who as he has in his possession the ancient seat and estate of the family, so has also been knight of the shire for the same county as

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his family has so long flourish'd in, in several parliaments; and was not only a manager in the trial of my Lord of *Oxford*, but is chair-man of the Committee of elections in this very parliament, and a privy-councillor to his Majesty King *GEORGE*, and Treasurer of the Navy. I hope you don't rank these among *misfortunes*. Whereas therefore you tell us, "That upon reasonable proof of mistake, you shall be so far from being tenacious, in the wrong notions of honour and humour, that you shall most readily and publickly recant, and retract:" You must allow me to tell you, That several branches and relations of this antient family, that has kept its reputation through so many ages, expect you should perform your promise in their case, where the mistake is so evident and gross, and so incapable of any thing like an excuse.

AND what a character do you give of the great and good Lord *Russel*, of whom an eminent person truly said, "that an Age would not repair the loss to the nation!" He past through and left this world with as great and general a reputation as any one of the age. And in the preamble to the patent by which his noble father was created a Duke, their Majesfties King *William* and Queen *Mary*, among other Reasons for bestowing this Honour, give this as not the least, that the E. was father to the Lord *RUSSEL*, the ornament of his age, whose great merits 'twas not enough to transmit by history to posterity, but they were willing to record them in their royal patent, to remain in the family as a Monument consecrated to his consummate Virtue, whose name could
"never

“never be forgot, so long as Men prefer-
 “ved any esteem for sanctity of manners,
 “greatness of mind, and a love to their
 “country, constant even to death. To so-
 “lace therefore his excellent father for so
 “great a loss, to celebrate the memory of
 “so noble a Son, and to excite his worthy
 “Grandson, the heir of such mighty hopes,
 “more chearfully to emulate and follow
 “the example of his illustrious father, they
 “entail’d this high dignity upon the Earl
 “and his posterity, &c.” And yet you,
 Sir, speaking of this excellent person my
 Lord *William Russel*, (whose name should
 never be mention’d by Englishmen without
 singular respect) express your self thus:
 “That whatever may be laid in favour of
 “his standing up for the liberties of his
 “country, he can hardly be clear’d from
 “thirsting after the blood of others, espe-
 “cially the Lord *Stafford*, &c.” I profess
 I’m heartily sorry there is such a passage to
 be found in your history. I remember indeed
 you give your readers warning in one of your
 prefaces, “That you have taken the liber-
 “ty occasionally to stigmatize some things
 “wherever you found them, and particular-
 “ly an infatiable thirst after the blood of
 “others:” But I believe few could imagine
 that my Lord *Russel* was one of the instan-
 ces, whom you intended to brand to all po-
 sterity. I am afraid you yourself will this
 way become a greater sufferer than he. In the
 paper which that Lord left as a legacy to
 the world, there are these remarkable words:
 “I thank God falshood and cruelty were
 “never in my nature, but always the far-
 “thest from it imaginable.” Tho’ he was
 of such known integrity in the course of his
 life,

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life, yet you this way represent him as dying with a lie in his mouth, which is an heavy charge. And your proof is as weak, as your charge is unmerciful. It is no other than this; that *his Zeal* against the Lord *Stafford* “transported him so far, that he “was one of those who with *Bethel, Cornish,* “&c. question’d the King’s power in allowing that Lord to be only beheaded.” But how that proves him *a thirster after the blood of others,* I can’t imagine; any more than how an owning the King’s power to allow that Lord to be beheaded, prov’d those who were on the other side, to be merciful, and no lovers of spilling blood. And yet this is a thing you are so fond of, that we have it again in the case of Alderman *Cornish,* who you say was *so jealous in the case of the Lord Stafford,* “That being Sheriff at “that time, he was unwilling to allow him “the common favour shewn to the nobility “of being beheaded.” But this referr’d not so properly to the shedding of blood, as to the way and manner of it. I always hitherto reckon’d the *thirsting after blood,* to intimate a desire of its being spilt without just cause. And if we understand it otherwise, I don’t see how judge and jury, sheriff and executioner, can be excus’d from *thirsting after blood,* when they are for dispatching one that has been prov’d guilty of a capital crime, in one way or another. Now this was the case with respect both to the Lord *Russel,* and Mr. *Cornish:* They thought the Lord *Stafford* was fully prov’d guilty of the treason he was charg’d with; and therefore that it was but fitting he should be executed for the deterring of others. There was something of a debate about the manner of execution, but no cruelty

cruelty of thirsting after blood, as I can perceive, in the one or the other. But when you intimate, "That the court was under some necessity of bringing the Lord *Russel* "to destruction," you charge cruelty and thirsting after blood, home upon the court. And methinks a court that is own'd to *blunder a necessity of bringing any man to destruction, for his worth and probity*, should not be pleaded for by an Archdeacon of the Church; nor indeed by any man that values either sobriety, or the common safety. Having made so punctual a promise, "to correct and amend whatever is found to be amiss," I beseech you, Sir, when you put that promise in practice, let not such things as these be overlook'd.

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Pref. to
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AMONG others whom you have branded in the course of your history, I cannot omit Sir *George Treby*, who acquitted himself with so much honour, and approv'd himself such a lover of his country, both when he acted as recorder of *London*, and one of the secret-committee of the house of Commons against the popish conspirators in the reign of King *Charles II*, and also upon the bench, as *Lord Chief Justice of the Common-pleas*, in the reign of King *William*. Few gentlemen of the long robe have left a greater name behind them than he has done; and I am sorry that you should attempt to rob him of it, by telling the world. That he and Sir *Robert Clayton* together, being with *Fitzharris* in *Newgate*, Sir *George* swore, *God's wounds*, and said to him. *What were you ever but a rogue?* The latter indeed is not at all unlikely: But as for the former, I have made strict enquiry, and cannot perceive there is the lead foundation for it. For several of my Lord chief justice
Treby's

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Treby's own family, and others that knew him intimately, declare. That they never knew him use any oaths in discourse: And all agree he could never uie such words; and that therefore he is grosly abus'd. I have been told by a friend of mine, that meeting a gentleman of the long robe at a bookseller's shop in *Westminster-Hall*, where your second and third volumes lay upon the counter, the gentleman ask'd him, Whether he had read 'em? And he answering in the negative, and asking the gentleman (who own'd that he had taken the pains to read 'em) his thoughts concerning them, he reply'd, *Indeed, Sir, this a vile book! for it has branded as honest a gentleman as any in the age;* and he turn'd him to this passage concerning *Sir George Treby*, at which they were both amaz'd. I mention this, that you may make your use of it, and be sensible, how much you have expos'd your self by the freedom you have taken in your characters of persons, in whom the world think themselves not a little concern'd, because of their worth and eminence.

I am also surpriz'd you should represent, *Sir Edmund Bury Godfrey*, (of whom we have heard so much before) as a *favourer, rather than a prosecutor of the papists*; which is an account of him I don't find given by any one but your self and *L'Estrange*: And your having him for your voucher, will afford you but little relief. That author indeed says, "That this gentleman did many good offices to known priests, when he found 'em in distress, to the extream hazard both of his person and estate." That he might upon occasion do them offices of humanity, I can easily believe: But that he so far lov'd 'em, as to expose himself out of kindness to them,

is

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is what I find contradicted by all that knew him. *L' Estrange's* credit will go but a very little way, when put in the ballance with that of *Sir Edm. Bury Godfrey*. Methinks 'twas enough to have this worthy gentleman murder'd once: 'Tis pity he should be murder'd over and over again in his reputation. I shall in his vindication, only add, the character which *Bp. Lloyd* (who might, as he himself intimated, well be allow'd *to know him better than most others*) gave of him in his funeral Sermon in these words. "Tho' (says the Bi-
 "shop) the companion that he had for all
 "men that did amiss, extended itself to all
 "manner of dissenters; and among them
 "he had a kindness for the persons of ma-
 "ny *Roman Catholicks*: Yet he always de-
 "clar'd a particular hatred and detestation of
 "popery Now 'tis hardly consistent with
 his detestation of popery, for him to be such
 a favourer of the papists, as to serve them
 when in distress, to the extreme hazard both
 of his person and estate.

Funeral
 Sermon. p. 13.

SUCH reflections as these upon persons of known worth, (and I have but selected a few out of many,) you must allow me to be surpriz'd at: But you go yet farther, and reflect upon whole bodies of men, and condemn them in the lump, which is not fair or prudent. The giving general characters of nations, or any societies of men, that are commonly made up of persons as different in their capacities and inclinations, as in their faces, is, what I find by my observation, men of sense reckon very exceptionable; and that not without reason: Because where this method is taken, it is not to be avoided, but that may well be reckon'd to be what they are not in reality, and have sever-

ral things laid upon 'em with which they are not chargeable. But you reckon your self it seems to have this licence, and make use of it in the case of the *Assembly of Divines*, who met at *Westminster*; and I don't know but you may think you might make the more free with them, because they went under the denomination of *Divines*. As this *Assembly* was chosen out of all the *Divines* in the nation, by the members of Parliament, who themselves differ'd not a little in their judgments, views and designs, so is it not to be wonder'd at, that the persons chosen, should be of different principles, and notions, and different in their improvements and abilities. However, after all the censures that have been pass'd upon them, I dare offer them to be compar'd (for their intellectual and moral qualifications) with any convocation you can propose, either before the Restoration, or since.

You tell us indeed that King *Charles* in his "Proclamation, by which he countermanded their meeting, charg'd the far greater part of them with having no learning or reutation." But what of that! you know very well, that such proclamations are penn'd by others. And we may well question how far King *Charles* was a judge either of their learning or refutation, who knew little of them but what he heard from others. We look upon a passage of that nature, only as a bold assertion of some of the King's Ministers, that might be ill affected to all that were not zealous for episcopacy. You then add from the Lord *Clarendon*, "That some of them were infamous in their lives and conversations, and most of them of very mean parts in learning, if not of
"scanda-

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Ibid.

“scandalous ignorance, and of no other reputation, than of malice to the Church of *England*.” But as great a man as the Earl of *Clarendon* was, this must pass for down right calumny, till there be something produc’d that looks like proof. Afterwards, you quote Mr. *Whitlock*, as saying that divers members of both Houses gave their Votes with the Divines, in any matter in consideration among them: In which debates (he says) Mr. *Selden* spake admirably, and confuted divers of them in their own learning; and sometimes when they had cited a text of scripture to prove their assertion, he would tell them, perhaps in their little pocket bibles with gilt leaves, which they would often read, the translation may be thus; but the *Greek* and the *Hebrew*, signifies thus and thus; and would silence those pretenders to Divinity. It’s an easy thing to make a jest of a meeting of the greatest men that can be got together upon any occasion. If both Mr. *Whitlock* and Mr. *Selden*, should have no very profound respect for Divines, ’tis not at all to be wonder’d at, considering their character. He that looks into *Selden’s* preface to his *History of Tithes*, will find he could reflect with smartness upon the episcopal Clergy upon occasion, as well as Divines of other Sentiments: For he there charges them with *ignorance* and *laziness*; and upbraids them with having nothing to keep up their credit, but *beard*, *habit*, and *title*; and intimates, that their studies reach’d no farther, than the *Breviary*, the *Postils*, and the *Polyanthea*. So that it this Gentleman’s either insulting or bantering, was an argument of ignorance in those he had to do with, the hierarchical Ministers had no great cause of boasting. The

Ib. p. 417.

truth of it is, tho' Mr *Selden* was a great Scholar, yet he was no great friend to Ministers of any sort.

BUT as for the members of this assembly, you your self have given such characters of a good number of them, as shews that whatever might be thought of them either by King *Charles* or his courtiers, *Whitlock* or *Selden*, you look'd upon them neither as infamous nor ignorant.

THUS you own as for Dr. *Twisse* the Prolocutor, that he left the name of the most acute and subtle Divine of the age. And tell us that Mr. *John White* of *Dorchester* shew'd an excellent faculty in the clear and solid interpretation of the holy scriptures. Mr. *George Walker* was well skill'd in the oriental tongues, and noted for his disputation with the Jesuit *Fisher*, and others of the Romish Church, &c. Dr. *William Gouge*, was a learned and pious preacher highly esteem'd by several foreign Divines. Mr. *Gataker* was remarkable for his skill in the *Greek* and *Hebrew* tongues; highly esteem'd by *Salmasius* and other foreigners: And 'tis hard to say which is most remarkable, his exemplary piety and charity, his polite literature, or his humility and modesty in refusing preferments. Dr. *John* (I think it should be *Robert*) *Harris* you own had been so admirable a Grecian, and so celebrated a preacher, when in the University, that the famous Sir *Henry Savil* us'd frequently to say, that he was second to St. *Chrysostom*. Mr. *John Ley* was a person well vers'd in various authors, and a most ready writer and preacher. Dr. *Cheyne* (who was perhaps one of as much warmth as any in all the company) you acknowledge to have been a man of considerable learning and great abilities. And as
for

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for my grandfather Mr. *Edmund Calamy*, (as much as you on other accounts reflect upon him) you own him to have been one of no small learning. Dr. *Tuckney*, you say, left behind him the name of a person eminent for learning and piety, as well as humility and good temper. Mr. *Caryl* was a man of considerable parts and learning. Dr. *Lightfoot* distinguish'd himself by an inexhaustible fund of rabbinical learning. And Dr. *Edward Reynolds*, left behind him the character of a man of excellent parts and endowments, of a very great wit, fancy, and judgment. The Divines that met in the Assembly were not full out an hundred in all. Of thirteen of these you have given such characters, as clear them from scandalous ignorance; And you might have added twice thirteen more, of whom you might have given as good characters, as of those you have mention'd: As, Mr. *Oliver Rowles*, Mr. *Arrowsmoth*, Mr. *Stanley Gower*, Mr. *Richard Heyrick*, Dr. *Chambers*, Dr. *Seaman*, Dr. *Wilkinson*, Mr. *Vines*, Dr. *Hoyle*, Mr. *Herle*, Mr. *Herbert Palmer*, Mr. *Daniel Cawdry*, and Dr. *Thomas Goodwin*, &c. And there were several of them that afterwards conform'd, and made a considerable figure in your church, whom I suppose, notwithstanding what occurs in the King's proclamation, or in my Lord *Clarendon*, you would not be free to charge as persons of *very mean parts in learnings* or *scandalous ignorance*: As Dr. *Connant*, Dr. *Wallis*, Mr. (afterwards Dr.) *Thomas Hodges*, Mr. *William Mew*, &c. But tho' you have omitted these, and many others of equal worth, yet in giving such a character as you have done of those you have mentioned, you have in effect confronted, and confuted the foregoing general censures given by
King

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King *Charles*, my Lord *Clarendon*, Mr. *Whitlock*, and Mr. *Selden*. And I think verily, you should have omitted either the one or the other: For if these men deserv'd such characters as those you have given them, they were plainly slander'd in those general censures: And if they deserv'd those censures, such a commendation should not have been given of them in your history.

BUT there are some of them upon whom you reflect particularly; and that with warmth and keenness enough. I shall here also follow you:

AND shall begin with my honour'd grandfather, who, you say, "was so much an incendiary and promoter of the grand rebellion, that his actions cannot be vindicated, but only palliated, under the venerable name of an house of Commons." Why, what is the matter, good Sir? He was no Chaplain in the army, he was no enemy to a liturgy, freed from passages liable to just objections; and was rather for reforming episcopacy according to Bishop *Usher's* platform, than eradicating it; and he was a bitter enemy to all mobs: And if he had a respect to the *House of Commons* at their first setting out, and for a good while after, before they were so modell'd as no longer to be the representatives of the Commons of *England*, he did but therein concur with all that part of the nation, that were unwilling to make a sacrifice of the liberty of the subject, to the prerogative of the prince. Why then, must he be branded as an incendiary? All the reason that you give, is this, "That the house of Commons either misled him, or were misled by him; he being a frequent preacher before them, and one of the au-
thors

“thors of the celebrated *Smectymnuus*.” That he preach’d before the house of Commons, is true: But not that he was a *frequent preacher before them*. I have look’d over the list of the preachers before this parliament, and can find but three sermons he ever preached before the Commons, which (considering how many years they sate) is hardly sufficient to denominate him a *frequent preacher before them*. The first was on *Dec. 22. 1641*, when he preach’d on *Jer. xviii. 7, 8, 9, 10*: The drift of which sermon, is to shew, That national repentance will divert, and national sins pull down, national judgments: And I hope, this could not mislead them. The second was *Febr. 23, 1641*; at which time he preach’d upon *Ezek. xxxvi. 32*: The aim of which sermon was, to represent *England’s* mercies, as a motive and a means of *England’s* humiliation, and reformation. His third and last Sermon before them, was on *Octob. 22, 1644*, from *Acts xvii. 30*. upon the doctrine of repentance. If you yourself had taken the pains to read these plain practical sermons, I hardly think you could have pretended to charge him with *misleading the house of Commons*. For tho’ there are some complaints intermingled, of several hardships which many worthy persons met with before this Parliament, and motions made for farther rectifying things that were amiss; yet is there nothing tending to inflame or widen the differences between King and Parliament; no pushing them on to rigour and severity; no inclination discover’d to have the constitution alter’d, or any of our foundations overthrow’n. But his unpardonable fault was, that he was *one of the authors of the celebrated Smectymnuus*: And if that with the *Vindication* of it was warm, in opposition
to

to the divine original of episcopacy, and the necessity of hinted liturgies, I believe any man that reads Bishop *Hall's* defence of his remonstrance, and his answer to the vindication, &c. will hardly think it at all falls short of it. But suppose he had lanch'd out farther than could be strictly justify'd, I don't see what reason you had peculiarly to brand him to posterity as *an Incendiary*, when so many that were afterwards significant in your own Church, at that time ran much greater lengths. I should have thought he might have been forgiven, in consideration of his preaching before the house of Commons, in favour of the restoration, the very day before it was voted that King *Charles II.* should be invited home. You yourself own that his Majesty "publickly acknowledg'd his assistance, and "made him his chaplain in ordinary;" and you know he might have been a Bishop too, had he been so inclin'd. I should have thought a softer word might have been to the full as proper in his case, who was more remarkable for nothing, than for his great love of peace and moderation.

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Mr. *Stephen Marshall* was another member of the Assembly: And of him you say, That (jointly with Dr. *Downing*) he publickly maintain'd, That the soldiers taken prisoners at *Brentford*, and discharg'd by the King, upon their oaths, that they would never more bear arms against him, were not oblig'd by that oath; but that he boldly absolv'd them. Had this been true, it could not but have been publickly known; and as he had many enemies, that watch'd for his halting, could not have fail'd of being charg'd upon him. So that there is little likelihood he could have kept up his reputation as he did to the last. Where you
pick'd

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pick'd it up I know not: But you must give me leave to question the truth of it, till I see it well-attested. And then, as for his "de-
 "parting the world mad and raving," sup-
 posing it true, I don't see what inference you can draw from it, without averting that that never was the case of a man of unquestion'd piety, and probity, and worth, which would be a rash and ungrounded assertion. However to me this seems likely to be a mistake, by what I meet with in *The life and death of Stephen Marshall, sometime Minister of the Gospel at Finchingfield in Essex; written by way of letter to a Friend; and publish'd in 1680.* That villanous pamphlet was drawn up, I am inform'd, by his son-in-law, *W—*, who could not be ignorant of this, had it been true; and who appears so bent upon defaming him, that it is not to be suppos'd that he omitted any thing that he knew could furnish him with matter of reflection. He towards the close of his account has this expression: "Honest *Stephen*, for all his fame, wit, learning, honour, cunning, wealth, must die, die of a consumption too.— His sickness was long and tedious, which made him a very skeleton, and ghastly spectacle before his death. Some report that like *Hender-son*, he dy'd full of horror and despair. They that speak most sparingly of him, say, he had not that assurance of his salvation that he expected to have had at his death." We may be assur'd that if this *rake-shame* could have found any reason to believe he dy'd *mad and raving*, he would not have spar'd him, or have forbore mentioning it. 'Tis hard to suppose that you should have better intelligence as to his condition in his last hours, than He could get

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who was' so nearly related to him. This therefore I should think you might very well have spar'd, without losing any of the beauties of your work. And when you so freely represent him as one of the *trumpets of the times*, it might not have been amiss, if you had a little consider'd his defence of the side he took in our civil broyls; a piece which I am inform'd was never yet answered.

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BUT there is one member of the assembly yet behind, on whom you are still more severe, and that is Dr. *Cornelius Burges*, whom you call *ua scandalous Doctor of divinity of the puritan party*: And tho' 'twould be no difficult thing to recriminate, and tell you of more than one scandalous Doctor of divinity of the high church party, yet it the account you give of him be true, I cannot think my doing so, would be any excuse. You tell us, "he was the ring-leader or the rabble, that appear'd tumultuously against the Lord *Strafford*, and became famous in these sort of exploits, and was won't to cry out and bragg, these are my band-dogs; I can set them on, and take them off as I please." This I grant to be very unbecoming his function. You afterwards tell us he was "a *boutefeu*, and the perpetual trumpeter to the word and most violent proceedings of the Parliament: A great instrument in bringing on the miseries of the nation, in which he was so suriously active, and without so scandalously subservient, that few or none have undertaken to vindicate him." But I doubt not if a strict search were made, (which I am not now at leisure for) there might be several found that wert *bouteseus* on the other side, and as furiously active, and scandalously subser-

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subservient in bringing on the miseries of the nation, by church rigour and straining the prerogative, as ever lie was by fomenting mobbs and clamours, among the populace, that yet have been vindicated and applauded. You add he was *a true time-server*: But were all such to have a mark set upon them, I'm afraid many that are mention'd with honour in your history, must be branded, "He gain'd so much as to grow rich by the purchase of Bishop's lands: But after the restoration he lost all." And methinks that might be allowed to be a Efficient punishment: "And living privately at *Watford* in *Hertfordshire*, he there dy'd in great want and poverty, tormented and eaten un with a cancer in his neck and cheek; a fearful instance of rebellion and sacrilege. I find 'tis a common thing with you to set up for the interpreter of God's judgments, which you would in others represent as rash and assuming. You discover this temper in my Lord *Russel's* case, and in Alderman *Cornish's* case, and in Mr. *John Hampden's* case, as well as with reference to Dr. *Burgess*. Now suppose another should cake the same method with respect to Archbishop *Laud* and my Lord *Strafford*, and some other applauded heroes of yours, would you not exclaim? And yet if you come to the reason of the thing, 'twould be hard to say why one side might not interpret the judgments of GOD in their own favour, and against their opposites, as well as the other. 'Tis a sign this is not reckon'd a fair method, because it would not be born, if reported. To crown all, you add this admonition; "That an incendiary, let his Religion *and cause* (and you may if you pleade al-
"so add, *or dignity in Church or State*) be

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Ib. p. 779.
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“what it will, is never to be spar’d by an
 “impartial historian; whose business is to
 “display the honour, and expose the infa-
 “my of all that make a noise in the world:”
 And had you done this without distinction,
 I don’t see how any could be justly aggriev’d:
 But under pretence of *never sparing Incendi-*
aries, to charge men falsly with abominable
 crimes, and conceal whatever may be said in
 their favour, is no great sign or *impartiality*.
 That I may do a little Justice to the me-
 mory of this Dr. *Burgess*, I shall transcribe
 what I find concerning him, in a manuscript
 history (which I have in my hands) of the
 assembly, drawn up by Dr. *Henry Sampson*, a
 person well known in *London*. When he
 comes to this Doctor, he gives this account
 or him:

“A man of solid parts, and great learn-
 “ing. If any accuse him for leaving the
 “episcopal side, (and then he was an ex-
 “cellent man) for covetousness, or sacri-
 “lege, he has answered for himself. If he
 “forsook episcopacy, in the time of his grea-
 “test straits, he would not return to it, nor
 “make a sordid recantation, that he might
 “be put into the Priests Office for a piece of
 “bread. Sure I am there is a sermon of
 “his extant, which was preach’d at *Mer-*
cers-Chappel, Jan. 14. 1648, fuller of loy-
 “alty than the boldest of other men durst
 “speak at that time. Others made a baw-
 “ling in those days and obscur’d their
 “minds in ambiguities and metaphors, to
 “help them off if they were question’d:
 “But he spake out. *Be wise now therefore O*
ye Citizens, have no hand nor join with any
in such a wicked act (viz. of killing the
 “King:) And the rest is in the same strain.
 Its

“Its well known he argu’d against imposing
 “the covenant in the assembly, and refus’d
 “the taking it till he was suspended. If
 “any question his abilities let them but read
 “his printed books, and they will soon be
 “satisfy’d what a solid Divine he was. He
 “was excellently skill’d in the liturgical
 “controversies, and those of Church govern-
 “ment. He was owner of all the books of
 “common-prayer that ever were printed in
 “*England*, and bestow’d them upon *Oxford*
 “library. See his letter with them in *A.*
 “*a Wood*. How well he shew’d the necessi-
 “ty of reformation, his controversy with
 “*Dr. Pearson* declares. With him we may
 “match *Dr. Sparrow*, afterwards Bishop of
 “*Exon in Norwich*, a great Liturgist.”

AND thus I have done with the members
 of the Assembly at *Westminster*, and shall now
 pass on to those Ministers that were eje-
 cted in 1662. There are some of them, of
 whom you give favourable characters: As of
Mr. George Hughes, *Mr. John Tombes*, *Mr. Theo-*
philus Gale, *Mr. Matthew Poole*, *Dr. Wild*,
Mr. Charnock, *Mr. Thomas Gouge*, *Dr. Owen*,
 and *Dr. Jacomb*. And there are a great many
 others of them that deserv’d as good chara-
 cters, as those you have singled out: But as
 for others of them, you are ready enough to
 bear hard upon them.

SOMETIMES you reflect upon a number of
 them at once: Thus you tell us, “That a
 “representation declaiming all concern in
 “the endeavours us’d to promote the resto-
 “ration, was in 1659, presented to the
 “rump-parliament, by thirty-eight Mini-
 “sters of the county of *Leicester*, of which
 “twenty-four lost their benefices in the year
 “1662.” Which is what I have not had an
 oppor-

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p. 208.

Ib. p. 408.

Ib. p. 438.

Ib. p. 568.

Ib. p. 568.

Ib. p. 608,

609.

Ib. p. 647.

Ib. p. 707.

Ib. p. 841.

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p. 850.

opportunity of enquiring into the truth of. But in the mean time you take no notice how many of the episcopal clergy took the *Ingagement*, when others refus'd it: And that Dr. *Sanderson* in particular wrote for the taking it, and pleaded for putting a favourable construction upon it.

Nine Cases
p. 94.

AT other times you refresh: upon particular persons, and among the rest on Mr. *Baxter*, You speak with a great deal of contempt: of his *Reformed Liturgy*. But give me leave to ask you. Whether you have ever read it? I therefore take the liberty to ask that question, because I can assure you, that some that have, and compar'd it with that establish'd by law, do judge it for aptness and gravity of expression, excellent coherence and method, and suitableness to all the emergencies of human life, to be incomparably the better.

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p. 48.

YOU tell us also of Mr. *Baxter*, "That at the *Savoy* conference, he was either perplex'd in his understanding, or indispos'd for closing the difference: For no proposition could be made plain enough to gain his assent: And it was hard to say, whether his involving an argument, and raising a mist, was art or infirmity."

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p. 49.

BUT I have given a sufficient account of this matter in print already, and to that I refer you: And I cannot see how you can charge him with either being *perplex'd in his understanding, or indispos'd for closing the difference*, till you disprove that general position he went upon, which I think may easily be defended; "That whensoever the commanding or forbidding of a thing indifferent, is like to occasion more hurt than good, and this
"may

Abridgm.
Vol. I. p.
168, 169,
170.

“may be foreseen, there the commanding
“or forbidding is a sin.”

You also add, “That he was much too
“forward, and to blame in the manage-
“ment of that conference. And that notwith-
“standing all his industry and activity, and
“his no small parts, he was inferiour in tem-
“per, judgment and learning to several of
his brethren.” But to this also, I have
made a return already, when the same thing
was objected by another author, from whom
you thought fit to take it. All that knew
Mr. *Baxter*, know he was of a warm temper:
However, in the *Savoy Conference*, he did no-
thing but what his brethren press’d him to,
and put him upon: And therefore I can’t
see how he can be blam’d for being *too for-
ward*. ’Tis well you’ll own him *a man of parts*;
and you might, if you’d thought fit, have
added, eminent piety too: And as for his
being *inferiour to several of his brethren*, he was
not backward to own it: And yet some
of them, who had met with not a little
applause in the world, did not think him at
all their inferiour. But whatever he was, if
compar’d with other Divines in the establish’d
church, or out of it, he was one that GOD
own’d eminently in his work, and made use
of to spread serious piety in a degenerate age,
and therefore I think not to be spoken of
with contempt, by any that have a love and
value for real religion.

AND then, as to Dr. *Manton*, you say, “That
“with all his good qualities and abilities, a
“faithful historian ought not to let him pass,
“without declaring, that he knows not how
“to excuse his general proceedings in the late
“times.” I know not what you here refer to,
except it be to the Doctor’s praying publick-
ly,

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pag. 438.

ly, at the time of *Oliver's* inauguration in his Protectorship: And if I am therein the right, I desire you to consider why you should give measures that you do not take; when you have no more signify'd your inability to excuse Bp. *Sprat* for his famous Panegyrick upon *Oliver*, than I Dr. *Manton* for his praying at his instalment. You would be hard put to it to shew, that it is more unfaithful in me to let one pass, than it is in you to take no notice of the other: When it is hardly supposable the Doctor's prayer, could have any thing in it more liable to objection, on the account of flattery, than the Bishop's *Pindarick Ode on the happy Memory of Oliver Cromwel Protector*.

AND when veil add, "That tho' it cannot be deny'd, that the differers felt a great loss in Dr. *Manton's* death; yet the church in general had not so great a one in quitting his living, if it be consider'd who was his successor, the unexceptionable Dr. *Simon Patrick*:" One would hardly think that you were in earned; but that the matter you are upon is an unseemly thing to jest in. Tho' Dr. *Patrick*, who succeeded Dr. *Manton*, was truly a great and a worthy man, and perhaps in some things his superiour: yet does it not by any means follow from thence, either that the church in general had no loss, because that might have had the benefit of the publick labours of both Doctors, had the law allow'd it; Nor that every one that quitted his living in 1662, had as worthy a successor as Dr. *Manton* had; nor that every one that succeded in the room of those ejected, were as unexceptionable as Dr. *Patrick*; nor that those who kept in the church,

church, were generally speaking to be preferr'd to those that kept out of it Nor in short, that they that forc'd so many worthy men as were then ejected, to quit their livings for the sake of their consciences, did a thing that could be justify'd, or at all excus'd. And these things being barr'd against, tho' it should be own'd that the loss of the parish of *Covent-Garden* in Dr. *Manton's* quitting his living, was the less, in that he had so worthy a successor as Dr. *Patrick*, I don't see what end it can serve: Nor can I perceive what you could aim at in mentioning it, unless it were to put a slight upon Dr. *Manton*, who was so worthy a man, that I think it not amiss to say, I wish you and I may live in the world to as good purpose, and at last leave it with as much honour and credit as he did: And as I should be satisfy'd with it, and thankful for it, so I should think might you.

YOU have also some few other reflections that are pointed at me and my account of the ejected Minidters; in which I took what care I could, tho' not so as to keep from mistakes, which I am desirous ro have rectify'd.— You intimate, that Mr. *Jeanes* is not so properly to be reckon'd (as I have brought him in) among the ejected Ministers. But when I my self had taken notice of this, methinks you don't make any great discovery.

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YOU are afterwards pleas'd to flurt at me for speaking of the humility and peaceableness of Dr. *William Spurstow*, whom you call a *celebrated incendiary*. The proof you give of it is this: "That "he was one of the five, who compos'd the book "that so boldly struck at the establish'd religion, "all'd *Smectymnuus*, and that he preach'd certain sermons before the Long-parliament." But then you own, that he was ejected out of his mastership of *Katherine Hall* in *Cambridge*, for refusing the Ingagement: And this methinks is no great argument of his being an *incendiary*! For

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p. 151.

whatever concern he discover'd to have disorders rectify'd, and grievances redress'd, he was for adhering to our old legal confutation. His being one of the authors of *Smectymnuus*, only shews that he neither thought religion to depend upon a stinted liturgy, nor upon diocesan episcopacy: But notwithstanding that work, he could have submitted to a well regulated episcopacy, and a liturgy that should have been freed from passages liable to just exceptions: And therefore I don't see why he mayn't still pass for an humble and peaceable Divine.

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You tell me, "That notwithstanding my plea, by the Common-prayer-book, the Minister was never forc'd to administer either the Sacrament or the Absolution to any person unfit." Which is as much as to say, that you are for over-ruling my plea: But I conceive it might have contributed to the conviction of such of your readers as are for seeing with their own eyes, if you had given the reason for your doing so; that so they might have been judges of the grounds you go upon. Your asserting so positively, while this is wav'd, looks as if you expected your affirmation was sufficient to supply the place of proof; which is an allowance, I don't suppose you would make to another, and therefore I don't see how you can expect it should be made to you, by any indifferent persons.

I can't forbear adding one reflection more, which is this; that I neither admire many of the authors which you cite, nor your way of citing them: And I have some reason to think I am not singular in either. Many of the authors that are cited by you, have so little credit in the world, as to be far from giving sufficient warrant to justify your inferring things from them, into an history that should give an account to posterity of past transactions. And your way of citing 'em, is liable to very great objections.

You

You mention a number of names in your margin, at the beginning of a section: But as to the particulars produc'd, there's no distinction between what you had from one, and what from another. So that if your reader is desirous to know your authority for any particular that occurs, he may still be to seek for it, and not find it without a great deal of pains in searching. Nay, I cannot perceive there is any certain way of distinguishing what is purely your own, from what you produce authors for. This is a method that looks suspicious: And tho' perhaps your taking it might be some ease to yourself, yet it naturally adds to the trouble of your readers, who many times must look into all your authors, before they can be fully satisfy'd where you had a passage which they enquire after, and whether your author is fairly cited, or misrepresented. You best know your design in this method which is peculiar to your self: But I am very much mistaken, if upon consulting any number of your readers, you find it at all adds to the credit of your history, or renders it the more authentick.

AND now upon the whole, I pretend not to judge how these my remarks on your performance, drawn up with so much freedom, will be resented. It may perhaps displease you, that I should animadvert on what you call your *deep founded Fabrick*. But tho' you might build at your own pleasure, you could expedit no other than different censures from your readers; and if you are so dispos'd, I don't see why you mayn't make use of 'em, in order to the building strong as well as deep. You tell us you never was *destitute of honesty and courage*. I am heartily glad to hear it, and wish the event may shew it: tho' perhaps you never yet had such a trial in this respect as you'll have upon this occasion. I can assure you I have not design'd *reproaching you*, (which you seem concern'd about) tho' I think I have

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Ib. p. 6.

Ib. p. 8.

nave discover a good reason in several things to differ from you. I can safely say, I have overlook'd a great many things that I think liable to just objection, that I might not be tedious: nor have I push'd things to extremity. Some I know very well, will think I have been too soft and tender: But I have taken the way in which I should best like to be dealt with my self in such a case. And if what I have offer'd in this mild way contributes nothing to your conviction, I am far from thinking hard words or severe reflections would have added either light or force to my Suggestions.

WHETHER you'll make me any return at all, or what shall be the way of replying, if you think some return not improper, I leave wholly to your self, without pretending to prescribe to you. Only if you should quote authorities upon me, I beg you'd be mere particular than in your history, that I may not have an endless toil, in seeking for the passages referr'd to.

THE true reason of my preferring this publick way of the press to that of a private letter, was not that I had the least desire to expose you, but because I was willing those that come after us should be set right, in what I take to be of no small concern to 'em. And I can truly say, I have studiously wav'd any thing that I thought might be justly offensive: And notwithstanding all my freedom, can declare with great cheerfulness, that all manner of prosperity, extensive usefulness, and success in all truly laudable designs, is more heartily wish'd you by no man, than by,

Westminster, *Octob.*
the 20. 1718. the
Day of the Coro-
nation of King
GEORGE.

Sir,

your sincere Friend,

and humble Servant,

E. CALAMY.

FINIS.