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THE 609
GOOD OLD CAUSE,
OR,
LYING in TRUTH,
BEING A
Second Defence
OF THE
LORD BISHOP of SARUM,
From a Second
SPEECH.

AND ALSO,

~~that the Laws~~
The DISSECTION of a SERMON

It is said his LORDSHIP Preached
IN THE

Cathedral Church of Salisbury

Last 29th of May.

By one MISO-DOLOS.

The Enemies of the Lord shall be found Liers.

LONDON, Printed and Sold by the Bookellers of
London and Westminster. 1710.

A 0.1.1914



[Faint, mostly illegible handwritten text, possibly a letter or document fragment.]

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the Bishop from the Impostor.

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SEMPLERRATUM.

PAge 12. dele. the turn'd Commas on the Margin of the Second Paragraph beginning at lin. 11.

A
S E C O N D D E F E N C E
O F T H E
L O R D B i s h o p o f S A R U M,
F r o m a S e c o n d
S P E E C H.

NO Man has more *Deserv'd* than this Good *Bishop*— And no Man has been more *Persecuted* by Various Ways and Means than his *Lordship*, even to *Mobbing!* But the *Ugliest* and most *Malicious* of all these *Arts*, is that of putting *False* things upon him. To Write *Scandalous*, *Seditious*, and *Senseless* Papers, and to Affix his *Lordship's* Name to them! I was Forc'd some Years ago to *Vindicate* his *Lordship's* Reputation from one of this Sort. That *Speech* had a *Bookseller's* Name to it of good Figure, and look'd something Like. But this *Speech* (said likewise to be Spoken in the *House of Lords*) has no Body to Own it, and has all the *Marks of Grub*.

But the *Nasty Phiz* is Nothing to the *Inside*. That discovers the *Man*. The *Heart* is *False*. The *Arguments* *Crude* and *Undigested*. The *Constitution* Corrupted. Every *Noble Part* is *Tainted*. And there is such an *Air* runs through the Whole that is *Invulnerable!*

I believe there are some things in this same Printed *Speech* which the *Bishop* did really say, because they are very Good. But there are several things Omitted, which the Hearers can Remember, and some of the Best *Strokes* in it, as his being afraid of the *Boots* in *Scotland*, &c. These his *Lordship* would not have *Dropt*, if he had Printed the *Speech* himself, for as he never had *Reason*, so he never was *Asham'd* of any thing he ever said in his whole *Life!*

B

Now

Now my Business shall be to Distinguish these as well as I can, and where I see the *Mark* of the *Bishop*, to shew it the Reader; But to Vindicate his *Lordship* from those things which all that know him must believe it Impossible should Escape him.

(1.) And first, the *Bishop* plainly appears at the Beginning, where he says, p. 2. “ If I could see that I had gone out of the Way “ in that (the *Revolution*) I should hold my self Unworthy to Ap- “ pear longer, either in this Habit, or in this Great Assembly: “ But would think my self bound to pass away the rest of my “ Life in Retirement or Sorrow. There is Nothing more Certain “ in Religion, than that we ought to Repent of every Sin we have “ Committed; and that we cannot truly Repent, unless we Repair “ and Restore as far as it is in our Power.

(2.) This is truly *Christian*, and like a Good *Bishop*. But the *Im- pastor* soon Appears in the very next *Paragraph*, where he says, That the *Notion* of *Kings* having their Power from God, came in with the *Reformation*, in Opposition to *Popery*.

This is perfectly *Senseless*, and it is *Ridiculous* to put this upon the *Bishop*. For None knows better than his *Lordship*, that the *Notion* of *Kings* having their Power from God, was long in the World before either the *Reformation* or *Popery*. All the Ancient Fathers are full of it. And they took it from the Holy *Scriptures*, where it is Abundantly testify'd.

But the *Exposition* here given of this *Article* shews the *Cloven Foot* yet more Apparently. For it is said, That by *Kings* having their Power from God, was not Meant, That they had any *Distinct Authority* besides the *Law* of the *Land* deriv'd to them from God, but that by the *Laws* of God, the *Authority* of the *Law* of the *Land*, was Secur'd to them.— And that the *Scripture* did only establish the several *Constitutions* and *Governments* that were in the different *Parts* of the *World*.

What! Before there were any different *Constitutions*, or any *Municipal Laws* in the *World*! And the *Bishop* knows very well, That there was *Government*, and *Kings* too, long before this. And did *Kings* derive their *Authority* from those *Laws*, which deriv'd all their *Authority* from these same *Kings*? And had these *Kings* no *Distinct Authority* besides the *Law* of the *Land*? By what *Authority* then did they Make those *Laws*?

Now what a *Bayes* was the *Publisher* of this *Speech*, to make the *Bishop* (like a *Dog* in a *Wheel*) Dance round such a *Circle* as this? *Kings* made *Laws*— and *Laws* made *Kings*! Both *First*, and both *Second*! When I go before you, and you before me, which goes *First*?

(3.) But

(3.) But the *Bishop* is yet more Expos'd in the next *Paragraph*, p. 3. Where he is made to Suppose that *St. Paul's* Doctrine against *Resistance* was meant only to the *Jews*, and that only upon a Notion they had that none of a *Foreign Nation* should Rule over them. This makes all us who are *Christians* of the *Gentiles* to be totally unconcerned in these *Doctrines* of *St. Paul*, and that they are now long since out of Date. A short way to throw off the Authority of the *Holy Scriptures*! But was *St. Paul's* Epistle to the *Romans* meant only to the *Jews*? Then he mistook in his *Direction*! And did he who was the *Apostle* of the *Gentiles*, mean nothing of the *Gentiles*, in what he wrote to the *Gentiles*? And if his meaning had been only against those who would Exclude a *Foreigner*, would he have said not one Word of the Case, no not so much as by an *Imuendo*? This is not *Expounding* but *Making* a new *Gospel*.

But this *Make-Speech* says further, *That they* (the *Apostles*) *did not meddle to Determin where this Authority was lodged, that was to be gathered out of the several Constitutions: They did not Determine how much was due to the Emperor, and how much to the Senate.* It is Pity indeed! But the *Apostles* were not well Skilled in the Doctrine of *Co-Ordinate Powers*. And in *Sub-Ordinate* the whole is in the *Supreme*. Therefore the *Apostle* Commands to *Submit* to the *King* as *Supreme*, and unto *Governors* as unto those that are sent by *Him*. And takes not the least Notice of the *Senate*. Which was impossible had he been a *Whigg*.

But the *Speech* goes on and says, "That not long after those *Epistles* were writ, the *Senate* Condemned *Nero* to Dye. And that none of the *Christians* interposed in that Matter.

Now the *Bishop* knows it is a Dispute whether these *Epistles* were writ in the Reign of *Nero*, or not? But however, *Nero* did prevent any Help could come to him, for he killed himself. And the *Christians* then were *Few* and *Inconsiderable*, and *Scatter'd* up and down the *Empire*, and in no Condition to *Interpose* in that Matter.

But he says, *That the Primitive Christians reckon'd it as a Glory of their Religion, that their first Persecutor came to such an End.* But did they bring him to that End? What is this to *Resistance*? The *Bishop* could not be so Silly thus to Strain an Argument, nothing to the Purpose.

(4.) In the next he falls a Praising a little *Jingling Nonsense* some Body put upon *Trajan*, as if he were willing his *Subjects* should *Rebell* against him, if they thought he did not Govern right. But the *Bishop* knows the World too well, to believe any *Prince* in *Christendom*, if he should say so. Or to any other Argument from it, than either draw that he was a very great *Fool*, or had some *Politick Design* to *Cajole* the *People*. And his Naming this fine saying, *Pro me,*

si merear in me, being put upon the *Coin* in *Scotland* in the *Minority* of *King James VI*. Shews only what *Rebels* they were, and what his *Inclinations* are. But his inferring as if the *King* allowed of it when he came of Age, because *the Coin was not call'd in, but continu'd Current till the Union*, was totally unworthy the *Bishop*, who knew that that *King* till the *Union* was perpetually Harassed with the frequent *Rebellions* of the *Presbyterians*, who never yet suffered any *King* to live in Quiet (nor any others of the *Resistance Principle*) where they had Power to Disturb him. And the *King* was so much in their Power, that there might be Reasons why he not did call in the *Coin*, tho' he did not like it. But if it was a perfect *Oversight* or *Neglect*, there is nothing can be inferred from it. So that this is over *Crude* to be imposed upon a Man of the *Bishops* close Method of Reasoning.

I know not whether the *Breeches Coin* of the *Common-wealth* was call'd in after the *Restoration*. But I am sure it went Current through the Nation many Years after, and I believe till the Calling in of the *Broad Money* since the *Revolution*. Was that any Argument that the Right of that *Common-wealth* was acknowledged by *King Charles II*? This is too Fulsome to put upon the *Bishop*!

(5.) He then tells that the *Laws* of the *Empire* were against the *Primitive Christians*. What then? Then he says their *patient Suffering* was Conform to the *Doctrin laid down by the Apostles*.

This gives up the Argument *Num. 3*. That the *Doctrin of Non Resistance* was Preached only to the *Jews*.

And secondly it implys we may *Resist* for our *Laws* (which Condemn that *Resistance*) tho' not for our *Religion*, which yet is made the great *Pretence* for *Resistance*. But I refer the *Author* to *Dr. Tillotson's Excellent Letter* to the *Lord Russel*, for full Satisfaction in this Point.

(6.) This is all the use he makes of the *Holy Scriptures*. But he finds the *Apocrypha* more to his Purpose, and is large upon it, p. 4. with this Reason, that it is useful for *Example of Life and Instruction of Manners*, and as such some Parts of it are read in our *Churches*. But the Book of the *Maccabees*, which only is here Quoted, the *Bishop* knows is not allowed to be Read in the *Church*. And therefore he would have been more Cautious than to have Vouched this *Book* with an *Authority* which does not belong to it. The *Jews* were *Conquered* and *Tributaries*, but under *Laws* and a *Government* of their own, in the time of *Alexander the Great*. But in the Scramble of his Dominions after his Death made by his *Captains*, who each Seized what they could, I see not but they were set free: They were *Attacked* and *Oppressed*, sometimes by one, sometimes by another, but most by *Syria* their Neighbours. This is far from the Case of *Natural*

ral Born Subjects taking Arms and Rebelling against their Lawful Sovereigns. And ther is some Difference betwixt *Mattathias* here called a private Priest who began the Resistance against the Syrians, and the private Priest who began the Resistance at the Revolution. The Bishop, (for his own sake) would never have Drawn such a Parallel as this!

In the next Place his Lordship would not have Quoted the VI Article so Partially, for as he took Notice that *the Church doth read the Apocryphal Books for Example of Life and Instruction of Manners*, he would not have left out the next Words, viz. *But yet doth not Apply them to Establish any Doctrine*. This would have Cut the Throat of the Speech, which Applies these Books, not to Establish but to Create the Doctrine of Resistance, which the Holy Scriptures make to be Damnation.

And would his Lordship have gone about to Establish the Authority of these Apocryphal by putting it off to another time, and with such a Reason as this, which concludes the Paragraph in these Words,

“ I shall afterwards shew what Use was made of these Books, not only by private Writers of our Church, but by what the whole Body in Convocation was about to Determine.

This must have set the whole House a Laughnig surely! Was about to Determine! Why then did they not Determine it? It was because they did not Like it. Here was a Proof for a Bishop! That the Rejecting these Books was Establishing their Authority! But the Bishop is not Hurt by this, for it is so Gross that no Body can Believe it. A Probable Blunder might pass even upon a Man of the Bishop's good Sense. But he is a Silly Forger cannot Make one Letter alike.

(7.) Such is the Argument of the next Paragraph, where this Forger wou'd make the Bishop Struggle from under the Weight of the Homilies, by this strong Reason,

“ The Second Book of Homilies, which has the Homilies in it against Wilful Rebellion, is generally believ'd to have been Compos'd by Bishop Jewell, who was by much the best Writer in that time. It is Certain, he Understood the Meaning of them well: Now I will Read you two Passages out of his Defence of his Apology for the Church of England—

Was there ever such a Silly Sliding off from the Homilies as this? And this is all he says to them! To begin with a Generally Believ'd— And this to no Manner of Purpose. For what does it signifie who Compos'd the Homilies? They were Read and Consider'd and Pass'd by all the Authority of Church and State that can possibly be in England. And who Compos'd them is of no more Importance

tance than who brought in any *Bill* which is Pass'd into a *Law*, It is thenceforward the *Act* of the *Legislative* Authority and the *Composer* is no more Consider'd,

But what is this Mighty *Passage* of Bishop *Jewell's* which this *Mock Bishop* has thus Screw'd in? Even what to my poor Apprehension makes Directly against him! Thus it begins, *The Nobles of Scotland neither drew the Sword, nor attempted War against the Prince.* If this was True, was it not very well done? And would the *Bishop of Sarum* have ever brought this as an *Authority for Resistance*? But it follows, *They sought only the Continuance of God's undoubted Truths, and the Defence of their own Lives against your barbarous and cruel Invasions.* He speaks here to the *Pope* and the *French*, who, as he says, Invaded *Scotland* to bring in *Popery*. And *Foreign Invasions* to this End are surely to be *Resisted*. But he would have the *Bishop* mean, *Invasions* from the *Prince* upon their *Religion*, &c. else he means Nothing to the Purpose. And Supposing this to be the Case, why then truly all *Defence* is allowable that can be made, without *Drawing the Sword or attempting War against the Prince*, which is all that *Bishop Jewell* says, or Pretends to Justify.

But in his *Apology for the Church of England*, Printed at *London*, 1606. in 12's, p. 80. he Asserts it to be the Doctrine of the Church of England, *ut Principibus Suis & Magistratibus, quamvis Impiis, Obtemperarent.* Which is exactly pursuant to the Doctrine of our *Homilies*, That we ought to Submit even to *Wicked Princes*. But what a Method is this, to pretend to Answer the *Homilies*, and then bring Nothing but Quotations out of *Bishop Jewell*? Which if they were Contrary, would be no Confutation of the *Homilies*. But I will Answer him in every thing.

There is another Passage quoted from *Bishop Jewell*, p. 5. in these Words,

“ Neither do any of all these (*Luther, Melancton, &c.*) teach the
“ People to Rebel against their Princes: But only to defend them-
“ selves by all Lawful Means against Oppressions, as did *David* a-
“ gainst *Saul*, so do the *Nobles* in *France* at this day, they Seek not
“ to Kill, but to Save their own Lives.

If these *Nobles* did no more than *David*, they may be the better Excused. For *David* never *Resisted* either *Saul* in Person, or any of his Troops that were sent against him. He made Inroads indeed against the *Amalekites* and other Enemies of *Israel*, but never against *Saul* or any Employ'd to take him, otherwise than to save himself by *Flight*, but not by *Resistance* of any *Commissionated* from the *King*.

Is it possible then that the *Bishop* could make such an Inference from all this as is set down in the next Words, viz. *These Passages*

Passages shew that he looked on Rebellion to be a violent Rising against a Prince executing the Laws, &c. that is, against a Good Prince who Oppressed no Man. And was Saul such a One in Relation to David? He was a Shameless fellow could put this upon the Bishop of Sarum! And to make him Vapour after and say, *It has appeared what Bishop Jewell's Sense of the Matter was.* Appeared! Yes, it has Appeared—— And shews a Man fit to be Begged who should bring this as an Argument for Resistance! The Carriage of David towards Saul being the most Flagrant Instance against it in the World; and so Insisted upon in the Second Part of the Homily against Rebellion.

And the *Come off* here put in the Bishops Mouth is as Simple, where he is made to say, by way of *Salvo*, That David tho' he Defended himself, yet had a Just and Sacred Tendernefs to the Person of SAUL, when he had him in his Power, which is certainly Sacred by our Constitution. Here the Bishop is supposed to Justify the Revolution, and that Resistance which was then made against the late King James. And was there none against his Person, no not at the Boyn? But is not Seizing a Man, putting him under Guards, and forcing him to fly into Foreign Countries, to Beg his Bread, is not this something to his Person? And would the Bishop say, in Defence of the Revolution, that this was the Sacred Tendernefs which was due to the Person of the King by our Constitution? What a Fool would the Bishop make of the Doctrin of Resistance at this Rate! To say it must not touch the Person of the King! *Dan. De Foes Dry and Wet Martyrdom* has more Sense than this, and just as much Loyalty! If David had driven Saul into a Cave, or among the Amalekites, if he had Seized his Crown and his Revenues, and Attainted him, could it have been said, he had done nothing against his Person? The Bishop knows in his Heart, that to Exempt the Person of the Prince from Resistance, is to Bar all Resistance. For in the Construction of Law, as well as from the Reason of the thing, any Attempt against the Kings Forces, to Seize his Guards, Castles, or Ships of War, or to rise in Arms without his Commission, is Treason against him, as being justly interpreted a Design against his Person. And this is our Constitution, it is our Law. And whoever crys *Constitution*, or *Law*, and the Sacred Tendernefs to the Persons of Princes, and all the while means Resistance to their Authority, is a Deceiver, or is Deceived himself. There was a Traiterous Position of taking Arms by the Kings Authority against his Person. This is for the Person against the Authority. Thus Rebels change, but are not changed. Both these Positions are a perfect Banter upon our Constitution and the Laws; as well as upon our Homilies (which the Bishop has Subscribed) upon the Doctrin of our Church, and the Holy Scriptures of God!

(8.) We have now Travelled onwards in this *Speech* till we are come to the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*. And here he insists upon her Assisting the *Lords of the Congregation* in *Scotland* against Queen *Mary*. And the *Rebels* in *France* and *Holland* against their *Natural Princes*. And what would he infer from hence? That she thought it Lawful for her own *Subjects* to *Rebell* against her? Would he put that upon *Q. Elizabeth*? If she were upon the *Throne*, and he had made such a *Speech* in her *Hearing*, she would have made him feel the weight of his *Carcass*, and instructed him in the *Doctrine of Treason*! For she was *Semper Eadem* as to her *Prerogative*, tho' her *Title* was disputed. She would not let the *Crown* be the worse for her wearing. She would have made it a *Wry-faced* Argument in this *Speaker*, to Infer the Lawfulness of *Subjects* taking Arms against their *Natural Princes*, from *Sovereign Princes* making *War* upon each other, for whatever *Reasons*. These *Reasons* many times are not *Good*, they can hardly be so on Both Sides. And to Do as we would be Done to, is not a *Rule* to all *Princes*. They are Subject to like *Infirmities* as we. And if these may be *Pleaded* against *Principles*, what a *Pass* must the *World* come to? And *Errors* in *Politicks* are but *Personal* Mistakes, for *Kings* are but *Men*, and *Queens* but *Women*! And their *Advisers* are of the same Sort. But they will not own an *Ill* thing when they do it. And in this *Sense* *Words* are to be *Believed* before *Actions*, That tho' many *Do* ill, yet few *Care* to own it. And asserting good *Principles* and good *Intentions*, some think a *Palliation* to very *Indifferent Practices*. And it is much *Easier* to *Mankind* to *Say* than to *Do* well. Have we not known *Pretences* made when they were very *Contradictions*, as to turn *Faith* into *Faction*, and *Religion* into *Rebellion*! And *People* will be *Taken* with this, when it is for the *publick Good*! Those things that betwixt you and me would be *Counted* errant *Knavery*, and such a fellow not thought fit to *Live* in the *World*, nor his *Word* to be taken for a *Groat*, are no *Rules* to *Princes* and *States*, and the most *Exquisite* at this Sort of *Dealing*, are most *Refined Politicians*! That *Direction* of *St. Paul*, *Not to do Evil* that *Good* may come, needs as much *Explanation* as his 13th to the *Romans*, tho' he has *Affixed Damnation* to Both. What the *Good* of *Mother Church* on the one Side, and the *Preservation* of the *Protestant Religion* on the other, have done in the *World*, may match those things we give the *Worst* Names to, and make *Religion* but a *Jest*! This is the true *Source* of that *Atheism* and *Deism* we have of late *Experienced* *Flowing* in amongst *Us*. For we must find a *New Gospel* before we can *Justify* all that has been *Acted* on the *Pretence* of *Religion*! And putting a *Fair Face* upon a *Foul Matter*, makes the *Cause* yet *Worse*, and *Ten-fold* more *Deformed*. It is

Fathering

Fathering our *Wickedness* upon *Christ*, and Serving the *Devil* for *God's* Sake!

Now if a Good *Bishop* had found any thing *Defective* in the *Administration* of *Queen Elizabeth*, or of any other *King* or *Queen* (as where may he find it not) would he Recommend this to *Posterity* as a *Precedent* to Justify *Wicked Principles*? This would be to Act the Part of the *Devil*! I have heard a Lewd Fellow Recommend the Example of *David* in the Matter of *Uriah* and *Bathsheba*. Pray, Sir, tell me, did *Q. Elizabeth* do well in Cutting off the Head of a *Sovereign Queen*, Great Grand-Mother to her present *Majesty*, and by whose Blood she now Reigns, and that in Form of a *Mock Trial* too, *Subjects* Sitting *Judges* over a *Sovereign Prince*! Why did you not Recommend this to her *Majesty's* Consideration likewise, as you did p. 3. the *Precedent* of the *Senate* Condemning *Nero* to be *Whipt* to *Death*? A *Civil Memento* before her Face! You might have done it *more Majorum* too, as it is there *Emphatically* Express'd! For ther is more than one Example of her *Royal Line* who have been thus wickedly Treated. The *Bishop's* good *Manners* (if nothing else) would have kept him from this *Stabbing* Eloquence, in Presence of his *Sovereign*, and in her own Hearing! I dare Appeal to all the *Noble Lords* present whether this be True! Therefore you, Sir, whoever you are, who have thus Vilely Imposed upon the good Lord *Bishop* of *Sarum*, I advise you to go Quickly to his *Lordship* (for he is of a *Forgiving* temper) and having begged his Pardon, get him to Intercede for you, lest, that *Whipping* come to your own Share (and by Order of the *Senate* too, and *more Majorum* by the surer Side) which you took so much Pleasure to Mention of an *Emperour*! Unless you think it *Braver* to Avoid it as He did!

The *Bishop* could not be so *Insipid*, as to Mention *Q. Elizabeth* to us, for a *Rule* in all her *Actions*. What if She had never done a good *Action* in her Life (except Restoring the *Reformation*, and keeping her *Parliaments* in good Order) What if she had Stripped the *Bishopricks* (as her *Father* did the *Abbies*) and had taken their *Terra Firma* their good *Manours* from them, and in lieu had given them some small *Impropriations* of *Tythes*, to Involve *Them* likewise in the *Sacrilege*? What if She had Abetted all the *Rebellions* in her Neighbour Countries, in *Scotland*, in *France*, and in *Holland*? They likewise, in their Turns, Abetted the *Rebellion* in *England* against *K. Char. I.* for you know one Good Turn deserves another! And the One *Precedent* is as Good as the Other! And when *Princes* will take this Method out of *Politicks*, it seldom fails to Return *Home* to them one time or other.

(9.) Page 11. you Mention the Earl of *Clarendon* with great Honour for what he (with two other Noble Lords) did at the *Restoration*, in hindering the *Crown to be Loaded with Prerogative and Revenue*. Were you then too in the *Arcana*? You were Born a *Pryer*! And if you could make good your *Accusation*, it would not Add much to the Memory of that Great Man. But it is sure the *Bishop* could not Pretend to all this Knowledge, for he was then but a Boy at School in *Scotland*, and will not have the *Vanity* to say, That he was at that *Age*, and in the *Circumstances* he was then under, Admitted into the *Familiarity* and the very *Heart-Secrets* of the Prime *Ministers* of State in *England*! He must have had it by the *Second Sight*, which they say comes to some in that *Country* very Soon. Or at *Second Hand* afterwards, which is not much more Certain, unless we knew from whom he had his Information!

But since you, Sir, who put out this *Speech*, exprefs so Great a Veneration for the then Earl of *Clarendon*, and say in the same p. 11. " That had it not been for his Firmness to his *English* Principles, " the Liberties of the Nation had been deliver'd up. And that " it is to his Memory we owe our being a free People. By which you must mean *Free to Rebel*, and by *English* Principles mean the *Principle of Resistance*, or else this *Speech* is none of yours, for this is the Point you Endeavour to Prove through it all. And then, as well for the Vindication of the Memory of that Noble Lord, as that you exprefs so Great a Value for what he says, let me give you his Sense upon the present Point, of *Kings* Aiding the *Rebels* of other *Kings*. You will find it in the *Second Volume* of his *History of the Rebellion*, p. 72. of the *first Edition* in *Folio*. Book VI. in these Words,

" There is not a Sadder Consideration than this Passion, and Injustice, in Christian Princes (and I pray God the Almighty Justice be not Angry, on this account, with the Government of Kings, Princes, and States) that they are seldom so Sollicitous that the Laws be executed, Justice administered, and Order performed within their own Kingdoms, as they are that all three may be Disturbed and Confounded amongst their Neighbours. And there is no Sooner a Spark of Dissention, a Discomposure in Affections, a Jealousy in Understandings, discerned to be in a Neighbour Province or Kingdom, to the hazarding the Peace thereof, but they, though in League and Amity, with their utmost Art and Industry, make it their business to Kindle that Spark into a Flame, and to Contract and Ripen all Unsettled Humours, and Jealous Apprehensions, into a Peremptory Discontent, and all Discontent into Sedition, and all Sedition into open and professed Rebellion. And they have rarely so ample Satisfaction in their own Greatness, or so Great a Sense and Value of God's Blessing upon them, as when

" they

“ they have been Instruments of drawing some Notorious Calamity
 “ upon their Neighbours. As if the Religion of Princes were No-
 “ thing but Policy, and that they Considered nothing More, than to
 “ make all other Kingdoms but their own Miserable: And because
 “ God hath Reserved them to be tryed only within His own Jurif-
 “ diction, and before His own Tribunal, that He means to try them
 “ too by other Laws and Rules, than He hath published to the
 “ World for His Servants to walk by. Whereas they ought to Con-
 “ sider, that God hath placed them over His People as Examples,
 “ and to give Countenance to His Laws by their own Striēt Obser-
 “ vation of them; and that as their Subjects are to be Defended, and
 “ Protected by their Princes, so They themselves are to be Assisted
 “ and Supported by one another; the Function of Kings being an
 “ Order by it self: And as a Contempt and Breach of every Law
 “ is, in the Policy of State, an Offence against the Person of the
 “ King, because there is a kind of Violation offer’d to his Person in
 “ the transgression of that Rule without which he cannot Govern;
 “ so the Rebellion of Subjects against their Prince ought to be looked
 “ upon, by all other Kings, as an Assault of their own Sovereignty,
 “ and in some Degree, a Design against Monarchy it self; and Con-
 “ sequently to be Suppressed, and Extirpated, in what other King-
 “ dom soever it is, with the like Concernment as if it were in our
 “ own Bowels.

This, Sir, I take to be a full Answer (and from an Authority you
 will not Question) to what you have said concerning *Q. Elizabeth*,
 her Abetting *Rebellion* in other Countries. It may cast a Blemish upon
 her Memory, (if that be your Design) but can be no Proof of the
Principle of Resistance.

(10.) But this will further appear from a Discourse written by
 Secretary *Cecil*, and which is to be seen in his own Hand in the *Cot-*
ton Library. He did advise *Q. Elizabeth* to assist the *Scots*, and wrote
 this Discourse upon that occasion, which he Entitles, *A short Dis-*
cussion of the weighty Matter of SCOTLAND. And therein he lays
 down these two *Principles* as Certain, “ *First*, That it is against God’s
 “ Law to aid any Subjects against their Natural Prince, or their Mi-
 “ nisters. *Second*, It is a very dangerous Precedent. And the Rea-
 sons he gives to persuade the *Queen* to this, are very different from
 what this *Speech* would make us believe. For Proof of this, take
 them in the *Secretary’s* own Words,

1. “ It is agreeable both to the Law of God and Nature, that every
 “ Prince and publick State should defend it self, not only from Perrils
 “ presently seen, but from Dangers that be probably seen to come after.
2. “ Nature and Reason teacheth every Person Politick or Other to
 “ use the same Manner of Defence, that the Adversary useth in Offence.

“ The *Secretary* then goes on, to persuade that *Queen* what Reasons she had at that time to expect a Storm from *France* : For that *France* was then in Peace with all her Neighbours, and under Pretence of Carrying on the War against *Scotland*, Levyed great Armies, and who did not see, that did the *French* once Conquer *Scotland*, their next Attempt wou’d be upon *England*, and to Smooth the Way for this, the *K.* and *Q.* of *France* had then assumed the Regal Title and Arms of *England* ; and concludes the *Q.* ought in time to consult her own and her Kingdoms Security, for in Cases where it concerns Kingdoms *haud putarant* comes too late.

“ The Treaty it self soon after entered into between *Q. Elizabeth* and the Subjects of *Scotland* is exactly agreeable to this Scheme ; for after a Recital of the Design the *K.* and *Q.* of *France* had to Conquer *Scotland*, and Unite the same to the Crown of *France* ; *Q. Elizabeth* for Preventing this, and Preserving *Scotland* in their Old Freedoms and Liberties, Free from Conquest ; Promises to send a certaine Number of Men into *Scotland* to expel the *French* from thence ; and takes upon her the Protection of these Subjects during the continuance of the Marriage between the *Scotch Queen* and *King* of *France*, and one Year longer, so as the *Scots* shall still acknowledge their Sovereign Lady the *Queen*, and shall endeavour themselves to Maintain the Liberty of their Country ; and the Estate of the Crown of *Scotland*.

The *Secretary* here gives quite another Turn to this whole Transaction than as Represented in the *Speech*, viz. That *Q. Elizabeth* as a Wise Prince, took Prudent Methods to Prevent the Wars being brought into the Heart of her own Kingdom ; But nothing that can look like her Approving of Subjects Resisting their Lawful Prince ; for if this Assistance of *Q. Elizabeth* to the *Scots* wou’d prove her approbation of *Resistance* to the Supreme Powers, this same Assistance will prove that she had no Regard to *Oaths* nor *Treaties*, for in *August* 1559, there was a formal *Treaty* Agreed and Concluded between the *K.* and *Q.* of *France* and *Q. Elizabeth*, wherein *Scotland* was included, and yet this last *Treaty* with the Subjects of *Scotland* was in the *February* following.

But to sum up the Evidence against this *Informer* who *Acts* the *Bishop*, let us look upon *Q. Elizabeth* her own Thoughts of *Resisting* the Supreme Powers. And to do that *Queen* Justice I’ll give it you in her own Words, from a Letter of her’s to *Sr. Nicholas Throckmorton* (then her *Ambassadour* in *Scotland*) it is Dated 27th *July* 1567.— It wou’d only by the by be observed that at this time several of the Subjects in *Scotland* had taken up Arms against the *Queen*, and had Imprisoned her. To dissuade them from any thing of that Nature, *Q. Elizabeth* Commands her *Ambassadour* to Address the *Scots* in the following Manner.

“ Wherefore

“ Wherefore you shall require them as they will regard their Du-
 “ ties to God, and their Estimations to the World, that they be better
 “ advised how they proceed any further in this Sort as they seem to
 “ continue; for you shall plainly declare unto them, that if they shall
 “ determine any thing to the deprivation of the Queen their
 “ Sovereign Lady of her Royal Estate, We are well assur’d of our
 “ own Determination, And we have some just and probable Cause to
 “ think the like of other Princes of Christendom, That we will make
 “ our selves a plain Party against them to the Revenge of their So-
 “ veraign for Example to all Posterity; And therein we doubt not but
 “ God will Assist us and Confound them and their Devices, con-
 “ sidering they have no Warrant nor Authority by the Law of God
 “ or Men to be as Superior Judges or Vindicators over their Prince
 “ and Sovereign, howsoever they do gather or conceive Matter of Disor-
 “ der against her; And therein we require them to appeal to their
 “ own Consciences, what Warrant they have in Scripture, being Sub-
 “ jects, to depose their Prince, but contrary, and that with expres
 “ Words in St. Paul to the Romans commanded them to Obey, *Po-
 “ testatibus Supereminentioribus gladium gestantibus*. Although it is well
 “ known that Rulers in Rome were Infidels; or what Law they find writ-
 “ ten in any Monarchy Christian how and in what sort Subjects shall
 “ take and arrest the Person of their Princes, commit and detain them
 “ in Captivity, proceed against them by Process and Judgment, and
 “ we are well assured no such Order is to be found in the whole
 “ Civil Law; And if they have no Warrant by Scripture or Law,
 “ and yet can find out for their Purpose some Examples, as we hear
 “ be Seditious Ballads they put in Print they would pretend, we
 “ must justly account those Examples to be unlawful and Acts of Re-
 “ bellion; And so if the Stories be well weigh’d the Successes will prove
 “ them.

“ You shall say that this may suffice to such as do pretend to be carry’d
 “ in their Actions by Authority either of Religion or of Justice. And
 “ as others that for particular respect look only to their own Sureties,
 “ it were well done before they proceeded any further they did well
 “ consider how to stay where they be, and to devise how to make
 “ surety of their doings already past, than to encrease their Perils
 “ by more dangerous doings to follow. And yet generally we do
 “ yield unto them that for things already past which cannot be revoked,
 “ We will be the means to appease all Controversies, and doubt not but
 “ if they will give you Access to her to induce her to accord thereto.

“ In this sort our meaning is you should Answer them, and by the
 “ way for satisfiing their Objections which be amplify’d in their An-
 “ swer, you may assure them we do detest and abhor the Murder commit-
 “ ted upon our Cousin their King, and mislike as much as any of them
 “ the

“ the Marriage of the Queen our Sister with *Bothwell*; But herein we
 “ dissent from them that we think it not lawful nor tolerable for
 “ them, being by God’s Ordinance Subjects, to call her who also by
 “ God’s Ordinance is their Superior and Prince, to answer to their
 “ Accusations by way of Force, For we do not think it consonant
 “ in Nature the Head should be Subject to the Foot.

(11.) The *Bishop of Sarum* is made to say in this Speech p. 6.
 “ That he has a *Manifesto* in his Hands, set forth 25 Years after
 “ that, wherein he finds *Q. Elizabeth* reflecting on that Interposi-
 “ tion in the Affairs of *Scotland* with great Satisfaction.

And so she well might, as the Case is Represented under her
 own Hand. And I dare say, That if there is any such *Manifesto*,
 it is not Contradictory to the Tenor of this *Letter*, which is still
 preserv’d in the *Cotton Library*. Therefore the *Publisher* of this *Speech*
 is hereby Challenged to Produce the said *Manifesto*, under Pain of
 being thought by all the World a foul *Prevaricator*, and to have
 Sinned against his own *Conscience* in mentioning this, and leaving
 it in such Terms as the Reader must think that *Q. Elizabeth* did
 therein Reflect with great Satisfaction upon her having Asserted the
 Cause of *Resistance*, and Encouraged the *Subjects* of *Scotland* to take
Arms against their *Prince*. But if the *Manifesto* was of the same
 Tenor as the *Letter*, (which, if it be Genuin, we cannot doubt) then
 what a *Monster* of *Iniquity*, void of all *Conscience*, and *Self-Condemed*
 was that *Heretick* who durst mention this to a quite contrary Pur-
 pose from the Import of it! And to Establish that Doctrine which
St. Paul has Pronounced to be *Damnation*!

But now if *Q. Elizabeth* her after Carriage towards that much
 Injured *Princess* the *Queen* of *Scots*, did not Agree with this *Letter* of
 hers I have Produced, can any think the *Bishop* willing that this
 too should be drawn into a *Precedent*? Tho’ it is a milder and more
 Honourable *Sentence* to have that *Queen* her *White Neck* exposed to
 an *Ax*, than to be *Whipped* to *Death*, the other Example this *Speech*
 has set before us, how to Deal with *Monarchs*!

(12.) But there is another *Manifesto* said likewise p. 6. to be in
 this *Bishops* Hands, wherein *Q. Elizabeth* gives the Reasons of her
 assisting the *Dutch*, viz. “ That there had been an Ancient League
 “ not only between the Crown of *England*, and the Princes of the
 “ *Netherlands*, but between the Subjects of both Countries, under
 “ their Seals Interchangeably, for all Friendly Offices. And if this
 “ was a good Reason (says the *Speech*) for the *Queen*’s giving Aid
 “ to the oppressed People of the *Netherlands*, then if the Case had
 “ been Reversed, and the People of *England* had been Illegally and
 “ Cruelly

“ Cruelly Oppressed, it furnish'd the *Princes* of those *Provinces* with
 “ as good a Reason for Assisting them.

This is a *New Topick* for justifying the *Revolution* we never heard of before! But I must tell the *Pen Man* of this *Speech*, That if the *Bishop* of *Sarum* had known a Word of this, he would certainly have put it in the *Prince* of *Orange* his *Declaration*, since he values himself in having had so great a Hand, and to have been the principal *Manager* in all that *Transaction*! But he was too wise to bring out his *White Bears* for a Proof, his *Secret Manifesto's* in his *Pocket*, which no Body ever saw but Himself! And a *Treaty* between all the *Subjects* of *England* and the *Netherlands* —— What Age was it when *Subjects* made *Treaties*? And how many *Millions* were the *Subscriptions*? And who *Collected* them? And how many *Tears* was it a doing? And can you now give us a *Transcript* of it? How many *Rooms* in the *Palace* does it take to Hold all these? Were you not *Alham'd* to put such a *Banter* as this upon the *Bishop*? And to make him put it upon *Q. Elizabeth*, and before the whole *House* of *Lords* too! If he had said this, he wou'd never speak more there!

(13.) At the End of p. 6. he begins with the Reign of *K. James I.* And continues a long Story nothing to the Purpose to p. 9. He has another *White Bear* here too, an *Original Letter* of that *King's* which a *Worthy Gentleman* sent him, and says, *I knew his Hand well.* And he Concludes with a Quotation of *Dr. Bedell*, which ends with the Case of *Saul* and *David*, and the *Person* of the *Prince* to be *Sacred* and *Inviolable.* To which I have spoke already. And what I have said of *Q. Elizabeth*, will more than Answer all he has said of *King James.*

(14.) He now comes p. 9. to *King Charles I.* And makes it a great Matter against him, That in the *first Year* of his *Reign*, *Grotius's* Book *de Jure Belli et Pacis*, was Publish'd at *Paris.* And he says that Book allows *Resistance* in some Cases, particularly that of a *total Subversion.* *Mr. Hoadly* (the *Speaker's* Right Hand) in his last Book concerning the *Patriarchal Scheme*, makes this the only Cause of *Resistance.* But if we stay till this *total Subversion* be compleated, it will be too late to Remedy it: And if we may *Resist* upon every thing we think a *Tendency* or *Inclination* towards it, then the least *Mal-Administration* will be a sufficient Cause to take *Arms.* So that this *total Subversion* is a meer *Cheat*, and means nothing at all.

(15.) He Instances *K. Charles I.* giving Assistance to the *Rochellers*, as a Proof of the Lawfulness of *Resistance.* He says the *King* did *Mediate* in that Matter, and by Vertue of his *Mediation* did think himself obliged to interpose his *Arms* when the *King* of *France* had

had violated the *Stipulation*. I am told that in the *Memoires* of the Duke de Roan, the Head of the *Protestants* in France at that time, it is told that K. Char. I. was Admitted by the King of France as *Guarrantee* of the *Treaty* he made with his *Protestant* Subjects, and that therefore K. Char. I. had a Right to Interpose. But I do not Understand a *Treaty* betwixt a King and his *Subjects*. He may Grant them *Favours* and *Immunities*, but this is not a *Treaty*, the Nature of which seems to be betwixt *Equals*. And in this Case the *Guarrantee* of other *Equals* is Proper. But for a King to Admit any other to be *Guarrantee* betwixt Him and his *Subjects*, is in Effect to *Un-King* himself, and put his *Subjects* under the *Protection* of Another. But however that was, Cardinal *Richelieu* made Sufficient *Reprizals* upon K. Char. I. who said he would find his Majesty Work at Home, to keep him from Troubling himself with the *Rebels* of his *Master* the King of France. And he sent the *Covenant* into *Scotland*, Trans-Scribed from the *Holy League* in France, which Employed the Time of K. Char. I. all the Days of his Life. And the *Cardinal* fomented these *Distractions* all along. I will not Justify his Severe *Revenge*, but the *Precedent* is as Good on the one Side as on the other, for one King to Support the *Rebels* of another. For which I refer you to that Excellent *Animadversion* of the Lord *Clarendon* upon this Head, and in this very Case of the *French* Interposing betwixt K. Char. I. and his *Subjects*, which I have before Recited.

(16.) But the *Speech* goes on and says, " That the *Commons* gave
 " *Supplys* to carry on this *War* against *France*, in Defence of the
 " *Hugonots*, and moreover Petitioned the King for a *Fast* too; and
 " that an Office was Compos'd suitable to the Occasion; in which,
 " among other Devotions, the Nation was directed to Pray for all
 " those who here or else-where were fighting God's Battels, and Defending
 " His Altars. Thus the whole Body of the Legislature (says he) did
 " Concur for a Fast for that, which if this Doctrine (of *Non-Resistance*)
 " is True was no better than Rebellion; and yet the whole Nation,
 " Clergy and Laity, were Required to Pray for Success in it.

Here he ends this Head with great *Triumph*! But this could not Come from the Bishop of *Sarum* with any Grace. For he has Lived long enough to see all this Done, and yet the *Cause* not one whit the Better! How many *Fasts* and *Prayers*, and *National* too, were ther in a *Good* Time which he Remembers, and Impos'd by the whole (Then) *Legislative* Authority, which would not Suffer its *Titte* to be Disputed; and for *Success* in that, which (whatever he *Thinks*) he Dares not Justify; Nay, which he, the most of any Man in *England*, has *Condemned* and *Run down* to the very Pit of *Hell*! And tho' *Tempora Mutantur*, yet none can say, that he is, *Mutatus in illis*. I verily believe him to be the *same Man* he ever was, and in all Ap-
 appearance,

pearance, is ever Like to be. However his *Writings* and *Actions* have been *Tossed* and *Confronted* by Ill-Natur'd People! The Fate of many a Good Man!

(17.) But ther is none has Dealt so *Ignominiously* with him as this foul *Libeller* who made this *Speech* for him. See what Words he puts in his Mouth, in the very next *Paragraph*.

“ But to Compleat this View of the Doctrine of our Church, it is to be
 “ Considered, That when a Year before this (that is the fine *Fast* he
 “ spoke of before) while the *Loan*, or *Benevolence*, were Carried on, some
 “ *Officious Divines* made use of those Expressions of *Kings having their Po-*
 “ *wer from God*, as Importing an Authority of a Nature Superior to the
 “ *Laws of the Land*. One of these, Dr. *Manwaring*, was Impeached,
 “ and had a Severe Sentence passed on him for it.

For what? For saying that *Kings had their Power from God*! An *Officious Divine* indeed! What needed he have Talked at that Rate, when the *Rebellion* was Just a Forming? It might have Spoiled all! And to say, That any body who was Willing should Lend the King any Money, or *Bestow* it upon him, by way of *Benevolence*, tho' they saw him in never so Great *Necessity*, even *Starving*, was most *Pernicious* Doctrine; for *Good Natur'd* People might have *Reliev'd* him, even tho' the *Parliament* would not! And this would have Manifestly *Tended* to the Utter Ruin of our *Liberty* and *Property*! To let the King have the Privilege of a Common *Begger*, to Receive an *Alms*, or *Borrow* a Penny, if any one would Trust him! To allow People this *Liberty*, or the *Property* in their own Goods, to Dispose of them as they thought best, would be to Destroy all *Liberty* and *Property*! For how could that *Parliament* have *Squeez'd* the *Prerogative* from the King, if he could have found *Bread* to Eat any other way?

Would the *Bishop* have Prated at this *Fulsome*, *Traiterous* Rate! And before the *Queen's* Face too! And would he have drawn from these no *Premises* such a Senseless *Conclusion*, and with such *Assurance* as in the next Words,

(18.) “ So I have now made it out, beyond I hope the Possibility
 “ of Contradiction, that for 70 Years together, from 1558, to 1628
 “ the Lawfulness of *Self-Defence* in the Case of Illegal and violent
 “ Cruelty, was the Publick and Constant Doctrine of this Church.

But what then becomes of your first Assertion, with which you begin your *Speech*, p. 2. That the Notion of *Kings having their Power from God*, and Consequently *Non-Resistance* to them, came in with the *Reformation*? You know who should have good *Memories*! And was *Manwaring* his *Severe Sentence* for Asserting the Doctrine of the *Reformation*? And did good *Q. Bes's* Depart from it during her whole Reign? For you begin your 70 Years of *Resistance* from her *Accession* to the *Throne*.

But, Sir, do you Measure the *Doctrine* of the Church from the *Practice* of her *Professors* at some times? And you have given us no other Argument. The *Bishop* would not have done this, who knows

full well, That the *Practice* of the Best Men comes not up to their *Principles*. And if you will make *Practice* dissolve *Duty*, you may make short Work with all the *Commandments* of God!

You say, p. 10. " These (70 Years) were the Best and Happiest times of our Church, as is often Repeated by the Earl of Clarendon: " From these we ought to take the Standard of our Doctrine.

But were these, Sir, Times of *Resistance*, or of *Non-Resistance*? And if you will Measure the *Doctrine* by the *Practice*, which is your Way, then the *Doctrine* of those 70 Years was *Non-Resistance*. Which made them so Happy.

19. But you go on to shew us the much Happier Times of *Resistance*, for 60 Years, from 1628 to 1688. And here again you Quote " The Noble Account given by the Earl of Clarendon." But you begin with saying, *I must yield up the first Twelve Years*. Why so? Because, say you, " Upon the Unhappy Misunderstanding between the King and " that Parliament, there was a long Discontinuance of Parliaments, " then the lately Condemned Doctrine (of *Non-Resistance*) was again in " Vogue; and Nothing was so much heard of, as the Law of Govern- " ment that was from God, antecedent to all Human Laws: Out of " this Sprung illegal Imprisonments, illegal Monopolies, severe Pro- " ceedings in the Star-Chamber, but above all the Ship-Money. These " things put the Nation in an Universal Disjointing and Feebleness.

These were terrible Effects of the Want of *Parliaments*, and the Do- *ctrine* of *Divine Right* and *Non-Resistance*! This was spoke like a *Chaplain* to the *Calves Head-Club*! All Misfortunes and the Evils that follow'd were put upon the *King*, and all Charged upon the Doctrine of *Non-Resistance*, which if Observed, had Prevented the *Miseries* of those Times. Thus the *Law* makes *Sin*, for where there is no *Law* there is no *Transgression*. And all the Dismal *Effects* of *Resistance* were put to the Account of *Non-Resistance*! For I had not known *Lust* (says the Un-regenerate Man) *except the Law had said, Thou shalt not Covet*. That was putting one in Mind of it! Besides, *Nititur in Veritum*, the Natural *Bent* some have to Break a *Commandment*! It is a Restraint of *Liberty*! Thus the Preaching of *Non-Resistance* brought on all the *Resistance* that followed.

But let us hear what the Earl of Clarendon says of those *Twelve Years* wherein there was no *Parliament*, and when this Condemned Doctrine of *Non-Resistance* was Preached. He was not one who spar'd the Defects of K. *Char. I.* And surely you will take his Opinion to whom you so often Appeal. You will find it in the *first Book* of his *History*, p. 58. Where he says,

" Now after all this (and I hope I cannot be Accused of much Flat- " tery in this Inquisition) I must be so Just as to say, that, during the " whole time that these Pressures were Exercised, and those New and " Extraordinary Ways were run, that is, from the Dissolution of the " Parliament in the Fourth Year, to the Beginning of this Parliament, " which was above Twelve Years, this Kingdom, and all his Majesty's " Dominions

“ Dominions (of the Interruption in *Scotland* something shall be said in
 “ its due Time and Place) Enjoyed the greatest Calm, and the fullest
 “ Measure of Felicity, that any People in any Age, for so long time
 “ together, have been Blessed with; to the Wonder and Envy of all
 “ the other Parts of *Christendom*.

But when *Parliaments* came on again, they brought with them the Noble Doctrine of *Resistance*, and made both *King* and *Kingdom*, the *Wonder* indeed, but of *Horror* and *Astonishment* and *Detestation* to all *Europe* ! And which is yet a greater *Wonder*, we have those amongst *Us* (even this *Speech-Maker*) who still think that those were Blessed Days, and the *Actors* Noble *Patriots*, Assertors of *Liberty* and *Property*; and Endeavour with all their Might to *Justify* and *Propagate* their Cursed *Principle* of *Resistance*, after they have seen and see with their Eyes all that it has brought upon *Us* ! All that can be said of these, is, That they are *Judicially* Hardened, who seeing, See not, neither can they *Understand* ; who put *Light* for *Darkness*, and *Darkness* for *Light* ; who make *Liberty*, *Slavery* ; and the most Abject *Slavery*, even to the *Beasts* of the *People*, to be the only True and Rational *Freedom* !

(20.) But says this *Speaker*, “ I know many fancy, that the War
 “ (meaning the *Rebellion* of *Forty One*) is to be Charged on the *Princi-*
 “ *ples* of *Self-Defence*: They are much Mistaken. I had Occasion to
 “ see a great way into the Secret of that Time, when I examin’d the
 “ Papers relating to the two *Dukes* of *Hamilton*, I knew a great deal
 “ more since from two Persons of *Unquestionable Integrity* —

What ! More of your *White-Bears* ! What Stuff is this ? Can *Patience* bear it ? Would the *Lords* Sit to hear a *Bishop Gossip* at this Rate ? — One told me — And One told him — And what could your *Informers* tell you ? That that *Wicked Rebellion* (which you *Civilly* call a *War*, to Soften the Matter) was not upon the *Principle* of *Self-Defence* ? Upon what *Principle* then ? Was not this the *Pretence*, the *Constant Pretence* of all these *Rebels* ? And what other *Pretence* can you find out for them ? Shew your Parts, and see if you can find Another, that will not be Worse ! What *Pretence* so *Plausible*, if it had been True ? But these *Blood-Hounds*, while they were Cutting the *King’s* Throat, said, it was only to *Defend* their Own ! But you say, *They are much Mistaken* who *Fancy* that the *War* is to be Charged on the *Principles* of *Self-Defence* ! No ! Not at all ! But you tell us, it was an *Unhappy Train* of *Accidents*. And *Stories* were carried by *Persons* about both the *King* and *Queen*, of *Words* let fall that made them *Conclude* there were still ill *Designs* on *Foot* &c, And so you conclude, p. 11. That the true *Occasion* of the *War*, was *Jealousy*. You tell us *News* indeed !

*That Jealousies and Fears
 Set Folks together by the Ears.*

This is the Never-failing Artifice of all *Traiterous* and *Rebellious* Intrigues. To Asperse the Government, and Carry about *Stories* of the *King* and the *Queen*, and tell of *Designs* on Foot, &c. Was it not Just thus upon a certain Time? You may put in *Ballads* and *Sing-Songs* too, *Lilly Boleroes*, &c. These have their Effect with the *Mobb*. But, Sir, these are not *Principles*. And the Use of good *Principles* is, to Secure Honest Men from the Infection of all these *Artifices*. But when the ill Humours were Heighten'd up to a Pitch, and the *Parliament* thought it Time to take *Arms* against the *King*, what was the *Pretence* then? What was the *Principle* upon which they Justify'd this *Rebellion*? Was it not *Self-Defence*? And for this Reason they Accused the *King* of Levying *War* against his two *Houses* of *Parliament*. In answer to this, the *King* in his *Speech* upon the *Scaffold* appeal'd to a *Demonstration*, that is, to the *Dates* of the *Commissions* given by the *King* and by the *Parliament*. But this was Nothing. The *People* were Told otherwise. And the *English* believe every thing they *Hear*, but Nothing that they *See*. And *Stories* of the *King* and of the *Queen*, are enough to Blow them into a *Rebellion* at any time! But the *Principle* is always *Self-Defence*. And it is only to bring them to This, that these *Patriots* Amuse them at first with *Jealousies* and *Fears*. The *Bishop* could not be such a *Logician* as not to Distinguish betwixt *Occasions* that Stir Men up to *Discontent*, and the *Principles* upon which they Justifie their taking *Arms* against their *Sovereigns*. An *Honest* Man may be *Discontented*. But he is Called a *Son of Belial* that *Rebells*.

(21.) We are now come to the *Restoration*, 1660. And here you will see the Noblest *Stroke* that is in all this *Speech*. It is in p. 12. in the following Words,

“ It was no Wonder, if after such a War, the Doctrine of *Non-Resistance* was Preached and Pressed with more than ordinary Warmth, and without any Exceptions; yet some still kept these in View; so did both Dr. *Falkner* and *My Self*; and I know many others that had them always in their Thoughts, tho' they did not think it Necessary to mention them.

Not *Necessary*! Good God, what a Description is here given of *Clergy-Men*! To Preach the *Word of God* by Halves, and Speak only *Smooth* things! *St. Paul* said, he was Pure from the *Blood* of all Men, because he had not Shunned to Declare unto them the *Whole Counsel of God*. Act. xx. 26, 27. Had he not then been Guilty, if he had kept back *Part*? Would not this have been a *Sacrilege* beyond that of *Ananias* and *Sapphira*? Will not the *Blood* of all those *Souls* which Perish by this *Trimming*, be Required at the Hand of such *Preachers*?

But if he did not think fit to tell *All*, for the Love of this World, yet would he have Carry'd on the *Disimulation* to Preach the direct Contrary? If he was for a *Limited* Power in the *Prince*, and no more than a *Limited* and *Conditional* Obedience due to him, would he in his *Sermon*

at *Convent-Garden*. Entitul'd, *Subjection for Conscience Sake Asserted*, Preached Dec. 6. 1674. (And lately Reprinted with another Sermon of his to Refresh his Memory) would he there Bind our Conscience, as he Words it p. 44. to an *Absolute Subjection* to the *Higher Powers*; and p. 47. Enjoin an *Entire Obedience* and an *Absolute Submission* to that *Supreme Power* God hath put in our *Sovereign's Hands*. And p. 46. *They are without more Ceremony of Words, Traitors, who Subject our Sovereign's Rights, which He derives from God only, to a Foreign Superior Power*. Whereas if this *Speech* were the *Bishop's*, and we did Believe him, he now tells all the World, That at that very Time when he so Preached, he did not Believe the *Doctrine* that he Taught, but had a *Reserve* to Himself, and other *Views!* And Meant the very *Contrary* to what he said! viz. That *Kings* had not their *Power* from *God*, nor any other then what the *Laws* of the Land gave them; and therefore that no *Absolute Submission* was Due to them, but *Conditional* only, and *Limited* by the *Laws*. Tho' he did not think it *Necessary* to let the *People* know this, but let them go on in their *Passive Obedience*, and *Notion of Divine Right* in *Kings*, tho' he knew it all to be an *Error*, and might some time or other Involve them in *Rebellion*, and to stand it out against a *Happy Revolution*, to the *Destruction* both of their *Souls* and *Bodies!* And then that he would be their *Accuser*, and Hunt the *Government* upon them, as he does in this *Speech*, if it were His! But can any Believe he would in so *Publick* a Manner, Proclaim himself such a *Minister of Satan*, thus Transformed into a *Minister of Christ!* And if he had Altered his *Opinion* in these Matters, upon more Mature *Deliberation*, would he not have said a Word of it in this *Speech*? Would he not Publish a *Book of Retractions*, and take *Shame* to Himself, and by all Means Endeavour to *Reclaim* those he had *Deceived*, and beg *God* and the *Government* Pardon, for his having made so many *Jacobites* as he has done, by his many Years *Preaching* and *Printing* (no Man more Strenuously) for *Passive Obedience*? A Gentleman of Good Sense told me, not long since, That he was never Convinced of the *Doctrine* of the *Divine Right* of *Kings*, and of *Non-Resistance*, till he had Read the *Bishop of Sarum's* Sermons, which he thought Proved it, in a Clear and Plain Method, and by Strong Reasons, beyond any thing he had seen. So that he is making *Jacobites* every Day— far beyond the *Rehearsals*, with which he seems so Angry. But we are not Come to that yet.

I have some more Reasons to give why the *Bishop* could not be the *Author* of this *Speech*. And every Man must be of my Opinion when he Reads the following *Paragraph* in his forementioned Excellent *Sermon* in *Convent-Garden Church*, where he says, Admirably well, p. 46, 47.

“ Now the same Equality of Justice and Freedom that Obliged me
 “ to lay open these Practices of the *Romanists*, ties me to Tax also
 “ those who Pretend a great Heat against *Rome*, and value them-
 “ selves

“ selves on their Abhorring all the Doctrines and Practices of
 “ that Church, and yet have Carried along with them one of their
 “ most *Pestiferous* Opinions, Pretending *Reformation*, when they
 “ would bring all under *Confusion*; and Vouching the *Cause and Work*
 “ of *God*, when they were *Destroying* and *Opposing* that *Authority* He
 “ had set up, and opposing those Impowred by Him. And the
 “ more *Piety* and *Devotion* such Daring *Pretenders* put on, it still
 “ brings the greater *Stain* and *Imputation* on *Religion*, as if it gave a
 “ *Patrociny* to those *Practices* it so plainly *Condemns*. This is *Judas*
 “ like, to Kiss our Master when we Betray him, and to Own a Zeal
 “ for Religion, when we Engage in Courses that Disgrace and Destroy
 “ it. But blessed be God, our Church Hates and Condemns this Do-
 “ ctine (of *Resistance*) from what Hand soever it Come, and hath
 “ Established the Rights and Authority of Princes on Sure and Un-
 “ alterable Foundations, enjoining an *Entire Obedience* to all the Law-
 “ ful Commands of Authority, and an *Absolute Submission* to that
 “ *Supreme Power* God hath put in our *Sovereign's* Hands. This Do-
 “ ctine we Justly Glory in, and if any that had their Baptism and
 “ Education in our Church have turned *Renegadoes* from this, they
 “ proved no less Enemies to the Church herself, than to the *Civil Au-*
 “ *thority*. So that their *Apostacy* leaves no blame on our Church.

Thus the Good *Bishop*. And what a *Picture* had he here Drawn of
 Himself if he can be Supposed to have made this *Speech*! What a *Renegado*,
 what a *Judas*, what an *Apostae*, would he have shewn Himself!

(22.) He comes next in Order to the late K. *James*. And here you
 may expect *Delicacies*. The *Speech* says,

“ I found the ill Effects, that the Carrying this Matter (of *Non-Resistance*)
 “ so far, had on the Mind of that Unfortunate Prince, King *James*; for
 “ in the Year 1673, when he was pleased to admit ME to much free
 “ Conversation with him, among many other things, I told him, it
 “ was Impossible for him to Reign in Quiet in this Nation, being of
 “ that Religion; he answered me Quick, does not the Church of *En-*
 “ *gland* Maintain the Doctrine of *Non-Resistance* and *Passive Obedience*?
 “ I begg'd him not to Depend on that; for there was a *Distinction* in
 “ that Matter, that would be found out when Men thought they Nee-
 “ ded it. I now come to tell your *Lordships*, how Right I judged—

If you were the *Bishop*, I wou'd tell you how Rightly you Judged.
 Why? You had this *Distinction* then ready in your Sleeve. It is easy
 for *Managers* to be *Prophets*. But since you are not the *Bishop*, I must tell
 you that the more K—v you. Why did you not tell him your *Distinction*?
 It might have Saved that Unfortunate Prince. No. That was
 none of your Design! But you kept it till he shou'd be Effectually *Rui-*
ned— And then you wou'd tell it, to Justifie all your *Treachery* to him!
 If he Admitted you to such *Familiarity* with him, you have well Rewar-
 ded

ded him! And it must be a very great *Confidence* he had in you, to tell you that of his *Religion*, which was then a *Secret*. Was he at *Confession* with you? They say his *Confessor* was a *Jesuit*. But you outdid him at *Mental Reservation*, *Equivocation*, and hidden *Distinctions*! To tell him that *Nature* might *Rebell* against *Principle*, had been *Honest Advice*. But to say, That you *Dodg'd* in your *Principles*, and in your *Preaching* too, was to *Call* your self a *Devil*!

But you say, This was in the Year 1673. And this was the very same Year that the *Bishop* Published his *Vindication of the Church and State of Scotland*. Wherein he Asserted *Passive Obedience* to the very Height, without any *Conditions* or *Distinctions*. He beat down the Power of the *People*, and all the *Principles* for *Resistance*, and makes them Worse than very *Popery* it self. He says, p. 68, 69. " Less Disorder may be apprehended from the Pretensions of the *Roman Bishops*, than from these *Maxims* that put the Power of Judging and Controuling the Magistrate in the *Peoples* Hands, which opens a Door to endless *Confusions*, and indeed sets every private Person upon the *Throne*; and introduceth an *Anarchy*, which will never Admit of *Order* or *Remedy*: " Whereas those who have but one Pretender over them, could more easily Deal with him, and more vigorously Resist him.

Thus says the *Bishop* in the Year 1673. And the *Sermon* of his I before Quoted for *Absolute Submission* &c. was the next Year 1674. And after that in his Excellent *Sermon* on the 30th of *January* 1680, p. 15. he says, " The resolving all Power in the *People*, was first taken up by the Assertors of the *Pope's* Deposing Power, for they Argued, that if it belong'd to the *People*, then the *Pope* Representing the *Universal Church*, all their Rights did Accrue to Him, so that in *Their* Names, He was to Dispose of *Crowns* as He pleased.

Now he cou'd not Represent this *Notion* of the Power of the *People* more Odiously, than to shew it was a *Popish* Doctrine. Nay, he makes it Worse than *Popery*, as before Quoted. And upon this *Notion* of the Power of the *People* all the Doctrine of *Resistance* is Founded. Without this our *Subjection* to our *Princes* must be *Absolute*, *Un-Conditional*, and without *Exception*, and out of the Reach of *Distinctions* to the Contrary. And can any one who knows the *Bishop* of *Sarum* believe, That in the Year 1673 he wou'd tell King *James* he had a *Distinction* to Solve his *Allegiance*, and yet at the same time, and many Years afterwards, shou'd Preach up an *Absolute Submission* without any *Distinction* whatsoever? Wou'd he thus Box his own *Ears* before the *House* of *Lords*? What Opinion can this *Speech-maker* have of his *Lordship's* Prudence, not to speak of his Known *Modesty*, *Integrity*, and *Veracity*!

(23.) But he goes on. " It is true, they passed a very Pompous *Decree* at *Oxford*, 1683. But you shall hear how long they stood to it. " In Summer 1686, the Prince of *Orange* was pleas'd to receive me into his Service with a particular Confidence. No

No Body can say but you *Two* were well Met— Tho' the Bishop wou'd not have had the Vanity to Boast of it in such a Pompous Manner! But what is this to the *Oxford Decree*? You must wait a good while for that. This *Author* writes *Pindarick*— He lets you know therefore, that he being thus in a *particular Confidence* with the Prince of *Orange*, “ Soon after (*says he*) the *Ecclesiastical Commission* was set up, “ and upon some Proceedings before that Board, he (the *Prince*) was de- “ fir'd from *England* to Break with King *James* upon that Head.

O you *Blab* you— Wou'd the *Bishop* have told this? That the *Prince* and his Party in *England* were not for *Finding* but *Seeking* Faults! What had the *Prince* to do with the *Ecclesiastical Commission* or their *Proceedings*? And nothing but *Break* with the *King* presently! — No *Complaint*, no *Redress* demanded. Wou'd the *Prince* have *Bully'd* his *Father* at this Rate! But go on. What became of this? Why, says the *Author*, “ I opposed this, and said, I was Convinced, that *Commission* was against “ *Law*, and would have ill Effects, but it did not Strike at the whole. “ This was more Warmly pressed upon the Proceedings against *Magda- “ len College*. I still stood my Ground; and told both *Prince* and *Prin- “ cefs* (*was she in too?*) That if a Breach shou'd follow on these Mat- “ ters, I could not Serve.—

This was *Almanzor* like! There was a *Threatning* indeed! It seems you were the *Principal Verb*— No Wonder then of the *particular Confidence*! Nothing cou'd be Done without *You*! But how came *You* to be Drawn in at last? “ When indeed (*say you*) the *Declaration* was Pub- “ lish'd a second time, with a Resolution to have it carried through; “ and that many *Laws* were dispensed with at Pleasure; and Persons “ who were under *Legal Disabilities* were made *Judges*, *Sheriffs*, and “ *Magistrates*; all whose Actings were so many *Nullities*: Then I “ thought here was a *total Subversion* of our *Constitution*; which from “ being a *Legal One*, was made *Precarious*, Subject to meer Will and “ Pleasure. So I was Ready to Serve in the *Revolution*.

You were so? That was much! But did you never hear of another *Reign*, wherein Men under *Legal Disabilities* were Made *Judges* and *Magistrates*; nay where *Attainted* by *Law*, have Sat in *Parliament* before their *Attainders* were Reversed; and not one in the *Parliament* had *Qualify'd* himself as Required by *Law*; besides the *Essential Qualification* of being Called together by the *Royal Authority*? And were all their Actings meer *Nullities*? Was this a *total Subversion* of the *Constitution*? Dare you say so? The *Bishop* cou'd never have made such a Fool of Himself, and Betray'd his *Cause* at this Simple Rate, to lay himself Open to such plain Retortions as these!

You say the *Bishop* went off upon the *Second* Publication of the *Declaration*. But others thought that the *total Subversion* was not come yet. And some Pretended that ther was Sufficient Cause before, and
Struck

Struck off Sooner. So that your and Mr. *Hoadly's* total Subversion is a *Gim-Crack*, and will fit no Case ever was in the World. For ther never was such a total Subversion (except that only of the late King *James!*) but some *Laws* were left, and some Good *Order* kept. And the least *Mal-Administration* may give Occasion to those who seek Occasion, to think it *Tends* towards a total Subversion. So that here is no *Peace* or *Settlement* at this Rate. Nor any where to be found but in the *Christian* and *Necessary* Doctrine of *Non-Resistance*, against which you have spent your Impotent Malice!

You tell us a Story p. 13. Nothing to the Purpose, of Sr. *Edward Seymour*, and the *Association* at *Exeter*, with which you were afraid to be sent to *Scotland*, and to get the *Boots* for your Pains, but the Publisher has left this out, which the *Bishop* wou'd have Scorned! And then you come again to the *Oxford Decree*, and all you say to it, is, That a *Head* of a *College* came to the *Prince*, and Invited him to *Oxford*. That the *Association* was sent thither, and Sign'd by some you do not Name. Which may very well be, for *Whiggs* may Creep in any where, but into *Heaven* (where ther is Absolute *Monarchy* and no *Parliaments*) And tho' you say this was a Contradiction to their *Decree* made five Years before, yet you tell us likewise, That they soon took another Turn back to it again, and the *Notion* of a *King de Facto*, which (you say) is but a softer word for an *Usurper*, came in *Vogue*. But I leave you to be Corrected for this by the Reverend Mr. *Higden*. This is all that is said of the *Oxford Decree*. And if some did Stumble at the Beginning, it was but *Humanum, Errare*. But, Sir, I wou'd have you Consider, that it is *Diabolicum, Perseverare*. Think of it in Time.

(24.) In the same p. 13. You complain very much of a *Distinction* some have in taking the *Abjuration*, still Saving their *Allegiance* to the *Pretender*. Why, Sir, wou'd you have none use *Distinctions* but your self? Is this a greater Abuse than you have put upon my Lord of *Sarum*, to make him speak to King *James*, nay *Preach* and *Pray* with *Distinctions* and hidden *Reserves*? And if a Man may *Pray*, why not *Swear* too, with the same *Mental Reservation*? May be you may put it upon the *Bishop* too, That he had some *Reserve* when he *Pray'd* for the *Prince* of *Wales*, at the *Prince* or *Princess* of *Orange's* Chappel at the *Hague*, before his Expedition hither, to Question his *Birth*, and after he had sent *Zulestein* to the *King* to Congratulate upon that Occasion!

But you say in the same Paragraph, in the Person of the *Bishop*, *I*, who was always against every thing that might break in upon *Conscience*, was for making these (the *Association* and *Abjuration*) only *Voluntary*. Were you so? Why then are you so Severe upon those who cannot take them out of *Conscience*? Is not this some sort of breaking in upon *Conscience*? How easy is it to Pretend *Conscience*, when we are about the *Vilest* Actions!

*Some to the Glory of the Lord,
Perjur'd themselves and broke their Word!*

A Modern Translation of an old saying,

In Nomine Domini incipit omne Malum!

Alias,

When the Fox begins to Preach ———

(25.) We are now come to the Head of *Slander* and *Innuendo's* against particular *Persons*. He says at the end of p. 13.

“ Towards the End of the last Reign, a bold Attempt was made
“ on the *King's Supremacy*, by an *Incendiary*, who is supposed to have
“ no small Share in this Matter now before your Lordships.

We must not Guess whom he means, for he that Applies makes the *Scandal*. But would his Lordship, who was bred in *Scotland*, own himself an *Eraſtian*? For that is equally Hated by the *Presbyterians* as by the *Episcopal Church* there. We know the *Doctor* in his *Sermon* Asserts an *Independent Power* in the *Church*, and that no *Power* on *Earth* can *Reverse* her *Sentence*, which is *Ratify'd* in *Heaven*. And in his *Answer* to the *Impeachment*, he stands to it, and calls it *Blasphemy* to Deny it. Must therefore any one who before that Wrote for the *Independency* of the *Church* upon the *State*, as to her purely *Spiritual Power* and *Authority*, must such an one be called and *Incendiary*, and *Supposed to have no small Share in the Matter then before their Lordships*? If that was true, you do that Person a great deal of Honour, to make him Instrumental in Reviving that true *Christian Doctrine*, and Essential to the Being of a *Church*, as a *Society* Distinct from others, and under a *Government* of her own. But the *Bishop* would not do this, for some Years ago he Try'd his Hand, and had a Book upon this Subject brought into the House of Lords, and furiously Baited by some; but it stood the Test, and came off without Damage. And the *Bishop* is a Wiser Man than to make a *Second Impotent Effort!*

(26.) But you are perfectly Spiteful to him in the next Words,
“ The Attack on the *Supremacy* being a *Premunire* ——— This was to
Mortify the *Bishop* with the Remembrance of a Remarkable Passage,
when the *Lower House* of *Convocation* had passed a *Censure* upon
some *Blasphemous* and *Heretical* Books, and Desir'd the Concurrence
of the Lords the *Bishops* in it, a certain *Prelate* (knowing that He
too had Wrote Books *Worthy* ———) shew'd his *Adroitness* in putting
a timely stop to a Precedent of such Dangerous Consequence,
and making Use of the full Authority he had in that House, told
his Brethren the *Bishops* (with his Natural Zeal) That he had Discover'd
the *Snare* the *Lower House* had laid for their *Lordships*, for he,

he, having Notice of this Design beforehand, had lately Advised with Eminent Lawyers, and particularly with both the *Lords Chief Justices*, who told him, That by the Law the *Convocation* could not Censure any thing, no not *Blasphemy*, *Herefy*, nor *Immorality*, without the *Royal Licence*, otherwise that they did Incur a *Premunire*. This, being Asserted with great Confidence, over boar the the *House* at that time. But the next Day a Right Reverend *Bishop* told the *House* that he had since been with the Lord Chief Justice *Holt*, who told him, that the *Bishop* of — had never been with him upon any such Business, that he had not spoke with him for several Months before, and that his Opinion was quite Contrary, that the *Royal Licence* was not Necessary for their *Censuring* such *Books*, nor was it any *Premunire*, and desir'd to know what *Lawyers* gave their Opinion for it. Upon which the Asserting *Bishop* (but without a *Blush*, that *Faculty* having been Refus'd him by *Nature*) Denied he had Named the *Chief Justices*, nor would he tell the other *Eminent Lawyer* who said so. For some might have been so *Officious* as to have gone to him too! Tho' most Guesst whom he meant by the *Lawyer* in an *Eminent Station*. However the *Bishop* who never was *Baffled* in his Life, carry'd it through with his Usual *Vehemence*, and obtained a Vote, That they could not Censure *Blasphemy*, *Herefy*, nor *Immorality*, without a *Royal Licence*. And then He was *Safe!* And the *Lower House* were sent back to Mind their own Business! And our Enemies left to Triumph, that our *Bishops* had given up the whole *Authority* of our *Church!* Now, would the *Bishop of Sarum*, who knew all this (no *Bishop* in *England* better) Revive again that *Odious Story*, and in the Face of the *Bishops*, who Sat there, and knew it too!

(27.) The next heavy *Blunder* put upon the *Bishop* in this *Speech*, is in p. 14. where he lets himself down so Low, as to fall upon a Merry Serious *Paper* call'd the *Rekearsal*. And begins with *Two Notorious Falshoods* (which the *Bishop* cou'd never have done) That there were *Three* of them a *Week*, and that they Continued for *Seven Years* together. Whereas all that ever Saw them, know, They came out but *Once* a *Week*, from *August* 5th. 1704. when they Began, to *April* the 10th 1706. And after that, they were never more than *Two* a *Week*. And they were *Knock'd down* (the *Bookseller*, *Printer*, and *Publisher* being Taken up by a *Warrant* from the *Secretary of State*) *March* 23, 1708. which comes Short almost by one Half of the *Seven Years* here Asserted. Wou'd the Accurate *Bishop* thus throw his Bolt in the Dark, regardless of what he said before so *August* an *Assembly!* But this is a Small thing with you, Sir, whose *Elevated* way of *Writing* Disdains the small *Circumstance* of *Truth* in

your *Harangues* — But *Aggravate* — *Aggravate* — with all the Authority of your *Rhetorick*!

He that Servily creeps after *Sense*
Is *Safe*, but ne'r will Reach an *Excellence*!

But now after all, what is it you have to say against this poor Paper? You say, it was Spread over the Nation. Well. If it was Good, it was the Better. You say, The Clergy were in many Places drawn in to Subscriptions for this Paper. I know Nothing of that Matter. You may Name them if you can. But who Drew them in? And why might not the Clergy Subscribe as well as other People? As well as the Whiggs for Observators, Reviews, &c? But you Press it further, and say,

“ The Clergy in many Places, met at a Coffee-House on Saturdays,
“ to Read the Rehearsals of the Week, which had very ill Effects in
“ most Places.

What! Do you think it was to make their Sermons out of them the next Day? Wou'd the Bishop have Express'd so Contemptible an Opinion of the Clergy? And what were these ill Effects? You say that Paper the Rehearsal was, all through one Argument against the Queen's Right to the Crown. If the Bishop had said this, he wou'd have given some Reason for it. Else it was but Scolding! Did the Rehearsals Assert Non-Resistance, and Hereditary Right? And have not many Noble Lords and Commons, and Multitude of Loyal Addresses (Received Graciously by her Majesty) done the same? Will you Charge this upon the Rehearsal too? Has he Raised this Spirit in the Nation? If so, he has seen the Fruit of his Labours, and the Blessing of God upon them. But he has not Converted you! You are the Old Rebel still! And so I'm afraid you are ordain'd to Die — But you Comfort your self with this, That the Course of this Treasonable Paper has been now for some time Stopt, so that We see there is some Change in the Ministry — Wou'd the Bishop thus Scandalously Reflect upon the Ministry, which is, in Effect, upon the Queen her self? Wou'd the Loyal Bishop thus Publickly Arraign the Queen's Administration? And when he was upon his Inquest after Treasonable Papers, cou'd he have miss'd those truly Treasonable of Observators, and Reviews, which says,
“ If *Jure Divino* comes upon the Stage, the Queen Review of September, 6th. 1705.
“ has no more Title to the Crown than my Lord
“ Mayor's Horse: All the People are bound by the Laws of God
“ to Depose her as an Usurper, and Restore their Rightful and Law-
“ ful King James the Third.

The Bishop heard this, with much more out of these Papers, read at the Tryal, upon which he made his Speech, but not a Word out of the Rehearsals. Wou'd he then have gone out of his Way, to Reach a Blow

Blow at these Honest Harmless *Papers*, which were wrote in Opposition to the *Treasonable Observators, Reviews, &c.* And to give some *Antidote* to the *Poison* they Instill'd into the Nation? This wou'd have been, in Effect, to have Justify'd all their *Treasons* and *Blasphemies*, by Running down the Only *Paper* that Opposed them. And saying of them, as this *Speech* does of their Colleague Mr. *Hoadly*, p. 15. *But what an Outcry was Rais'd on this, that one durst disturb the Progress of a Wicked Opinion, that was visibly Design'd to Overturn the Government!* This *Wicked Opinion* was the Doctrine of *Non-Resistance*, Grounded upon *Kings* having their *Power* from *God*, Against which Mr. *Hoadly* brought the Battery of his *Mob-Sermons*, in Aid of *Observators* and *Reviews*, now quitting the Field, Notoriously Baffled in their Cause of *Resistance*. And the *Outcry* here Mention'd to be Rais'd on this, was the *Rehearsal* taking Mr. *Hoadly* to Task, and shewing him to be as *Trifling* and *Insignificant* as the Rest of these poor *Writers*, and that their *Principles* were Destructive not only of This, but of all Other *Governments* whatsoever. Now if the *Bishop* had taken their Part, he would have said something *New* upon the *Argument*, and given us one of his *Masterly Strokes*, instead of Contenting himself with only Helping on the *Outcry*, which was nothing else but telling the World how they had been *Beaten!* As when you throw a Stone at a Dog, if he makes an *Outcry*, you are Sure it has Hit him.

But what *Outcry* did the *Rehearsal* make? He argued, in my Mind, Quietly and Soberly, first from the *Laws* of *God*, and then from the *Laws* of *England*, and shewed that *Resistance* was Condemned by Both, made *Treason* by the Latter, and *Damnation* by the First. These were the *Stones* he threw at these *Anti-Monarchical* and *Rebellious* Principles which of Late have been Set up amongst Us. And he took his *Aim* so Right, that a Violent *Outcry* was Raised upon it. The *Observators, Reviews,* and Rest of the *Scandalous Club*, soon took the *Allarm*, and Run *Yelping* and *Screaming* about the Town, which they Fill'd with their *Din*, Crying out, We are all Undone! Now see to thy own House, *Revolution!* O *Revolution, Treason! Treason, Revolution!* And this was all the Solid Answer ever I heard was given to the *Rehearsal*. And now laying to his Charge (as this *Speech* does) even the Late *Trial* and all the Consequences of it, by his Corrupting the *Clergy*, and Poisoning the *Nation* with the Revival of these *Legal* and *Evangelical* Principles! And they are *Mad* beyond Law, to see that *Boast* made good with which he Concludes his *Preface* to his Last *Volume*, That they had Stopp'd him too Late, for that he had already Sown that *Seed* which wou'd never be got Rooted out of *England*, but that they shou'd see the *Principles* of *Loyalty* and *Non-Resistance* again *Sprout up, Encrease, and Prevail!*
And

And they have Seen it, in a Shorter time than they Imagin'd, they have Seen it take universally through the *Nation*, and Multipl'd upon them (to their Astonishment!) in Loyal *Addresses* from all Corners of the Kingdom. And they Break their *Teeth* in Biting the *Stone* thrown at them. The *Observers* and *Reviews* are Nothing but *Outcries* upon this Occasion! Which moves the *Laughter* of all that Reads them. And they do very good Service at this Time! Let them go on— They shew the Desperateness of their Cause. And wou'd Turn all upon *Mobb*, which before they Cry'd up, and made it the *Original of Government*, to which all *Kings* and *Parliaments* too were *Accountable*, as to their *Constituents*! But now they call it the *Devil* and *Treason*! And that it ought to be *Hanged* for Practising their own *Principle of Resistance*! *Risum tenentis Amici.* —

But well were it for Them if there was Nothing but *Mobb* in the Case! They wou'd fain make *Addresses* from *Lords Lieutenants*, *Deputy Lieutenants*, *Sheriffs*, *Justices of Peace*, the *Clergy*, *Gentlemen* and *Grand Juries* of *Counties*, Introduced by the *Greatest Men* in the *Nation*, and *Graciously* received by her *Majesty*, with the Honour of *Kissing her Hand*— They wou'd make all this to be Nothing but *Mobb*! — But they cannot Conceal their *Grief* and their *Resentment*— They see this to be a plain Turning of the *Tide* wrought by the Hand of *God* Himself! And to Encrease their *Torment*, they have Visibly brought it upon Themselves! *Their own Tongues have made them to fall, insomuch that whose seeth them shall Laugh them to Scorn.* They discover'd their *Designs* too Soon, and have Opened the *Eyes* of the *Nation* at Once! They have *Deceived* themselves, in what will *Deceive* every one that *Trusts* to it, viz. That 20 Years *Favour* to the *Whiggs* and *Dissenters*, and all their *Boasts*, that the whole *Nation* was with them, because None durst Oppose them, has gained them the *Ascendent* in *England*, tho' kept under by as many Years of a *Bloody* and *Expensive War* abroad with the *Civil War* of *Triming* and *Moderation* at Home, to *Save* the *Foundations* of the *Church*! But now it appears Plain to a *Demonstration*, That the *Weight* of *England*, the *Men of Interest* and *Estates*, and the *Body* of the *Nation*, are with the *Church*. Some of our former *Princes* have been *Ruin'd* for not *Considering* this. And let those that are to Come take Warning. If they take any other *Interest* by the Hand but that of the *Church* of *England*, they will Mistake their own *Interest*, and *Trust* to a *Broken Reed*, which they Lean upon it, will not only *Fail* them, but *Pierce* into their Hand.

I remember the *Rehearsal* always Insisted upon this, That the *Whiggs* and *Dissenters* were set up on High, and Rode *Triumphantly*

yet that the Bulk and Weight of the Nation was with the *Church*, and wou'd at some time or other Cast the *Ballance*, and give a *Turn* to Affairs. But he was thought a *Vissonaire*, and others daily Expected to see the *Church* tumble Down, while the *Batteries* were continually Playing against it, without *Resistance*! But now we find that his Computation was Just, and has taken the desired Effect. And wou'd the Bishop of *Sarum*, if he meant any Prejudice to that *Author*, give him the *Honour* (as this *Speech* does) to be the Main *Instrument* in this so *Glorious* a *Revolution*, so *Happily Begun*, and now going on to be *Perfected*, under the *Divine* Direction!

But I have one Argument more upon this Head, for which I will Appeal to the *Bishop* himself, and do him the Justice to make him Confess that he is not the *Author* of this *Speech*. For in the *Satyr* there against the *Rehearsal*, it is said,

“ Besides this, we had a Swarm of Pamphlets every Year to
 “ the same Purpose, and as was believed, Writ by the same
 “ Hand. One sold at the Door of the House, with the Title of
 “ *King William's Exorbitant Grants*, did plainly call him an *Usurper*;
 “ and starting an Objection against the *Queen's* possessing the
 “ Throne, gave it this Answer, That She did well to keep it
 “ till she could deliver it up to the Righteous *Heir*. At that time
 “ there was a quick Prosecution of a Paper published, with the
 “ Title of *The Shortest Way with the Dissenters*; and upon that, I
 “ brought that Pamphlet to a great Minister, and offer'd to shew
 “ him this Passage in it, to see if there should be a Prosecution
 “ of this Order'd. He turned from me: so whether he heard
 “ me or not, I cannot tell: I am sure, if he says he did not, I
 “ will believe him. No Prosecution follow'd, and the *Rehearsal*
 “ went on.

My Exceptions to this are these. 1. The *Bishop* would not thus Expose himself as a *Common Informer*.

2. He would not have Named the *Shortest Way*, as if he were Offended at the Prosecution of That, which was Levell'd with great Spite against the *Church*, and did this in Revenge. For whatever he is, he is Wiser than to Declare himself an *Enemy* to the *Church*, and upon all Occasions on the Side of her Profess'd *Adversaries*!

3. He speaks so *Loud*, that if the *Minister* had not been *Deaf* he must have *Heard* him.

4. The *Bishop* wou'd not have been so Put off. He did not use to be so Rebutted. He wou'd not have Spared for *Twice* or *Thrice* Speaking, where the Good of the *Church* was Concerned!

But 5thly, The *Bishop* knows the *Author* of the *Exorbitant Grants* so well, that he is sure it was not the *Rehearsal*. Therefore he
 was

was an *Impudent* Fellow, who put such a *Lie* in the Mouth of his *Lordship*, who never told a *Lie* in his Life!

We have now done with the *Rehearsal*. Only that if *The Course of some other Treasonable Papers* (as *Observers* and *Reviews*, &c.) should be *stopt*, then by the Argument of this *Speech*, We might Infer, that there was some *Change* in the *Ministry* —

(28.) There is a pretty *Paradoxical* Argument advanced in this *Speech*, p, 15. That Men are most *Zealous* when their *Hopes* are *Extinguished!* that is, They have most *Hopes*, when they have *None!*

My Love is *Great*, because it so *Small*,
Then it were *Greater*, were it *None* at all!

But that you may not think I *Banter* the *Speech*, these are the Words,

“ But as these Notions (of *Jure Divino* and *Non-Resistance*) have
“ been long let Run among Us; so they have Appeared in a most
“ Violent and Unguarded Manner, ever since the Attempt of the
“ Pretender, and more of Late, since the *Preliminaries* upon the
“ Overtures for a Peace, seems to Extinguish their Hopes.

One wou'd think, That this should rather prompt them to sit Still and be Quiet, since their Cause was Desperate, and all their *Hopes Quite Extinguished*. Why else should we Endeavour to *Extinguish* their *Hopes*? What! To make them more *Violent*, and more *Active!* If this Argument be Good, then we ought to *Encourage* them, and give them more *Hopes*, for that this would make them *Lazy*, and to *Endeavour* the Less! Rare *Logick!* While the *Pretender* was upon the Coast, it was *Prudent* in them to Preach *Non-Resistance*, to those who they thought might Oppose them. But when upon the *Preliminaries* all their *Hopes* were *Extinguished*, how Ridiculous is it to say, That this shou'd make them more *Violent* to Press *Non-Resistance*, when they were out of *Hopes* to make any *Resistance!* But it is a Hard thing to Extinguish *Hopes!* And looks liker a *Rant* over a *Bottle* in *Almanzor* Strain, than becoming the Gravity of a *Bishop* in so Reverend an Assembly!

(29.) Next follows a Terrible *Stroke* upon the *Clergy*. Where Speaking of the *Impiety* and *Infidelity* now Spread thro' the Nation, he says,

“ I do Affirm it, that the greatest Prejudice these Persons
“ have at *Religion*, at the *Clergy*, and at the *Publick Worship of God*,
“ is this, that they say, They see *Clergy-Men* take *Oaths*, and Use
“ all *Prayers*, both Ordinary and Extraordinary for the *Government*,
and

“ and yet in their *Actions* and *Discourses*, and of late in their *Sermons*, they shew visibly that they Look another way; from whence they Conclude, That they are a *Mercenary* Sort of People without *Conscience*.

This is a very Severe *Censure!* And if it be True, what have they to Answer for, who have Forced the *Clergy* to all this, (if it be a *Force*, as this *Speech* says) or else to *Starve!* And will have no other *Clergy!* Ther is *Infirmity* on the one Side, but ther is *Malice* on the other. And the *Pot* calls the *Pan* Black! Are ther not Thousands and Thousands of the *Laity*, who are in the same *Condemnation*, according to their *Circumstances?* And would a *Bishop* Single out the *Clergy*, to vent his *Spleen* upon, and make Them *Odious!* At the same time that he was Complaining of *Impiety* and *Infidelity*, and of those who had great Prejudice against the *Clergy*, and would be Glad of such an *Occasion*, and such an *Authority* to *Expose* them! Was the *House of Lords* a fit Place to Reprove the *Clergy* or Reform them, if That had been his Design? It was Exhibiting a Bill of *Complaint* against them, and *Impeaching* them, together with Dr. *Sacheverell!* Ay, and *Judging* them beforehand too!

Nay the *Bishop* had Judged *Himself*, if this had come from Him! For he Forgets not to this Day, That the late King *James*, and the then *Prince of Wales*, were *Prayed* for according to our *Liturgy*, which was read Daily in the late *Princess of Orange* her *Chappel* at the *Hague*, and where Dr. *Burnet* did some times *Officiate*, till the *Prince* and *He* Imbarked for *England* on the *Grand Expedition!* And this was after the Time Named in this *Speech* p. 13. when the *Doctor* had overcome his *Scrupulous Conscience*, and was *Ready to serve* in the *Revolution*. And after the long Pains he tells us it Cost him to bring over that Pious *Princess* into the *Design* against her *Father*. If all which be True, (and I appeal to the *Bishop* Himself) could he Forget himself so far as not to see, That all this Heavy Charge against the *Clergy* did Recoile upon his own Head! Nay, and upon the *Prince* and *Princess of Orange*, and all the Pious *Lords* and *Gentlemen* then at their *Court* to Help forward the *Revolution!* Who frequented the *Chappel* of the *Princess*, and are *Witnesses* to what I say. May we not then Conclude, That the *Impiety* and *Infidelity* now Spread thro' the *Nation*, took its Rise a little Sooner than the Time limited in this *Speech?* And that the *Hypocrisy* and *Mocking* of *God*, Now Charg'd upon the *Clergy*, was but the *Continuance* and *Consequence* of this which was Begun at the *Hague!* But with this Difference, That the one was *Voluntary*, *Chosen*, and *Contrived*: But the other *Forced* by the Severest *Penalties*. Besides that the Greatest Part of the *Clergy* now, were then *Young* and Suck'd in *Revolution Principles* before they were Capable of *Discerning*. But Dr. *Burnet* was of Age (if he is yet) when Im-

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mediately

mediately upon their Landing, he took upon him the *Episcopal Office* (for he was Born to it) and at *Exeter* Discharged the Reading the *Prayers* for the *King* and the *Prince of Wales*. The *Bishop of Exeter* having *Abdicated*, and Fled from his *Deliverer*! And who more Proper to Fill the Vacant *Throne* of that *Prelate*? And this was before the *Design* was Owned of *Dethroning* the *King*. Now what wou'd the Men of *Impiety* and *Infidelity* say, to see the Holy *Doctor* Pray for the *King* and the *Prince of Wales*, (they must think either *Religiously* or *Hypocritically*) at the *Hague*, and Just upon Crossing the *Ferry*, to get New *Light*, and Forbid it at *Exeter*! What cou'd they Think to see the *Doctor*, after he was Ready to Serve in the *Revolution*, Pray Solemnly to God to give *King James* the *Victory over all his Enemies*, and that He, the *Doctor* Himself, and all his *Majesty's* Subjects, duely Considering whose *Authority* he had, might Faithfully Serve, Honour, and Humbly Obey him, in God and for God, according to His *Blessed Word and Ordinance*? And this at the same Time when the *Doctor* thought (if this *Speech* was his) that he owed no *Allegiance* to *King James*, who by a total *Subversion* of the *Laws* and *Constitution* had *Forfeited* his *Right*, and was no longer the *Ordinance* of God, but to be Resisted as a *Tyrant*! Was ther no Occasion here given to *Impiety* and *Infidelity*, to Conclude, as this *Speech* does, That the *Clergy* who Pray, and visibly look another Way, are a Mercenary Sort of People without *Conscience*? And that it is the Part of the *Devil*, first to Draw Men into *Sin*, and then Accuse them for it! Whatever *Abatements* may be Pleaded in *Mitigation* of *Damages*, for a *Forced* Compliance, ther can be None for Them who Offend of *Malicious* Wickedness. *David* says, *Forgive them not*. And all the *Clergy* here Insulted, are visibly those who are *Forced* to it, for it can be None but These, who Look one way, and Pray another. And can any Think that the *Bishop* would be their *Accuser*, who will not say He was *Forced* to what He did, otherwise than by a *Pure Conscience*, and the *Necessity* of *Politicks*, to Blind the Eyes of the People, and not Discover *Designs* too Soon! Towards which a little *Outward Praying* was absolutely *Necessary* for some Time! Else we might never have Seen the late *Happy Revolution*! And can any thing be *Evil*, that brought about so Great a *Good*! And can the *Bishop* be Angry at any who Imitate his own *Vertues*! The *Bishop* would never have brought about this *Story* in the *House of Lords* where ther were so many who knew it all! He would not have Called his own *Sins* to Remembrance in the Face of the World— Unless by Way of *Penance*! It was an *Enemy* therefore, and not the *Good Bishop*, who made this *Scandalous Speech*, that throws *Dirt* every where! *Inimicus Homo fecit Hoc* —

(30.) We are now Come to the *Finishing Stroke*, p. 16. where the *Speech* Concludes, and says, "Whatever

“ Whatever general Expressions might very well have been used, in Setting forth *Passive-Obedience* and *Non-Resistance* before the *Revolution*, because Odious Cases ought not to be Supposed, and therefore are not to be Named; yet since *Resistance* was used in the *Revolution*, and that the late King invited all the Subjects to Join with him, which was in Them certainly *Resistance*, and since the Lawfulness of the *Revolution* is so much Controverted, the Condemning all *Resistance* in such Crude and general Terms, is certainly Condemning the *Revolution*: And this is further Aggravated from those Limitations on our Obedience; in an Act pass'd soon after the *Revolution*, by which, in Case our Princes turn *Papists*, or Marry *Papists*, the Subjects are in Express Words, Discharged from their Allegiance to Them. Certainly this puts an End to the Notion of *Non-Resistance* in any Case, or any Pretence whatsoever.

Yes! But another *End* than you possibly Imagine. For if any of our *Princes* should turn *Papist*, or Marry a *Papist*, and yet had no Mind to Part with the *Crown*, and you should take *Arms* against him, and *Resist* him by *Force*, I doubt you would find *Judges* and *Law* too, to put an *End* to the Dispute in another Manner than would *Pleaze* you, all this *Act* notwithstanding! I wou'd Advise you to Consult *Council* Learned in the *Law*, before you Venture your Mother's Son upon such a *Nicety* as this! That you may not *Girrn in a Wyddy* — You Understand me — For *Hereditary* Right and the *Natural Allegiance* due to it is a *Stubborn* thing, and will not *Bend* even to an *Act of Parliament*, nor to a Thousand *Usurpations*!

But however, the *Bishop* wou'd not have been so Unskilful to Quote this *Act* against those who, he Supposes, Deny the *Legality* of the *Revolution*. For such will never Allow, that it can be made *Valide* by any *Act* of their own. And this *Act* will Stand no longer than the *Revolution*. Tho' I wou'd not be in his Coat who shou'd Trust to it even now, if the Case happened, lest it might Give him the *Slip*! And as you told the late King *James* not to Trust to *Passive-Obedience*, (p. 12.) For there was a *DISTINCTION* in that *Matter*, that would be found out when Men thought they Needed it. And *Distinctions* are Dangerous things about ones *Neck*, to Draw it into a *Noose*, which sometimes proves too *Narrow* to get one's *Head* through!

But you say, That *Non-Resistance* might have been Preached before the *Revolution*, but not since. Then *St. Paul* has Escaped, for he Preached before the *Revolution*! It was well for Him — Else his pressing *Non-Resistance*, and in such Crude and general Terms, as you Call them, without any *Distinctions*, *Reserves*, or *Limitations*, wou'd not have been let go with him! And we might have had a better *Speech* than *Dr. Sacheverell's* upon the Occasion! Come on now all ye *High-Flyers* who Bate us with *Texts* out of the *Old and New Testa-*

ment, here is a short Answer to them all, That none of these Concern us, for they were Wrote before the *Revolution!* (And you know *Odious Cases* ought not to be put!) But why then are they Read to Us since the *Revolution*, and in the same *Crude* and *General Terms!* Why are they not *Reformed!* They may be Set to a New Tune, *Secundum Usum Sarum* — And this will Convert the *Jacobites*, who are Missed by *Malignant* Texts!

(31.) But I will Conclude all with the Weighty Words which Usher in what I have last Quoted, *viz. And now to come Close to the Article, and the Sermon, for I meddle not at all with the Person of the Man* — Why? was it not the *Person* of the *Man* that was *Impeached* and then *Tryed*? No Matter for That! But it was the *Doctrine* that was Meant! That Slavish *Doctrine* of *Kings* having their Power from *God*, and *Non-Resistance* to them upon that Account! It was this which was *Arraigned*, *Tryed*, and in *Hopes* to be *Extinguished!* Which, if it be a *Christian Doctrine*, then was *Christ* and His *Apostles*, and *God* Himself here *Arraigned!* And for this so *Pompous a Parade* was but little enough, which cannot be Understood to have been Provided Merely to do Honour to Dr. *Sacheverell*, as was *Plenitiously Declared* by Others of the *Managers*, and now made to be Confessed by this *Bishop!*

But our Blessed *Lord* has made good, in this Instance also, what He said to St. *Paul*, whilst *Mad* with *Rage* against *Him*, That it was *Hard* for him to *Kick* against the *Pricks*. The *Christian Doctrine* has Prevailed, to the Confusion of Those who *Persecuted* it. And it has been *Recognized* and *Manfully Asserted* in *Christian* and *Loyal Addresses* from all Parts of the *Nation*, with their *Utmost Detestation* expressed against these *Enemies* of *God*, of all *Reveal'd Religion*, and Particularly of the *Church* of *England*, and of our *Ancient* and *Hereditary Monarchy!* That we may now Sing with *David*, *Let God arise, and let his Enemies be Scattered, let them also who hate Him Flee before Him* — For they *Imagined a Mischievous Device* which they were not able to perform, therefore the *Strings of Thy Bow shalt Thou make Ready against the Face of Them. Be Thou Exalted, Lord, in Thine own Strength* (not of the People's) *So will We Sing, and Praise Thy Power.*

F I N I S.

THE
SHAM-SERMON
DISSECTED.

(1.) **W**Hen will the *Persecution* of this good *Bishop* have an End? For I had no sooner Cleared him from the fore Mentioned *Speech*, but out comes another Piece of greater *Scandal* upon him; *A Sermon* said to be Preached by Him in the *Cathedral Church* of *Salisbury* on the 29th Day of *May*, this same Year 1710. And to give it the greater Credit, it is said to be Printed for *J. Churchill* at the *Black Swan* in *Pater Noster-Row*.

(2.) The 29th of *May* was the Day of the Return of His Majesty *K. Char. II.* with the *Royal Family* from a long *Banishment*, to which they had been Driven by a Prosperous and Successful *Usurpation*, for many Years together. And therefore is Appointed by Authority to be kept as a *Festival Solemnity*, to Return our Thanks and Praises to *God* for His great Mercy in Restoring to us the *Church* and the *Crown* together, and putting an End to that *Schism* and *Rebellion*, which had Torn the *Church* and Distracted the *State* for about 20 Years before,

The Subject of the *Sermons* upon this Day used to be a Detection of those Wicked *Principles* and *Pretences* which brought on that Fatal *Revolution*, and to Guard Men against the like *Witchcraft* of *Rebellion* for the Future.

(3.) But on the Contrary, this *Sermon* is a downright *Vindication* of the *Principles* of that *Revolution*, and a *Recommendation* of them to *Posterity* for our *Imitation*. Nay he makes *Use* of their own very *Arguments* and the *Topicks* by which they *Justify'd* their *Rebellions*. And he *Vouches* for them that they are *Good* and *Tenable*, and ought still to be *Practis'd*! And he makes all the *Steps* towards the *Restoration*, to have been downright *Rebellion*. Nay, as they did then, he *Fathers* all this upon *Christ*, and makes *Him* the *Patron* of the *Good old Cause*! This was *Preaching* directly against the *Intendment* of the *Day*. As if *Old Bradshaw* had *Rose* from the *Dead*, or his *Soul* had come by *Transmigration* into this *Fouler Body*. And the *Spirit* of *Rebellion*, by this *Second Distillation*, is become more *Strong* and *Deadly*. If all this be made *Plain* and *Undeniable*, then *Sure* none will believe that the *Lord Bishop* of *Sarum* would have *Celebrated* the *Day* in such a *Manner* as this!

(4.) Now to *Open* this *Sermon* to you in a *Brief way*— His *Principle* is, That *Possession* gives *Right*, tho' *Wrongfully* come by. This *Justifies* the *Government* of *Oliver* and the *Rump*, and indeed of all *Successful Usurpations*. But he leaves out the *Caveat* always *Insisted* on by those who *Write* upon this *Subject*, *viz.* That ther is *None* who *Claims* a better *Right* than the *Possessors*. This would have *Spoiled* his whole *Parallel*. As likewise the *Example* he brings of the *Roman Emperours* in our *Saviour's* *Time*, for these were not then *Hereditary*, and *Consequently* ther was *None* who could *Claim* a better *Right* than the *Possessor*. But *Oliver* had a *Young Pretender* against *Him*, who at last *Prevailed*.

This is a full *Answer* to all the *Sermon*. The *Reader* cannot miss *Applying* it. For *Example*, he says, p. 4. " That when a *Government* is *Received* and *Acquiesced* in, all *Persons* ought to " *Conform* themselves to it, and to *Pay* the *Submission* due to the " *settled Constitution* among them— The *Rule* therefore given " by our *Saviour* is, That what *Rights* soever are *Vested* in those who " *Govern* us by a long *Possession*, we ought to *Acquiesce* in them, " and to *Render* to them the *Obedience* and *Subjection* that arises " out of these.

This fully *Confirms* that *Usurpation* which it was the *Business* of the *Day* to have *Exploded*. And for *Answer* to it, it need only be said, That ther was a *Pretender* who had a better *Right* than the *Possessors*. But if *Possession* and *Settlement* gave them the *Right* against the *Pretender*, then it was without *Doubt Rebellion* in those who *Endeavoured* the *Restoration* of the *Pretender*; especially *Considering* that ther were *Acts* of *Parliament* made against him, to *Exclude*, *Abjure*, and *Attaint* him. And can any *Doubt* but that an *Act* of *Parliament*

ment can Limit the *Succession* of the *Crown*? Even though the small *Circumstance* was wanting of a *Rightful King* to make those *Acts* Authentick! They were the *Acts* of the *People* notwithstanding! And this *Speech* and *Sermon-Maker* says They are the *Original* of *Government*! And Consequently *Oliver's* was a *Just* and *Lawful Government*, of more *Certain* and *Undoubted Right* than any of our *Hereditary Monarchs*, as being more *Immediately* the *Choice* of the *People*!

(5.) In the same p. 4. he says, "The Roman Coin was Current among them, which is always to be looked on as the owning that Authority whose Stamp regulates the Value of Money, and by Consequence all the Commerce of the Nation." This is another Argument for Confirming the *Commonwealth* of *England* and *Oliver's* *Usurpation*. For they had their *Coin* too, and it was *Current*. I have seen *Oliver's* after he was made *Protector*, with his own *Image* and *Superscription* upon it. But this gave Him no *Right*, but was *Treason* in Him for *Assuming* this *Mark* of *Royalty*. It was *Treason* against the *Pretender* who had a better *Right*, tho' out of *Possession*, and had never Then been in *Possession*. This cannot be said of the *Roman Emperour* in our *Saviour's* time, for ther was no *Pretender* against Him. And therefore the *Text* of this *Sermon*, *Render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's*, was *Proper* and *Applicable* to that *Emperour*; but not to that *Oliver* to whom this *Sermon* would *Apply* it.

(6.) This *Preacher*, p. 5. takes hold of an *Expression* he says was *Used* in a late *Reign* of *Obedience* to our *Princes* without *Reserves*, which he calls *Profane* and *Impious*, and *Extends* his *Rhetorick* upon it. But he plainly takes it by the wrong *Handle*, for it was not *Meant* of *Active* *Obedience*, that we were *Obliged* to *Do* any thing how *Wicked* soever that the *Prince* *Commanded*; but only of *Passive* *Obedience*, rather to *Suffer* than take *Arms* against the *Prince* for it, and so is no more than the *Old Word* of *Passive* *Obedience* or *Non-Resistance*. Against which this *Orator* thought he could better *Declaim* under this *New Name*, and *Vent* his *Treason* with less *Notice*!

But if this *Expression* was *Used* in the *Reign* of the late *King James*, he had the most *Reason* for it of any body; because of a *Certain Divine*, who bid him not *Trust* to *Passive* *Obedience*, for that ther were *Reserves* upon it, which would be found out when *Men* thought they *Needed* it. See before *Sect. 22. p. 22.* And had not that *Prince* then good *Reason* to *Bar* these *Reserves*?

(7.) In the *Next Page*, p. 6. This *Declamation* is very *Express* in *Defence* of these *Usurpations* against *King Char. II.* It says,

“ But now to Examine the Extent of the Decision, and of the
 “ Rule given by our Saviour, it cuts off an anxious looking back
 “ into what may have been the Original Rights of some Possessors
 “ of Authority, whether it was at first Just or Unjust. — He
 “ leaves those Titles to their own Force, and adds no Strength
 “ to them. He only is Positive in this, That a Government Set-
 “ tled in a long Possession, is to be Submitted to. The Peace
 “ and Order of the World would be ill Secured, if Old Titles might
 “ be Revived at Will, after a long Silence: And if a Quiet Esta-
 “ blished *Possession* might be called in Question, even after that Period
 “ of Time was lapsed, upon which all Nations have Determined
 “ the Prescription of Claims or Rights in Bar to a Clear Un-
 “ contested *Possession*. This Rule is so much for the Peace and Hap-
 “ piness of Mankind, that it well became the Saviour of the World
 “ to Determine it thus. Those who let their *Claims* sleep so long,
 “ may well be Supposed to Relinquish them, and to Release the
 “ World from all Obligations to Assert them.

How Long, Sir, I pray, must they let their *Claims* Sleep, before
 they *may well be Supposed to Relinquish them*? And what is that Pe-
 riod of Time upon which all Nations have Determined the Prescription
 of Claims? The *Usurpations* of our three *Henrys* lasted above three
 Score Years. Yet did not this Determine the *Claim* of the House
 of York.

(8.) But can a *Claim* be said to Sleep while it is continually Kept up
 and Asserted? King Char. II. (the then Young Pretender) kept up his
Claim against those *Usurpers*, whose *Authority* you here *Vindicate*
 with all your Might; and upon the Day of *Thanksgiving* for the
Restoration of the Pretender! If you had Lived then, and been of
 the same Principles you Preach now, you might have made your
Exit with such another Preacher and Predecessour of yours they
 called Hugh Peters, who is not yet Dead while you Live. He
 Choked upon a *Restoration* Sermon. Have a Care! —

It is Hard that any should be put to Vindicate the *Legality* of the
Restoration of King Char. II. at this Time of Day! But it is Infi-
 nitely more Amazing, That Christ Himself should Now Need to be
Vindicated!!! For this Haranguer puts all his *Treasonable* Conclusions
 before Mentioned upon the Words of our Blessed Saviour, *Render to*
Cesar the things that are Cesar's. Which is here Made to be a
Decision of the Different Titles of Princes, and of the Rule of their Go-
 vernment. Whereas all who Read the Place must See that no such
 thing was Intended. It was only a most Wise Evading the Snare
 was Laid for Him, in that *Captious* Question, whether it was Law-
 ful to give *Tribute* to Cesar? Wherein if He had Answered Direct-
 ly,

ly, either in the *Affirmative* or *Negative*, He had made Himself *Obnoxious* either to the *Jews* or to the *Romans*. And the *Jews* who thought to *Ensnare* Him, marvelled at the Wisdom of His Answer, for they could not take Hold of His Words, though in Consequence they plainly Determined for the paying of *Tribute* to *Cesar*. Which they thought He would not have done, because He asserted Himself to be the *Messiah*, who they Imagined was to Set up a Temporal *Kingdom* as soon as He appeared, and Consequently to *Disown* and make *War* upon all the *Kings* of the Earth, and therefore to Require *Tribute* to be Pay'd only to *Himself*. Which if He had in *Terms* Deny'd, they would have made it an Argument against Him that He was not the *Messiah*. And it was too Early for Him to Instruct them in the *Spiritual* Nature of His *Kingdom*, during His State of *Suffering*, they were not as yet able to Bear that Doctrine. Therefore He here puts them off with an *Answer* to which they could make no Objection on either Side. But for the Consequences drawn from it in this *Sermon*, they are Quite Foreign to the Design of it, and shew the Sadness of this *Cause* of *Resistance*, which is Forced to seek Refuge in such *Strained* Constructions! But let us go on with the *Sermon*. He says in the same p. 6.

(9.) " The Second thing that follows from our Saviour's Decision is, " That Subjects are only bound to render to Princes that which " is *Theirs*: That is, the Rights which are Vested in them by *Law*, " *Custom*, and *Constitution*, and *no More*. And if we are only bound " to render them that which is *Theirs*, then if they should Demand " that which is not *Theirs*, but is by the most exprefs Provisions " that are possible, still *Ours*; such as the *Liberty* of our *Person*, the " *Property* of our *Estate*, and the Observance of our *Laws*, we are " certainly not bound to render these; because in a Constitution " *like Ours*, no Prince can say they are *His*.

Here he gives the Prince no *Right* but what is *Vested* in Him by *Law*. Tho' His *Right* is *Prior* to the *Law*, for He gives *Sanction* to the *Law*, and who gave Him *Right* to do *That*? And here we are Enjoined to give the Prince *No More* than what is *Vested* in Him by *Law*. Then he can no More give *Sanction* to any *Law*, Unless we can find a *Law* before ther was any *King*, to make that *King*, and give Him a *Right* to give *Sanction* to *Laws* for the Future! But to pass that small Matter — He lays his Stress upon a Constitution *like Ours*. And as He has Dressed our *Constitution*, we may well say ther is not a Constitution *like Ours* upon the Face of the Earth! He has Made it up of *Co-Ordinate* Powers, all *Opposition*, *Nonsense*, and *Contradiction*!

(10.) Well,

(10.) Well, but to Come to the Point. We are not to *Render* these, the *Liberty* of our *Person*, or *Property* of our *Estate*, to any *Prince*. This is pretty Safe. For I know None would go *Willingly* into a *Prison*, or give up his *Estate*. But what are we to do then? May we take *Arms* and *Resist* to Preserve our *Person* or *Estate*? This is the Point. And this he Determines plainly in the next Words, " We may preserve them (*says he*) as from *Robbers*, so from all " *Illegal* and *Violent* *Invasions*. *Warrants* or *Commissions* in such " *Cases* are *Null* and *Void* of themselves." Now we have Got it! For our Preservation from *Robbers* is Certainly by *Resistance*. And this, even by the Destruction of their *Persons*. Which the foregoing *Speech*, and this *Sermon* too p. 7. would have to be *Sacred* and *Inviolable*. But here he Explains it, *viz.* As *Sacred* as the *Persons* of *Robbers*!

But if the *Persons* of *Princes* are *Inviolable*, it shews Them to be Above *Law*, and *Superiour* to the *Law*. Because whoever is *Subject* to the *Law*, his *Person* is Answerable, as well as his *Estate*. Yet this Gentleman thinks the *Person* of the *Prince* may be *Resisted* like that of a *Common Robber*!

(11.) How different is this from what is so very well Said in the Lord *Bishop* of *Oxford* his Printed *Speech*, upon the *first Article* of the *Impeachment* of Dr. *Sacheverell*? Where at the end of p. 5. and beginning of p. 6. he says,

" The *Person* of the *Prince* is always *Inviolable*: No *Personal Faults* " in Him; no *Injuries* to particular *Persons*, where they can have " no *Redress* by *Law*, as in several *Cases* they may have; no *Ge-* " *neral Mal-Administration*, whereby the *Publick* may be greatly " *Hurt*, can Justify any forcible *Resistance* of his *Subjects*; nor any " thing less than a *total Subversion* of the *Constitution*.

I think he would be a very *Unreasonable Prince* would not be Content with this. For by this, he might Cut what *Throats* he pleased, So he did not Kill *All* his *Subjects*! For till then, the *Sub-* *version* will not be *Total*! He might Ravage *Estates*, and *Robb* upon the *High Way*, without any *Fear* to his *Person*, or any *Forcible* *Resistance* of his *Subjects*! He might Ravish *Women*, and Eat *Chil-* *dren* — For these are only *Injuries* to particular *Persons*! Nay, he might Ruin the *Publick* by a *General Mal-Administration* — Yet no *Resistance* for all this! And he might Break in upon the *Constitution* it self, and *Subvert*, and *Subvert*, so he did not do it *Totally*, if he left but the least *Ragg* of it Remaining! And that must be Always, while he held the *Crown*. For none do Deny *That* to be a *Part*, and the *Principal Part* of our *Constitution*. So that till He pleased to

to Resign his *Crown*, and to *Un-King* Himself, he is Safe from all *Resistance* by this Doctrine. And is it not *Loyal* to the Height ?

(12.) I thought it Best to Correct this *Declamer* by an *Authority* greater than my own. For he would make a *total Subversion* to be any the least *Injury* offered to any particular *Person*. Because he that does a *little Injury*, may do a *Greater* ; And if to *One*, why not to *Another* ? And if he Break *One Law*, he may All the Rest ! So that the *total Subversion* is Come to Every the *Least Illegal Act* !

What are Men Driven to, when they are Resolved not to *Repent*, but to *Justify* their *Wicked Actions* ! They Eat *Shame*, and Drink after it !

(13.) Being beaten from all other Shifts, *total Subversion* is Now the *Word* — Here they *Entrench*, and think to Answer all *Objections* ! But when they come to *Apply*, they throw it All down again, every Inch of it.

“ To apply all this to our Selves, (says the *Sermon* p. 7.) By our
 “ *Constitution*, the *Persons* of our *Princes* are *Sacred*, never to be
 “ *Touch'd*. Their *Sanction* gives the full Authority to all *Parlia-*
 “ *mentary Consultations*: In them the whole *Execution* of the *Law*
 “ is Lodged: They have the *Sword* to Defend the *Law*, and to
 “ Protect their *People*: *Alliances*, *Peace*, and *War*, the *Coin*, the Po-
 “ wer of *Pardoning* are in Them: And the Employing all trusted
 “ with the *Execution* of the *Law*, is either Derived from Them,
 “ to Bodies and Communities in Succession, or to particular Persons
 “ Named by Them. These are Great and Sacred *Rights*, Unque-
 “ stionably Vested in our *Princes*: And who so *Resist* Them in these,
 “ *Resist the Ordinance of God to their own Damnation*.

Here the *Right* of the *Crown* is made not only a *Part*, but in a *Manner* the *Whole* of our *Constitution*, the only *Source* and *Fountain* whence all the *Authority* in the Nation, even *Parliamentary*, is Derived. And *Princes* who are *Tyrannically* Inclined, will rather *Augment* than *Diminish* their *Prerogative*. So that here is an *Absolute Security* that our *Constitution* can never be *Totally* Subverted by our *Princes* — Unless by such *Soft* ones as will be *Wheedled* or *Frighted* out of their *Prerogative*. Which indeed Always proves the greatest *Tyranny*. For then *Factions* Govern, who have no *Bowels*, but Seek the *Destruction* of each other, as their own only *Security*. And when now *One*, and then *Another* gets into the *Vacant Throne* — There is *Tyranny* in Perfection ! And the *Cypher Prince* Seldom fails to Perish in the *Uproar*, betwixt the two *Contending Tydes* ! Whose *Outrage* on Both Sides, is Charged upon the *Prince*, and so far Justly,

as being an ill *Steers-Man*. Who when He should *Govern*, is *Governed* by every Body! And then, when the *Feet* govern the *Head*, it may be truly said, if ever, That ther is a *Total Subversion* of the *Constitution*, and no more *Law* or *Government* left in the *Nation*, ther can be None *Steady* or *Entire*, while the *Foundation* is thus Shook to Pieces! It is a *Monster* of a *Body* where the *Head* and the *Feet* change Places!

But how Wildly then have we Reckon'd, who put the *total Subversion* upon the *Tyranny* of *Princes*! For that can never be, because the *Prerogative* (which He will be sure to keep *Entire*) is the *Head* and *Heart* of the *Constitution*. And while That is Preserved, ther can never be a *Total Subversion* of the *Constitution*. But when the whole *Head* is Sick, and the whole *Heart* Faint, when *Life* hardly Moves in the *Prerogative*, and the *Pulse* Vermiculates, then Beware of a *Total Subversion*! The *House* is coming Down!

(14.) Our *Preacher* seems Sensible of this, and that his *total Subversion* would never Hold out for the Purpose he brought it. Therefore he Endeavours to get Off, but very Poorly, in the next *Page*, p. 8. where he *Crys*, and *Capitulates*, thus,

“ If ther is any Controversy raised concerning what may be done,
 “ or what has Lawfully been done, upon a *Total Subversion* of *Law*
 “ and *Government*, Sure that can by no Stretch of Construction have
 “ any Relation to her *Majesty's* *Government*.

Why! Who said it had? It was not Thought of. It was not in the Argument at all. But you would Hide your Head now under her *Majesty's* Wings! She is little Obliged to you for this *Vindication* of her *Government*, which is indeed an *Accusation*, when None had *Objected* to it. Did any body ever yet Start a *Total Subversion* upon her *Majesty*? Then you, Sir, are the First. And what *Thanks* you Deserve, her *Majesty* knows best.

(15.) And I think as little for what you say in the same *Page*, in Praise of her Administration, where you tell the People,

“ How Easy they are, in paying the *Smallest* Proportion that is
 “ Pay'd by Any of those who are now Engaged in this War.

What do you *Fear*? — No doubt the *People* pay their *Taxes* Willingly and Cheerfully. And they know they are no More than is Necessary. And that they are laid out upon the *War*, to the *Navy* and to the *Army*, and no other Way than was Designed. And that the *War* is worth all *Expences* and the *Lives* that it has Cost. All well Bestowed. — But to tell them that their *Proportion* is the *Smallest* of Any engaged in the *War*, is to make a *Mouth* at them, and to *Provoke* them if Possible! Besides Robbing them of their

Honour.

Honour, which is the Strongest *Incitement* to *English* Men. For if they *Pay* the *Most*, (as all the World thinks) they have the *Most* of the *Glory*. Theirs is all the *Glory*! Let others Fight for *Advantage*, to get *Towns* and *Countries*. None can Object that We have any other Aim than to Settle the Peace of *Europe*, and Secure our own *Succession*. How far have We Exceeded Queen *Elizabeth*, who was so Stingy, that She would not Stir a Finger to Assist the *Dutch* (tho' then the *Poor Distressed States*) till She had Cautionary *Towns* put into her Hands, to Reimburse her Charges? I believe no Age can Shew a *War* so purely *Honourable* and so *Necessary* as Ours! Yet this *Consummate* — Would make it *Mercenary* and would *Comfort* Us with having the least *Share* in it!

(16.) We are now Come (p. 9. of this *Sermon*) to what Made the *Hyp-Phylosopher* Laugh. He says,

“ Some of these (the *Non-Resistance* Men) would now set aside the
 “ Legal Title of Laws and Rights arising from Acts of Parliament,
 “ and have Recourse to an *Hereditary* one; in which how much
 “ soever I may Agree with them as to a Certain *Secret Fact*,
 “ yet as no Decision has ever been made in that Matter, so it
 “ is still in it self doubtful, and the Legal State of it lies another
 “ way.

The *Legal State* of What? Of the *Secret Fact*? What is the *Legal State* of a *Secret Fact*? To which you say, *How much soever I may Agree* — That was a good *Bite* — But it Prickt your *Chops*, and you presently Cry, that ther was no *Decision* ever made in that Matter. Perhaps it was the Better for that. For some things stand Good till they are *Disproved*. As you know *Who* said in a *Thanksgiving Sermon* in the *Cathedral* of *Salisbury*, and that it was so, by the *Law* of *God*, and of the whole *Earth*. This goes Hard! Well then, to get Rid of it, you say, It is still in it self *Doubtful*. What? If it be *Certain* by the *Law* of *God*, and of the whole *Earth*! And is not *That* most *Certain*! But then you *Bite* again, and say, *The Shews of Proof lie on the other Side*, that is, against the *Secret*. But what *Shews* were these? For you said before, That ther was no *DECISION* made in the Matter. This was too Hot for you. Then you throw the *Thistle* out of your Mouth again, and speak on the other Side, for the *Secret*, and say, that these *Shews of Proof* were, *against Presumptions, that I acknowledge are very Strong Ones*. This was almost going out of your Depth. Therefore you Recover your Self in the very next Words, *But yet are they no More than Presumptions*. But what Need any *Presumption* for what is Settled and *Certain* by the *Laws* of *God* and *Man*? Unless not, *Shews of Proof*, but *Evident Proof* be made to the *Contrary*. And here was no *Decision* ever made, so that
 C these

these *Shews* signify *Nothing*. Tho' you tell us not what even these *Shews* were. But however *very Strong Presumptions* will Carry it against *Nothing*. Therefore you had little Reason for the Next following Words, p. 10. *It is very Visible what a Point is yielded up to our Enemies by this Way of Proceeding*, that is, by speaking on the Side of this *Secret*. For, Sir, you have done it your self, Notwithstanding your *Mumbling* it — You have got it down at last! Tho' you Charge it upon others, That by their Setting up *Hereditary* (wherein you think this *Secret* is Concerned) they would Defeat the *Protestant Succession*, Notwithstanding they Declare for it. But, say you in the same p. 10.

“ Those who Set this Matter on (that is, of the *Secret*) and
 “ Draw unthinking People into it, know well enough that these
 “ (their Declarations for the House of *Hanover*) will be thought but
 “ Words of Form. Since if the Notion of *Hereditary Right* once take
 “ Place, the other Must in Consequence be set Aside.

This is again fully Declaring for the *Secret*! Else how should it Set aside the Other? But why do you call it a *Secret*? For ther is hardly a Man in the Nation but Knows it, and what you Mean. You have Made it Plain enough. And perhaps ther Never was a *Secret* in the World had so Many *Witnesses* to it. And ther is not a Man now to be found who thinks it any *Secret*. However let it be a *Secret* betwixt you and me, you know we may Talk the more Freely! You say in the next Words, still *Incognito* —

(17.) “ I have gone further in this Matter than I have ever done
 “ formerly. But the *Day*, and the present *Temper* —

Why? What has this to do with the *Day*? The Business of the *Day* was the *Restoration* of King *Char. II.* And what is the *Temper*? Is it to Draw a *Parallel*? This is *Thistles* again! Very Hard, that you cannot Speak a Word without Trapping your Self! I think you should Never speak More — The *Time* may Come, and and ther may Come a *Time* — When you may — *Repent*.

But the *Temper*! The *Temper*! He Lays great Stress upon the present *Temper* of the *People*! “ Into which (*says he*) the Con-
 “ cealed Designs of Some, and the extravagant Follies of Others
 “ have put too Many, who do not Rightly apprehend Matters.

How do you know that? May be they Apprehend them as Right as your Self — And will not be put off from their Zeal to the *Church of England*, and her Christian Doctrine of *Non-Resistance* (both which had been by this Time in their Grave, if a singular *Providence*, and the *extravagant Folly* of Others, had not Opened the Eyes of the People, upon the very Brink of *Ruin*, which made them start Back as you have Seen!) And now they will not

not be Bully'd any More (the *Fright* is not so soon over!) to put Themselves again into those Hands, from which they have so lately *Escaped*, and who openly Defy the *Christian Doctrine*, and the *Church* that Maintains it: They will neither be *Bully'd* nor *Wheedled* from their *Resolution* and their *Principles*, by your *Bug-Bear* of having *Something Else* in View, which you Dare not *Name*, but would make a *Secret* of it! And, (according to your *Usual Dexterity*) have said so much on that Side, as you Hope may Save your Head in a *Rainy Day*: And so much on the other, as to Save your Bacon there too. But it may Fare with you, as with other *Trimmers*, to Lose both Sides, by being *Sincerely* of Neither. For you Determine not your Self to Either Side in this *Sermon*, but talk of *Presumptions*, very *Strong Presumptions*, on the one Side; and *Doubts* and *Shews of Proof* on the Other, and that no *Decision* has been Made. You keep your self Loose, and Cry, *He that hath Ears to Hear, let him Hear*, and Conclude the *Paragraph*, p. 10. with these *Double-Faced Words*, which immediately Follow,

“ Let others do what they will, we See our Duty in our Saviour's Words (to give *Cesar* his Due) and we may be Taught it from the Reflection on this *Day*;

“ That was the *Restoration Day*. And I will make no *Comment* — But he goes on to Describe the *Restoration*, thus,

(18.) “ We do now Celebrate the happy Conclusion of a Long and fatal Series of Confusions and Wars, in which we were sadly Tossed about, after we had gone from our Ancient Establishment of Law and Government, and in which, Torrents of Blood run down every where, even Sacred and Royal Blood, when Milt-guided and mad Zeal and wild Enthusiasm were like to have Prevailed with a Fury that had no Bound. A Military Force well Disciplined and deeply Engaged to Maintain their former Illegal and Cruell Proceedings, was Broken into Parties, by which their *Strength* that seem'd Unconquerable, Moulder'd away almost imperceptibly: Then the Nation saw no way to Recover it self but by Returning to its Ancient *Constitution*. In this there was such a Harmony over the whole Dominion, that all in one Voice concurr'd to call the *King* Home from a Long unhappy Wandering.

This was *Appropo*, and may serve for a *Thanksgiving* the next 29th of *May*! It is good to have a *Sermon* beforehand — But the next *Paragraph*, p. 11. has yet more Instruction in it. And tells the *Circumstances* and the *Motives* which Induced the *English* to be *Wise* and bring Home the *King* for their own Security. Thus,

" The time in which God in his Providence brought about this
 " happy Return of the Nation into their *Wits* again, after so Long a
 " Distraction, had in it a particular Character of Mercy and Good-
 " ness to Us. There was in that Critical Time a General *Peace*
 " made up Abroad, by which great Armies were to be either Dis-
 " banded, or kept up without Employment beyond Sea; And we
 " do know that there was a Design between the *Two Crowns* to
 " Join in Assisting towards the *Restoring* the *Royal Family*, in which
 " Military Men would Readily have Engaged. So we should have
 " been a Scene of Blood and Desolation, and have been Devoured
 " by Merciless *Strangers*. But God Ordered it so Happily, that all
 " this was Prevented. The *Royal Family* Owed the *Restoration*
 " wholly to the Duty and Affections of the Subjects, without any
 " Obligation to *Foreigners*.

This was Spoke like an *Oracle* — Keep out *Foreigners*, for they
 are *Merciless*! And ther is no way to do That, but by Returning
 to our *Duty*, and the Nation Recovering their *Wits* again, as this
Bishop (I now begin to think him a *Bishop*) has very well Observed.
 And the *General Peace*, and the Disbanding *Armies* abroad, and the
 Engagement of the *Two Crowns* for a *Restoration*, was not at all Amis.
 For was it not much better for King *Char. II.* and for *England* too,
 That he should Owe his *Restoration* to the *Duty* and *Affections* of his
 own *People*, rather than to the Swords of *Foreigners*? And the Nati-
 on Saw plainly, after long *Experience*, That they could Never have
Peace till the *King* was *Restored*. For how could it be while ther
 was a Competition for the *Crown*? In such Case, as the Sermon observes,
Foreigners will put in their Oar. And ther ever will be Disconten-
 ted and Unsettled *Humours* at Home, which will *Ferment*, and lay
 Hold on the Occasion.

(19.) I Fancy, Sir, That you and I begin to agree pretty well —
 We shall come to be of one Mind at Last! Our *Squabble* Now is but the
 Falling out of *Lovers*. Your *Fickleness* Breaks my Heart. And you
 know, *An Unconstant Lover is Worse than a Thief* — Be but of
 Your own Mind again, and We are One. Return from whence you
 are *Fallen*, and you shall find Me *There* — Till then, *Adieu*.

APPEN-

... have T... otherwise, yet they have been...
... by the Generality of Protestants...
... how it will Agree with...
... to go Contrary to...
... My End in this is to Convince...
... Protestants...
... My End in this is to Convince...
... Protestants...
... My End in this is to Convince...
... Protestants...

APPENDIX.

(II.) *Dr. Tillotson his Letter to the Lord Russell. Referred to before,*
p. 4. Of Second Defence.

MY LORD,

I was heartily Glad to see your Lordship this Morning in
“ that Calm and Devout Temper at the Re-
“ ceiving the Blessed Sacrament; but Peace of
“ Mind unless it be Well-grounded will avail

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“ Little: And because transient Discourse many times hath little
“ Effect for want of time to Weigh and Consider it, therefore in
“ tender Compassion of your Lordship’s Case, and from all the
“ Good-Will that one Man can bear to another, I do humbly Of-
“ fer to your Lordship’s deliberate Thoughts these following Con-
“ siderations Concerning the Point of RESISTANCE, if Our Re-
“ ligion and Rights should be Invaded, as your Lordship puts the
“ Case, concerning which I understand by Dr. B. that your Lord-
“ ship had once received Satisfaction, and am Sorry to find a Change.

“ *First,* That the Christian Religion doth plainly Forbid the Re-
“ sistance of Authority.

“ *Secondly,* That tho’ Our Religion be Establish’d by Law (which
“ your Lordship Urges as a Difference between Our Case and that
“ of the Primitive Christians) yet in the same Law which Establishes
“ our Religion it is Declar’d, That it is not LAWFUL UPON ANY
“ PRETENCE WHATSOEVER, TO TAKE UP ARMS, &c. Be-
“ sides that there is a particular Law Declaring, the POWER OF
“ THE MILITIA TO BE SOLELY IN THE KING. And that
“ Tyes the Hands of Subjects, tho’ the Law of Nature, and the
“ General Rules of Scripture had left Us at Liberty; which I be-
“ lieve they do not; because the Government and Peace of Human
“ Society could not well subsist upon those Terms.

“ *Thirdly,* Your Lordship’s Opinion is Contrary to the Declared
“ Doctrine of all Protestant Churches; and tho’ some Particular Per-
“ sons

" sons have Taught otherwise, yet they have been *Contradicted*
 " herein, and *Condemn'd* for it by the *Generality* of Protestants.
 " And I beg your Lordship to Consider, how it will Agree with
 " an Avow'd Asserting of the *Protestant Religion*, to go Contrary to
 " the *General Doctrine of Protestants*. My End in this is to Convince
 " your Lordship that You are in a very Great and dangerous Mi-
 " stake, and being so Convinc'd, that which before was a Sin of
 " Ignorance, will appear of much more heinous Nature, as in Truth
 " it is, and call for a very Particular and Deep Repentance; which
 " if your Lordship sincerely Exercise upon the Sight of your ERROR,
 " by a Penitent Acknowledgment of it to God and Men, You will
 " not only obtain Forgiveness of God, but Prevent a mighty *Scan-*
 " *dal* to the *Reform'd Religion*. I am very Loth to give your Lordship
 " any Disquiet in the Distress You are in, which I Commiserate
 " from my Heart, but am much more Concern'd that you do not Leave
 " the World in a DELUSION AND FALSE PEACE, to the
 " Hindrance of your Eternal Happiness. I heartily Pray for You,
 " and Beseech your Lordship to Believe that I am with the Greatest
 " Sincerity and Compassion in the World.

MY LORD,

Your Lordship's most Faithful and Afflicted Servant,

July 29th.
1683.

J. Tillotson.

(2.) *Some Quotations out of the Works of the Lord Bishop of Sarum (besides what is before Quoted) which Clear him Absolutely from being the Author of this Sermon, and shew that his Principles are in flat Contradiction to those Advanced in it.*

Reflect. on Oxford
Thes. p. 33.

AS a Bastard is still a Bastard even tho' he were Legitimated by Act of Parliament; so a Lawful Child is still what it is, Notwithstanding a Sentence of Bastardy Confirm'd in Parliament.

Infants are more particularly Under the Protection of the Law, and therefore Acts passed against them in that State of Feebleness have such Flaws in them, that they have always a Right to Reverse them — Such an Act may be a *Forcible Bar* in Law, but can be no *Just* one.

The

The Civil Supremacy that we Ascribe to our Princes, is Founded on the Laws of God, on the Rules of Human Society, on the Laws of England, and the Practice of the Church for many Ages. *Ibid.* p. 61.

I cannot leave this Particular (*viz.* of the *Deposing Kings*) without my sad Regrets, that too Deep a Tincture of this Spirit of *Anti-Christianism* is among many, who Pretend much Aversion to it; since the Doctrine of *Resisting* Magistrates, upon Colours of *Religion* is so itily Maintained and Adhered to by Many, who Pretend to be highly *Reformed*, tho' this be one of the Characters of the *Scarlet-colour'd Whore*. *Disc. of the Doct. Worship and Pract. of the Church of Rome.* p. 36.

I have Considered the Doctrine and Worship of our Church; wherein if I could Justify all our *Practices*, as well as I can do our *Principles*, there were no Grounds to fear Hurt from all the Cavils of Mortals. *Ibid.* p. 70.

There is no Cause of War more Unjust than the Propagating the *True Religion*, or the Destroying a *False* one. That is to be left to the Providence of God, who can Change the Hearts of Men, and bring them to the Knowledge of the Truth when He will. Ambition and the Desire of Empire must never Pretend to Carry on God's Work. The Wrath of Man worketh not the Righteousness of God. And it were better Barefacedly to own that Men are Set on by *Carnal* Motives, than to Profane *Religion*, and the Name of God, by making it the Pretence. *Exposition of the 39. Articles.* p. 290.

It is the highest Degree of *Hellish* Policy to make *Religion* a Stalking-Horse for *Rebellion*; and to intitle *Heaven* to all the *Wickedness* we Design. You may never Expect (saith our Blessed *Martyr* to his Son) less of *Loyalty, Justice, and Humanity*, than from those that Ingage in *Religious Rebellion*; their Interest is always made *God's*: Under the Colour of *Piety*, *Ambitious Policies* do thus March, not only with greater *Security* but also *Applause* as to the *Popularity*. You may hear from them *JACOB'S Voice*, but you shall find at last they have *ESAU'S Hands*, &c. *Sermon on Judg.* xix. 30. p. 13.

Among all the *Heresies* this Age hath Spawned, there is not one more Contrary to the whole Design of *Religion*, and more Destructive of *Mankind*, than the *Bloody* Opinion of Defending *Religion* by *Arms* and *Forcible Resistance* upon the Colour of preserving *Religion*. The Wisdom of this Policy is *Earthly, Sensual, Devilish*, Savouring of a *Carnal, Unmortify'd, and Unpatient* Mind, that cannot bear the *Cross*, nor Trust the Providence of God. *Vindicat. of the Church and State of Scotland.* Preface.

When

Sermon on Rom. xiii. When our *Saviour* was Accused to *Pilate* of being an Enemy to *Cesar*, pretending to set up another Kingdom; He did in the Plainest Style possible Condemn all Practices against *Government* upon the Pretence of *Religion*, by saying, *My Kingdom is not of this World*, &c. This doth so expressly Discharge all *Buyling* and *Fighting* on the Pretence of *Religion*, that we must either Set up for *Another Gospel*, or utterly Reject what is so formally Condemn'd by the *Author* of *This* we Profess to Believe.

If we Examine the Nature and Design of the Holy *Religion* our *Saviour* delivered, We will find nothing more Diametrically Opposite to all its Rules, than the *Distempered Fury* of these Misguided *Zealots*, who being Carry'd on by the *Fierceness* of their ungovern'd *Passions*, have, upon Colours of *Religion*, Filled all the World with *Blood* and *Confusion*. Otherwise doth *St. Paul* teach the *Romans*, tho' then Groaning under the severest Rigours of *Bondage* and *Tyranny*. And *St. Peter*, i *Pet.* ii. 13. and *Chap.* iii. 14, 15. &c.

Conscience fixing our Subjection on the unshaken Basis of our *Faith* and Confidence in *God*, binds us by the strongest Tyes to our Duty.

It was the Astonishment of the World to see such Numbers of all *Ages*, *Sexes*, and *Qualities* (in the Primitive Church) with Alacrity and Chearfulness of Submission, to Offer up their Lives for the Faith; and neither the Cruelty of their *Un-Relenting Persecutors*, nor the Continued Tract of their Miseries, which did not End but with their Days, prevailed on them either to Renounce the Faith, or do that which is next Degree to it, throw Off the *Cross*, and betake themselves to *Seditious* Practices for their *Preservation*, but Continued Stedfast both in their *Faith* and *Patience*, by which they Inherited the Promises.

In the last Persecution, which Continued about *Twenty* Years, we find the Martyrs of one Province (*Agypt*) reckon'd to be between Eight and Nine hundred Thousand, and yet no Tumults were raised against all this *Tyranny* and *Injustice*. Neither did the Subtle Attempts of *Julian* the *Apostate*, nor the open *Persecutions* of the *Arian* Emperours, who did with great Violence Persecute the *Orthodox*, Occasion any *Seditious Combinations* against Authority. These are the great Precedents this Holy Doctrine of the *Cross* hath in the *First* and *Purest* Ages, and tho' *Religion* Suffer'd great Decays in the Succession of many Ages, yet for the first *ten Centuries* no *Father* or *Doctor* of the *Church*, nor any *Assembly* of *Church-Men*, did ever Teach, Maintain, or Justify any *Rebellious* or *Seditious* Doctrines or Practices.

He were by the Confession of all, highly *Criminal*, who should Question the *King's Title to the Crown*, or Offer to Void his *Right*; and yet this is the Charge of these *Insulting* *Hectors* (the *Atheists*) for if there be no *God*, then the *Sacred* and *Royal Reputation of Sovereign Power*, which *Princes Derive from Him*, who is the *Original* of it, by whom *Kings Reign*, is out of *Doors*: This Levels the *Prince* with the *Subject*, and gives the *Usurper* as good a *Title* as the *Lawful Sovereign*. *Ibid.* p. 5.

We are either Bound to Obey the *Sovereign* by some Obligation the *Law of God* brings on us, or not; if not, then *Sacredness of Authority* is gone, and the *Prince* has Nothing but *Force* to Maintain his *Right*, and every *Usurper* that Masters him shall have a *better Right*, by how much more *Power* he has to Strengthen his *Ambitious Pretensions*. p. 14.

Higher Powers being Deputed by *God*, must needs Render to Him a *Severe Account* of their Administration; But not to *Others*. p. 17.

Let us (of the *Church of England*) shew to the World, that we take not up nor maintain our *Religion* upon *Interest*, but Found it on *Sure and unmoveable Foundations*, which, being the same Always, will ever Oblidge us to the same Duties and Practices. Let us Study to Empty our selves of all *Big, Self conceiting Thoughts*, of all *Hot and inflamed Passions and Appetites*, of all *Unruly and unbounded Desires*, of all *Levity and Unsteadiness of Mind*, that with *humble Hearts, calm Minds, contented Spirits and steady Thoughts*, every one may follow the Duties of his Station, and Contain himself within as becomes a *Christian*, Paying inwardly in our very Thoughts, that Reverence we Owe the *Higher Powers*, and Offering up to *God* the constant Tribute of our Prayers for them; Considering they are *God's Vice-gerents*, and by His own Warrant are called *Gods*: And if the Conduct of Affairs do not Suit out *Wishes, or Desires*, yet for all that we are to Trust and Depend upon *God's Providence*, not daring once to Think of Attempting against the *Lord's Anointed*, nor to Engage in Courses, that may bring on so much *Mischief and Confusion*; but let us ever Set before our Eyes our *Blessed Saviour*, who endured the Cross, and Despised the Shame, who when he was Reviled, Reviled not again, and when he Suffered he Threatned not, but Committed himself to Him that Judgeth righteously: And let us also Consider that *Cloud of Witnesses* that followed Him; that so we may Run with *Patience* the Race that is Set before us, and not look to or Imitate the *latter Practices* of some *Distempered and Degenerated Christians*. And then we shall be an Honour to our Profession, and give a Credit to that Church wherein we were Born, Baptized, and Instructed;

Instructed; when we shew that we are *Subject* not only for *W*
but for *Conscience* Sake.

Sermon on ii
Sam 1. 12.
p. 24.

How did the Murther of *Charles* the I. Open the Mouth
of the Adversaries of our Religion (*Papists*) (whom
had Justly Charged for their *Seditious* and *Treason*
Doctrines) to Insult over us? But without all Cause
For all the Reasons pretended, were but upon the Matter,
same with those their Doctors have Published, Allowing but a
Change; so those of our *True* and *soundly Reformed Church*
Abominate so Foul a *Crime*, with all possible *Horour*; and, as
most Just, did both in Publick and Private Declare against it;
with a Generous and truly *Christian* Constancy, endured *Sequestration*
Imprisonments, and every thing which that *Insulting Power* put them
rather than *Comply* with so *Vile* an *Action*, and its *Vile Actors*.

(3.) I could give many more Authorities out of the Writing
the Learned Lord *Bishop* of *Sarum*. But I believe the Reader
think these Sufficient, to Clear his *Lordship* from all Imputation
such *Damnable* Doctrines are Contrary to those truly *Christian*
Loyal PRINCIPLES he has here set down.

And *Truth* carries its own *Conviction* along with it. It is Im-
possible to *Resist* it, when once it is *Seen*. After that, the *Struggles* ag-
it are *Impotent*, and *Recoile* upon Themselves. Like the *faint Resist*
made by *Night* at the Approach of *Day*. Such are the now *D*
Efforts of the *Anti-Monarchial*, *Anti-Hereditary*, and *Anti-Christian* *Pr*
inciples of *Resistance* and *Rebellion*, which Live now only in the pitiful
plaints of *Observers* and *Reviews*, and the *NOBLE* *Greenwich* *E*
dition to *Demolish* the *Nose* of a *Drawer*, because he wou'd not
the *Spit* for *Roasting* the *Parson*, and *Drink* *Damnation* to the
stone Church of *England*! This is the *Wir*, and these are the *A*
of the *good Old Cause* that are now left among us, to *Maintain*
Ground against the *Current Bent* of the *Nation*, at last *Recov*
out of their *Lethargy*, by the *Dint* of *Truth* wherein they have
Instructed, after a long *Paper-War* in which the *Armies* of the *Phili*
have been *Routed*, and left their *Cause* the *Contempt* and *Abhor*
even of the *Meanest* of the *People*. A *Complete Victory* —
at the *Nick* of *Time* when their *Goliath* was *Defying* the
mies of the *Living God*, and *Challenged* any to *Fight* with
Secure of *Victory*, *Trusting* in his own *Strength*! When these *Enc*
of *Israel* had, (in their own *Greedy Hopes*) *Devoured* the *Ch*
and were just *Ready*, (their *Mines* laid, and proper *Measures* ta
to *Swallow* her up *Quick*, and make *Root and Branch Work* with
for *Ever* in *Britain* — Then *God* *Appeared* in the *Last Extre*
and *Turned* against them their own *Beloved Mobb* wherein
Tru

Trusted, and of whom they had so much *Gloryed!* And Opened the *Eyes* of the *People of England* to see the *Precipice* on which they stood, no more to be *Catch'd* in the *Snare* of *Resistance* laid for them by *Bantering* the *Revolution!*

It is an Old Saying, *The Darker the Morning the Nearer to Day.* And it has been made *Good* in this *Day* of the *Church.* For her *Enemies* were Never so *Rampant* as Just before this *Glorious Deliverance.* But the *Sun* arose, and the *Light* She has now *Seen,* will *Encrease More and More* unto the *perfect Day.* The *Clouds* are *Dispelled* — *post Nubila Phœbus* — And the *Hopes* of *Whiggism* are *Extinguished.* For the *Church* has *Seen* her *Danger.* And in *Vain* is a *Net* Spread in the *Sight* of any *Bird.* The true *Meaning* and *Design* of all their *Moderation* is now *Perfectly* well *Understood.* It is an *Italian Proverb,* *He that Cheats me Once it is his Fault, but if he Cheat me Twice, it is my Fault.*

Felix quem faciunt Aliena pericula Cantum.

F I N I S.

THE
DISSECTION

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>1. More Scandal. pag. 1
 2. <i>The Business of the Day.</i> <i>ibid</i>
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APPENDIX

1. **D**R. Tillotson's Sermon to Lord Ruffel.
2. *Quotations out of the Lord Bishop of Exeter's Proposition to the Doctor's Sermon.*
3. *An Application of the Whiggism for Ever.*