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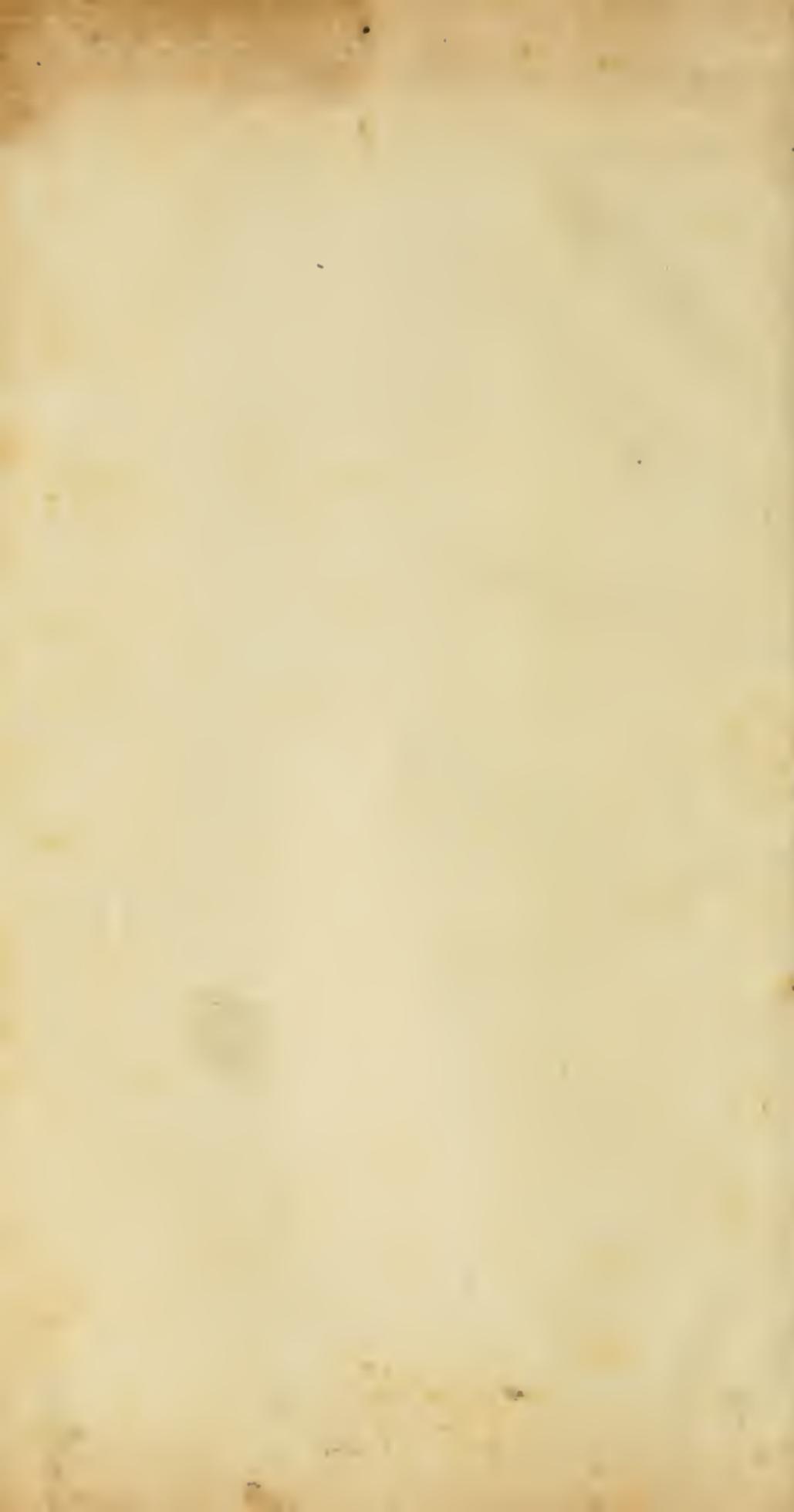
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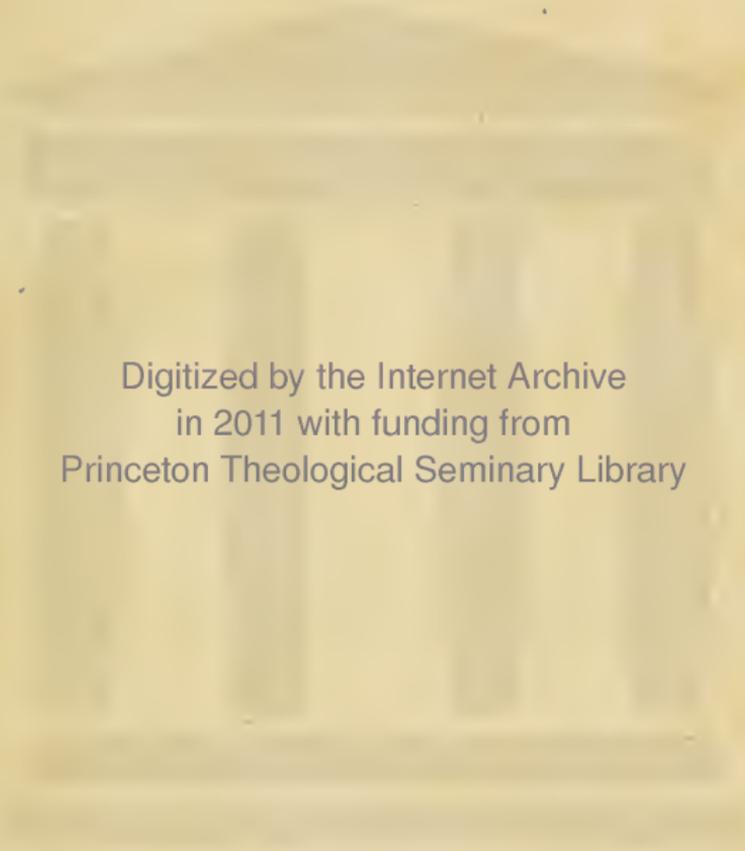
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T H E
SHORT HISTORY
O F T H E
REGAL S U C C E S S I O N,
A N D T H E
Rights of the several KINGS
Recorded in the
H O L Y S C R I P T U R E S ;

Enlarg'd and Improv'd in a FOURTH EDITION :

Illustrated with

Seasonable Remarks on Mr. *Whiston's* SCRIPTURE
P O L I T I C K S , and several other modern *Traacts*
and *Sermons* on the same subject.

The W H O L E written with an Eye to that most
Execrable Fact, for which our Nation is justly visited
with the Divine Displeasure, even to *this Day*: and dedi-
cated to all the *True Sons* of the C H U R C H O F E N G L A N D .

By a P R I E S T *of the same* C H U R C H .
By John Lindsay

*As we said before, so say I now again, if any Man preach any
other Gospel unto you, than that ye have received, let him be
accursed. GALAT. i. 9.*

L O N D O N :

Printed for the AUTHOR, and sold by the Book-
sellers of London and Westminster, 1731.





THEOLOGICAL
30 Jan. 1730.
SEMINARY.

TO ALL THE

TRUE SONS

OF THE

Church of England.



H O' I have a great averſion to the fulſome flatteries, and other imper- tinences, which, by our fashionable writers, are oftentimes ſoiſted in between their title-page and book (as if they wanted ſomewhat of a foil, to make their following pages appear the brighter); yet I'm not ſo far prejudic'd againſt prefaces and dedications, as to deny them to be many times uſeful, ſometimes neceſſary. And therefore, whiſt I thought there was no neceſſity for either, I ventur'd into the world, without patron, without apology: (And who would not have perſwaded himſelf, as I did, that a faith-

iv The DEDICATION.

ful extract out of the holy scriptures might have been sufficiently protected, as well as warranted, by their divine authority?) But, since I have had full experience, that the best cause is not always the most favourably heard, and that even those of God and the King have oftentimes the most adversaries in this world, I thought it high time, to bethink my self of some patron, under whose wing I might find encouragement and protection.

And where can I so reasonably presume upon a defence against the impertinent cavils, the groundless criticisms, and the odious reflections, of the open and secret enemies of the church and monarchy, as from you, whose common concern this is? For as the rights of the Church can't be violated, but your religion (or, at least, the exercise of it) will become precarious: so neither can those of the Crown be invaded, without involving every private subject (and more especially you, who by principle are the most inviolably attach'd thereto) in the common calamity. For, such hath formerly been (and I hope still may be) the characteristick of that church, of which we are members, that it ' hath stood unshaken in its
' loyalty among all the storms of fury, and
' paroxysms of madness, which have seized our
nation.

The DEDICATION. V

‘ nation. For neither the rage of the heathen,
‘ nor madness of the people, that imagined a
‘ vain thing; not the fears and rumours of in-
‘ novations in religion, dressed up with all the
‘ amazing circumstances of horror; not se-
‘ cret underminings, and open batteries; not
‘ the force of threatening, nor power of per-
‘ swasion; nor all other stratagems of rebelli-
‘ ous minds, could ever draw off one true son
‘ of the church from his allegiance and loyal-
‘ ty: loyalty being the badge of the church
‘ and clergy of *England*; and there being no
‘ truer *Shibboleth*, to distinguish her true sons,
‘ from those that are spurious and pretended
‘ ones (a) ’.

And

(a) *Heyrick's* serm. 26 *Jul.* 1685, p. 10, 11. The famous *Dr. Ezek. Hopkins* (in his serm. 31 *Jan.* 1659, p. 36, 37, in 4to.) says, ‘ It was once the glory of the *Protestant* religion, that it taught subjects to account the persons of their princes sacred and inviolable; supream to all under God, and accountable to none but him——: but now our adversaries triumph in the shame of our profession, when the most notorious regicides, who not only avow the doctrine, but publicly perpetrate the fact, of deposing and killing a King, are found among those who pretended to be at the greatest distance from *Romish* principles and practices ’. And *Dr. Sherlock* (in a vindicat. of his serm. 29 *May*, 1685, p. 25.) speaking of the *Bill of Exclusion*, says, ‘ If ever the loyalty of the church of *England* was tried, it was in that affair, which she had no other interest, but a sense of duty, to oblige her to: and I know not any one man, who was firm and steadfast to the church, but was so to the successi- on too; tho’ he underwent the imputation of being a *Pa-*
pist,

vi The DEDICATION.

And yet, it is not your concern alone, but that of every *English* subject. For, since, as hath been lately well observ'd, the king ' has ' at least the same right with every private ' person, and a much greater right, as he sustains the person and fortunes of every private ' man in that community (a)', it follows, that, whenever the *rights* of the King are injuriously attempted, those of *every private subject* must needs be sensibly affected; and consequently, *every private subject* in the community ought to interest himself therein, and make it his own case. But, that this is even our indispensable duty, we have also the express authority and evidence of our blessed favour: who, in what he says relating to himself, plainly intimates, that, whenever a King's person, or rights are in danger, from either the hands, pens, or tongues of his enemies, it is the duty of all his subjects to assist him, by all manner of ways; yea even, if occasion requires it, to *fight, that he should not be delivered to his Jewish (b) enemies.*

' This,

' *pist, or possibly inclined, for it*'. And Dr. Will. King (of Dublin) in a letter prefix'd to Bp. Sheridan's serm. 22 Mar. 1684, says, ' It is impossible any one of our communion ' shou'd be disloyal, without renouncing his religion'.

' (a) Sermon at Worcester. 7 June, 1716, by E. Chandler, D. D. &c. p. 11. (b) St. John xviii. 36.

The DEDICATION. vii

‘ This, my brethren, (*to use the words of*
‘ *a late eminent prelate*) is not only the best,
‘ but the only true cause of God in this world,
‘ for which all subjects are bound in conscience
‘ to fight; the cause of their lawful soveraign,
‘ that which he authorizes, either by his per-
‘ son, or his commission, or his (*a*) allowance’.

The fatal consequences of the neglect of this duty, in the beginning of the troubles of our *Royal Martyr*, (whom we this day commemorate) argue strongly also, from our own experience, as *Englishmen*, against the like negligence, whenever it pleases God almighty, for our national sins, to afflict us with the like national judgments.

For, then, our undoubted lawful soveraign was, by his natural-born and sworn subjects, resisted, imprison’d, depos’d, and murder’d: his son, and undoubted heir, first driven into *Popish* countries, for protection and subsistence; and then, under a charge of *Popery*, &c. renounc’d, attainted, abjur’d, and a price (much greater than *thirty pieces of silver*!) set upon his head (who nevertheless was the head of the whole commonwealth;) tho’ in truth, if he had been a *Papist* indeed, (as certain authors
of

(a) *Sprat’s serm.* 20 *Apr.* 1682, p. 13, 8vo.

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of great name do affirm he was,) it had been his misfortune only, but their own fault.

For (as a late eminent divine observ'd) those *rebels*, ' by banishing the royal family, cast ' them into the very jaws of Popery and seduction, and not only *led*, but drove them, ' *into temptation*'. Upon which he expostulates thus; ' And now will these fellows plunge ' men over head and ears in a ditch, and then ' knock out their brains, for having a spot ' upon their clothes? kindle a flame round about them, and then, with tragical outcries, ' reproach them for being singed? do all that ' they can, compassing even sea and land, to ' make a profelyte to Popery, and then strip ' him of his inheritance for being so? O! the ' equity, reason, and humanity of a *true Protestant*, *fanatick* zeal! much according to ' the *devil's* method; first to draw men to ' sin, and then to damn and destroy them for ' it (a)!'

But further; the bishops and clergy, who adher'd to the ancient and orthodox doctrines of the church of *England*, were turn'd out of their freeholds by pretended acts, or ordinances, of a rebel-parliament: and others (after the order of *Jeroboam*!) treasonably and schismatically

(a) Dr. South's serm. vol. vi, p. 27, 28.

The DEDICATION. ix

tically brought upon the stage, to act the parts of kings and priests, in the respective offices of the church and kingdom of *Christ!* our ancestors, the true churchmen and loyal subjects, were forc'd to retire into *upper rooms*, for communion, and to *shut the doors*, (as their exemplars, the primitive *Christians*, did, in the time of the like persecutions,) *for fear of the (a) Jews*; there privately to pray unto that God, who *seeth in (b) secret*, and hath promised, that *where two or three are gathered together in his name, and with one accord*, (in how private or obscure a place soever) *there he will be in the midst of (c) them*: and even the good King himself, for want of his *orthodox* clergy, was, during his confinement, forc'd to be his *own chaplain* in his bed-chamber, (where he constantly *(d)* used the common-prayer himself,) rather than join with the intruded schismatics; while the pulpits and parish churches were open to every body, but such only as had the right and lawful call to them! then, as a faithful and conscientious adherence to the lawful King was accounted *high treason*; so to serve God, according to

a

his

(a) *St. John* xx. 19. *Acts* i. 13. The reader may see a full state of their case, in the preface to *Mason's vindicar.* of the Ch. of *Engl.* 1728, fol. lxx. (b) *St. Mat.* vi. 6, 13. (c) — xviii. 18, 19. *Acts* i. 14. — ii. 1, 46. (d) *Clarend. hist. rebell.* vol. iii, p. 39.

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his own institution, was reckon'd an *high crime and misdemeanour!* for in such times
 ' a man may be thought a rebel for recom-
 ' mending loyalty, or seditious for preaching
 ' against (a) sedition ' ! In a word, the best
 subjects, purely for their *loyalty* to their exil'd
 sovereign, were punish'd as *rebels* by open
 rebels, and for their *orthodoxy*, as *schismaticks*
 by notorious schismaticks: under pretence of
 which false charges, they were frequently pur-
 sued to death, (and consequently (b) crown'd
 with martyrdom) or bury'd above ground; or,
 at least, by merciless fines, sequestrations and
 compositions, generally reduc'd to rags and
 penury, for the sake of a good conscience,
 ' many thousands of them having quitted all
 ' they had in the world, *endured a great fight*
 ' *of afflictions, took joyfully the spoiling of*
 ' *their goods, had tryal of cruel mockings, yea*
 ' *more-*

(a) Dr. *Sachew*. speech, in his trial, p. 244. (b) The
 learned bishop *Morley* (in his answ. to Father *Cressley*, p. 9)
 affirms, that *Obedience to our sovereign is a part of our religion*:
 ' and we think him as much a *Martyr*, that dies in de-
 ' fence of the fifth, or any other of the ten Command-
 ' ments, as he that dies in defence of any of the Arti-
 ' cles of the Creed': and yet (as another well observes)
 ' men of soft and smooth insinuations would introduce a
 ' principle of *self-preservation* (as they call it,) as if it were
 ' unworthy, as if it were unlawful, to suffer any thing like
 ' *Martyrdom*; nay, as if it were more *Christian* to be re-
 ' bels and regicides, than to be so much as *Confessors* in the
 ' cause of *Christ*'. *Turner's serm.* 9. *Sept.* 1683, p. 26, 27.

The DEDICATION. XI

' moreover, of bonds and imprisonments, and
 ' wandered about, being (a) destitute, to pre-
 ' serve inviolable their fidelity to the King and
 ' the (b) church'; while the *usurpers*, and their
 adherents, by the means of unwarrantable (c)
 compliances, *received their good things* in this
 life, being clothed in purple and fine linnen,
 and faring sumptuously every (d) day; and
 ' mean and ignoble persons trampled upon
 ' crowns and mitres, enriched themselves with
 ' the spoils of church and state, usurped the
 ' royal power, but governed like (e) slaves'!
 so that ' every good man ought to be very
 ' careful, at least in this *our day*, that he do
 ' not herd or concur with those spirits, which
 ' but the other day (as it were) to shut out all
 a 2 ' arbitrary

(a) *Hebr. x. 32, &c. — xi. 36, &c.* (b) *Walker's suff. clergy, pref. fol. v.* (c) 'The *Gnosticks*, in the primitive church --- held it lawful to apostatize in time of danger, and comply with the *Jews* for fear of persecution: but, when the days of vengeance and visitation came, God makes a distinction between those carnal pretenders, and such as continued stedfast to the profession of his truth. He provides a *Pella* for the *Christians*, a hiding-place for them, to retire to, -- but leaves those abominable *Hereticks* to be destroyed with the crucifiers of *Christ*, and hypocrites to perish with unbelievers: and this is said by some to be the accomplishment of that prediction of our *Saviour*, *He that will save his life shall lose it*, when the *Gnosticks*, who by their compliances expected shelter among the *Jews*, were together with them so signally involved in the same ruin'. Dr. *Jane's* serm. II *Apr. 1679*, p 39. (d) *St. Luke xvi. 19, &c.* (e) *Dr. Sherl. serm. 29 May, 1685*, p. 25.

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‘ arbitrary power brought it in, and to prevent Popery laid aside all true religion, and the fear of (a) God ’.

To bring all which about, those audacious rebels began first with jealousies and fears (as they pretended) of *Popery*; which they falsely and maliciously insinuated against the best King, and one of the best archbishops, that the best of churches was ever bless'd with. *Falsly*, I say, to shew their malice: tho', if the King had indeed been of that church, it would not have follow'd, (as such sophisters would infer) that our church must have been ruin'd; since ‘ we might have a freedom of religion under a Popish government, and a Popish direction (b) ’. For proof of which we need but to take an unprejudic'd view of the religion and ecclesiastical government here maintain'd amongst us, after the restoration of king *Charles II.* who, we are positively told, was ‘ perverted in his religion abroad, and came over (as hath since very plainly appear'd,) with a design and resolution to establish Popery in these (c) kingdoms ’.

And

(a) Dr. *Edw. Felling's* serm. 5 Nov. 1683, p. 34. (b) B. *Hoadly's* serm at Hertf. 22 Mar. 1707, p. 11, in 8vo. (c) Bp. *Gibson's* four sermons 1719, p. 85: and Bp. *Fleetw.* 7 June, 1716, p. 14. See a fair state of the succession of bishops, in that and the following reign, in the pref. to *Mason's* vindicat. of the ch. of *England*, 1728, fol. lxxx, lxxxii.

The DEDICATION. xiii

And besides, 'tis certain, ' No prince can
' take our religion from us, if we resolve to
' keep (a) it: --- Men may keep their religi-
' on, if they please, in despite of earthly pow-
' ers; and therefore no powers can hurt reli-
' gion, though they may persecute the pro-
' fessors of it: and therefore, when men take
' up arms to avoid persecution, it is not in
' defence of religion, but of themselves, that
' is, to avoid their suffering for (b) religion '.
But, above all, as we have God's repeated
promises to take care of his church in all its
dangers, there is nothing for us to do, but to
use lawful means only, for its security, and
trust in him for the effect: for ' a good cause
' seldom needs to be supported by wicked
' means; or, if it should, yet a good man
' would rather leave his cause to God's pro-
' vidence, and let it suffer, than venture to
' sin against God and his own soul, for the
' sake of (c) it '. Whereas the contrary pro-
cedure, of reviling, resisting, imprisoning, de-
posing, murdering or banishing, God's lawful
vicegerent, under the specious pretence of se-
curing religion, is condemn'd by all true
English-

(a) Dr. *Sherl.* serm. 29 *May*, 1692, p. 27. (b) --- *Case*
of resist. p. 61. (c) Bp. *Wake's* serm. 2 *Apr.* 1710, p. 23,
in 8vo.

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Englishmen, all true *Protestants*, all true *Christians*. For ‘ tho’ the maintenance of
 ‘ religion is commonly made the most plausi-
 ‘ ble pretence for rebellion (as it was for the
 ‘ last among us, and has been made use of
 ‘ since, towards the encouraging of another,)
 ‘ yet rebellion almost constantly proves (as
 ‘ that last prov’d) the means to destroy (*a*) re-
 ‘ ligion ’. And how should it be otherwise,
 when it is no better, than applying to the
 devil (*b*) for help in God’s cause, and acting
 upon the principles of those who hold it law-
 ful to *do evil that good may come?* of whom
 an inspired Apostle has declar’d, that their
damnation is (c) just, ‘ from which no *Ma-*
 ‘ *chiavel* can preserve us, nor any policy of
 ‘ state procure a (*d*) dispensation ’!

However, thus our pretended patriots
 acted! for which they are branded with the
 character of *Fanaticks* and *miscreants*, and
 declar’d

(*a*) Bp Turner’s serm. 23 Apr. 1685, p. 19. (*b*) *Treason in Protestants* ‘ is like the *Italian* distemper: it was first
 ‘ brought from another country, and is no way natural to
 ‘ our own, tho’ the infection has been taken by too many,
 ‘ who had an ill temper prepared for it; and others, if
 ‘ they take not care, are liable to catch it by the lewd-
 ‘ ness of ambition, revenge or discontent’. *W Payne’s*
 serm. 9 Sept. 1683, p. 20. (*c*) *Rom.* iii. 8. See also *Dr.*
Bradford’s serm. 5 Nov. 1696. *Mr. Milbourne’s* 30 Jan.
 1716. and *Mr. Kettlewell’s* works, vol. ii, fol. 33 and 74.
 (*d*) Bp. *Griff. Williams’s* rights of kings, &c. fol. 16.

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declar'd to have been ' as far from being true
' Protestants, as they were from being true
' (a) subjects ' ! And having succeeded so far
as to instill that groundless apprehension of
Popery into the too credulous mob, they easily
possess'd them with the danger of *Tyranny*
and *Arbitrary Power*, as the necessary and
(b) unavoidable consequence of the other: as
if our ancestors had all been *Slaves* under the
Popish Kings, before the Reformation! where-
as, to speak the truth, our *Magna Charta*,
and many other of the best of our privileges,
which are the peculiar glory and happiness of
Old England, (and for which the liberties of
Englishmen have been the envy of all other
nations,) were granted in those times. And
yet, how untruly, how unjustly applied, and
how absurd soever these suggestions were in
themselves, they were taken for granted
then, and so did naturally help forward the
downfall

(a) Stat. xii. Car. II. c. 30. (b) We are assured, even
in the reign of the *Popish* Queen *Mary*, that when a scheme
was laid before her, proposing to make her absolute and
arbitrary, so that she might rule according to her pleasure,
she disliked it, and consulted *Gardiner* upon it, who declaring
it to be a pernicious device of subtil *Sycophants*, and horrible to
be thought on, the Queen thank'd him, and threw the book
into the fire, charging those about her, never to receive more
such projects: Dr. *Burn.* hist. reform. vol. ii, 1681, fol.
278.

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downfal of the crown, and the fin of this day: tho', if they had been true, 'tis a certain rule, that 'no jealousies or fears, no threatening dangers, can justify any unwarrantable means of our preservation, or make us forget our duty to God and the (a) King;— and even the *Lion's mouth* itself, opening to devour us, can never excuse us from our obligation to submit and suffer, if God had so ordered it by his providence, that we ---- were born under one that would deliver us up to the (b) *Lion!*'

Their next business was, by a multitude of seditious pamphlets and sermons, (for *Rebels never wanted (c) writers to maintain their unjust actions*;) to prejudice the unthinking multitude against the government both in church and state, as usurpations upon the liberties of the *Free-born People*, (forsooth!) and to persuade them to exert themselves, in order to the recovery of their pretended native freedom. As if a *man was born* into the world, *like a wild ass's (d) colt!* tho' 'tis plain to a demonstration, from the following history, that no man ever was born free from govern-

(a) Mr. *Sam. Adams's* serm. upon rebell. 1716, p. 24.
(b) Dr. *Burvet's* serm. 5 Nov. 1684, p. 27. (c) Papers betw. K. *Cha. I.* and Mr. *Henderson*, 1646, (printed 1649, in 8vo.) p. 38. (d) *Job xi. 12.*

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evidence in the word of God against his own institutions!) that neither the regal, nor episcopal power had any ground or foundation in the sacred records; but that all power, ecclesiastical as well as civil, was radically, or originally, in the people, and therefore but a trust, which the trustees must be accountable for to them; and consequently, that the people might justly deprive the one, and depose the other (yea, and put them both to death) when ever, they thought, the publick good might be advanc'd thereby.

Neither were they less notorious for their false glosses upon the laws, and fundamental constitution of our own country: where they audaciously insisted, (as their *Observers*, and *Reviews*, and other wretched hirelings, have done in our days,) that the *King is one of the three estates*, and therefore but co-ordinate with, not supreme over, the rest; and consequently, if the Lords and Commons join against the Crown, they have the authority of two to one against him, and may therefore lawfully controul and over-rule him! Notwithstanding it is manifestly evident (a) from the
parlia-

(a) In these we read of such and such things, done by the authority of the King, with the assent of the Three Estates: and find the Lords Spiritual, the Lords Temporal, and the Com-

The DEDICATION. XIX

parliament-rolls, and other publick records, that the three estates are the *Lords Spiritual*, the *Lords Temporal*, and the *Commons*: and that the King is the head of, and supreme over them all; by whose *fiat* alone their actions become valid, and without which all their counsels and deliberations have no manner of authority to bind their fellowsubjects.

‘ Many other doctrines there are which bear
‘ affinity with these, and which of late have
b 2 ‘ serv’d

Commons, declaring, of themselves together in a body, that *they do represent in parliament the Three Estates of the realm*; and at the same time professing themselves, as such, to be (as indeed they cannot pretend to be any more, than) *his Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects*; of which I cou'd fill the margin with a multitude of incontestable proofs, ancient and modern. But a man who is not a meer stranger even to the *English* statute-book can have no more ground to dispute the truth of this, than he can have to doubt whether it is day-light, when he sees the sun shining in his *meridian* splendor. However, for the unlearned reader's satisfaction, I shall refer him only to the office for the *fifth of Nov.* in the Common prayer book, (which is confirm'd by several acts of parliament, and is, or ought to be, well known in every good family :) where he will find it entitl'd *A form of prayer with thanksgiving — for the happy deliverance of K. James I. and the Three Estates of England, &c.* and in the collect before the epistle, we address our selves unto God in the same terms, with due acknowledgments for his *preserving the King and the Three Estates*. And, to shew, that this doctrine is not chang'd with the times, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons which assembled in the convention, 1688, were so far from reckoning the King one of the Three Estates, that they declar'd themselves to *represent all the estates of the people of this realm*, even when they neither had any King among them, nor were assembled by any King's writ.

had captivated the people. 'Tis enough for me here to point to some (*a*) of those many authors, who have given a large and lively description of the whole: but I presume upon the reader's pardon, while I give him a taste of such entertainment, as he must expect to meet with in the perusal of more voluminous works.

As to their reformation of religion, it was *root and branch*: the chaste *spouse* of *Christ*, the true old orthodox church was defil'd and polluted at the will of every bold and licentious invader; and instead of sound doctrine nothing substituted but time-serving nonsense, cant, profaneness, and blasphemy! the boasted liberty of the subjects was render'd precarious by their own representatives; who, at the same time that they amus'd the people with jealousies and apprehensions of tyranny and oppression from their lawful and gracious sovereign, assum'd to themselves an unpresided arbitrary power of taking into custody their fellow-subjects, for matters no ways relating to the stated privileges of parliament!
and

(*a*) I would particularly recommend the Earl of *Clarendon's* history of the Rebellion: and, after a careful perusal of that, *Walker's* Sufferings of the Clergy; as the best fund to secure a sufficient stock of knowledge of the true state of those times, and the spirit of the party.

The DEDICATION. XXiii

and the property of every honest *Englishman*, (yea, and his life too) was liable to be taken away, without cause, without legal trial, and contrary to all law, at the pleasure of every upstart Committee-man, or upon the malicious suggestion of every spiteful and perjur'd informer! But indeed, since they ' were permitted by the just judgment of God, for the ' punishment of the many crying sins of this ' nation, to usurp a power to which they had ' not the least colour or pretence of right ': 'tis no wonder, that they did (as all Usurpers in general do) ' exercise it in a more cruel, arbitrary, and tyrannical manner, than was ' ever done by any of our rightful and lawful ' (a) princes'. In short (to use the words of an eminent preacher, who knew the men and their manners,) --- ' If to render the service of ' God ridiculous and contemptible; if to play ' the hypocrites, and to violate oaths, and by ' all instances of wickedness to bring a reproach ' and *odium* upon Christianity: if such religious villanies as these did speak men to be ' the true friends and patrons of religion, I ' am sure no age of the church ever produced ' such friends and patrons before; though I ' cannot

(a) Bp. Wynne's serm. 29 May, 1715, p. 5. 6.

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‘ cannot undertake but this age possibly may
 ‘ produce the (a) like ’.

Another plausible colour, which they gave their cause, was, that their principal aim was not against the King himself, but only to take him out of the hands of his *evil counsellors*; whereas, in fact, his counsellors in general (except two or three of the best) were left unmolested, and *the King's person only (b) hunted*. But a venerable prelate of those times, assures us of their perfidy, upon his own sufficient experience; ‘ I am sure, (says he) I am
 ‘ able to arise in the last day, to testify against
 ‘ many of his enemies and accusers, that I
 ‘ have often heard them justifying him in
 ‘ those things, for which afterwards they ac-
 ‘ cused him and condemn'd him; yea, they
 ‘ were his counsellors to have them done, and
 ‘ then his prosecutors, and persecutors of him
 ‘ unto the death, for doing (c) them ’. So that a late reverend and learned divine might well say of that party, that they ‘ are general-
 ‘ ly known by this character, that they are
 ‘ for the King against his evil counsellors, and
 ‘ for

(a) Dr. Edw. Pelling's serm. 30 Jan. 1681, p. 28. (b) Dr. Heylin's life of Abp. Laud, 1668, fol. 522. (c) Bp. Griff. Williams's declar. of God's judgm. 1661, fol. 2.

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‘ for the *Protestant* religion against the (a)
‘ church’!

But the true secret of all was plainly to make a breach and interruption (b) in our succession of Kings as well as of bishops; in consequence of which the *Fanaticks* projected a schism in the church, and a commonwealth (as they call it) in the state: which the more cunning *Jesuits* heartily encourag’d; well knowing that in such times of confusion they shou’d have the better opportunity to pick up the wand’ring flock, when once gone astray, and to seduce them again to their pretended mother-church!

Yet still the principles of the party were so wild and romantick, so manifestly contrary to
c scrip-

(a) Dr. *Hickes’s* serm. at *Worcest.* 29 *May*, 1684, dedicat. p. 2. (b) I remember to have read of some memoirs of Sr. *John Dingley*, secretary to the Prince and Princess *Palatine* (sometime call’d King and Queen of *Bohemia*;) wherein it appears, that these rebels, by several agents, tempted that unfortunate Princess, under pretence of the fears of *Poper*y, to take part with them, against her own father King *James* and her brother King *Charles*, successively, insinuating that they would settle the crown upon her and her children: But she had more grace than to hearken to their diabolical suggestions, and gave them an answer worthy of her high birth; plainly foreseeing, that their real design was to destroy the whole Royal Family, by setting up one branch of them against another: Neither did the Prince, her husband, give them any more encouragement in their opposition to *Episcopacy*, tho’ he had not establish’d it in his own *German* dominions.

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scripture, history, law, reason, and even to common sense too, that many well-meaning people; and among the rest the good King himself, (whose credulity and hereditary clemency were his greatest, if not his only faults) would not be perswaded to suspect the loyalty, or sense of the people of *England*, so far as to apprehend any danger therefrom. But alas! (so little assurance is there of the affections of the giddy multitude, that) when it was too late to rectify it, they were all convinc'd of their mistake: insomuch, that when the King issued his *declaration*, in *answer* to that of the 5th of *May*, 1642, concerning the *Militia*, he attributed the chief cause of all those troubles, to those very *pamphlets* and *papers*, which he had before thought *below the high and royal dignity, wherein God had placed him to take notice of*. And therein his Majesty complain'd, that ' whilst the
' presses swarmed with, and every day pro-
' duced new tracts against the establish'd go-
' vernment of the church and state, most men
' wanted the courage or the conscience to
' write, or the opportunity and encourage-
' ment to publish such composed sober anim-
' adversions, as might either preserve the
' minds of his good subjects from such infecti-
on,

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‘ on, or restore and recover them, when they
‘ were so infected (a) ’.

Agreeable to which, the great council of
the nation, in a lawful parliament assembled,
upon the resettlement of the government after
the happy restoration of the son and heir of
the *Royal Martyr*, declar’d the true sense of
a free people, as follows; ‘ that the growth
‘ and encrease of the (*then*) late troubles and
‘ disorders did, in a very great measure, pro-
‘ ceed from a multitude of seditious sermons,
‘ pamphlets, and speeches, daily preached
‘ and published, with a transcendent boldness,
‘ defaming the person and government of *his*
‘ (*then*) *Majesty* and his *royal father*, where-
‘ in men were too much encouraged: and, a-
‘ bove all, from the wilful mistake (*b*) of the
‘ supream and lawful authority, whilst men

C 2

‘ were

(a) *Clarend. hist. rebell. vol. i, p. 522, in 8vo.* (b) This
must needs be a *wilful mistake*, because ‘ the known laws of
‘ the land have declar’d it so fully, and particularly the oath
‘ of supremacy express’d it so clearly, that any man of or-
‘ dinary capacity may understand it as well as the deepest
‘ statesman in the world’. Bp. *Sanderfon’s* pref. to *Abp.*
Usher’s power of the Prince, &c. sect. xiv. And, as for
the *consequences* of this mistake, another modern prelate well
observes, that ‘ no change can be so beneficial—, as usurp-
‘ ing upon lawful authority is destructive:—and, where
‘ the pretence is real, yet, to seek publick good, in oppo-
‘ sition to publick authority, is like curing distempers by
‘ destroying the patient’! *Tho. Sherl. serm. 31 Jan. 1703.*

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' were forward to cry up and maintain those
 ' orders and ordinances, oaths and (a) cove-
 ' nants, to be acts legal and warrantable,
 ' which, in themselves, had not the least co-
 ' lour of law or justice to support them.
 ' From which kind of distempers, as the
 ' present age is not wholly freed, so posterity
 ' may be apt to relapse into them, if time-
 ' ly remedy be not provided (b)'.

If then, according to the sense of the na-
 tion (which, however pretended, is never to
 be so truly known as in such free (c) parlia-
 ments)

(a) ' All associations and covenants against any of God's
 ' commandments, are directly covenants with death and a-
 ' greements with hell: and all the oaths, vows and statutes,
 ' made and framed thereupon, are directly mischiefs, fram-
 ' ed by a law, and obligations sealed to serve the devil'.
 Dr. *Hudson* of government, 1647, at the end. And, it is
 well worthy of remembrance, that, among the other *mo-*
tives gravely presented to the *house of Commons*, to prevail
 with them to take the covenant, this was one, that ' the
 ' devil himself will have a covenant from all his vassals, that
 ' expect any extraordinary matters from him; else he will
 ' not be engag'd to be at their command; there is not a
 ' witch but she must seal a covenant'. *Corn. Burges's* serm:
 17 Nov. 1640, p. 64. (b) Stat. xiii, Car. ii, cap. 1. (c)
 ' Many good people, — are miserably carried away by a
 ' strange implicit faith, to believe, whatsoever is said or
 ' done in the name of a parliament, and in the pretended
 ' defence of religion, liberties, laws, to be infallibly true,
 ' and altogether just'. Dr. *Fern's* resolv. of consc. 1642,
 p. 1. But ' all parliaments are not always guided by an un-
 ' erring spirit; but were many times swayed by the heads
 ' of the most powerful faction'. Bp. *Griff. Williams's* rights
 of Kings 1662, fol. 91. And King *Charles I.* himself (in
 his

The DEDICATION. XXIX

ments) the *late troubles and disorders* (consequent upon the *grand rebellion*, which we to this day do yearly commemorate, with solemn professions of *detestation and abhorrence*;) *did indeed in a very great measure, proceed from seditious sermons, pamphlets, and speeches; and above all, from the wilful mistake of the supreme and lawful authority, &c.* (as you see they did;) how much does it behove all true churchmen and loyal subjects to encounter such *seditious (a) sermons, pamphlets, and speeches*, and, *above all*, to do their utmost endeavour to give their fellow subjects a true notion of the *supreme and lawful authority*; the *mistake* of which, it seems, has been so destru-

his second paper to Mr. *Henderson*, 6 June, 1646, p. 20.) says, ' I am confident to make it clearly appear to you, that this church never did submit, nor was subordinate to the two houses of parliament: and that it was only the King and clergy who made the reformation; the parliament meerly serving to help to give the civil sanction '.

(a) ' The church of *England* — certainly abhors the rebel in the pulpit, as well as the rebel in the field'; *Cha. Lambe's* serm. 28 Mar. 1717, p. 12. But, ' upon such a solemn occasion as this, to speak carelessly and disrespectfully of the royal cause, and the loyal adherents to it, to flirt at that primitive doctrine of passive obedience, and start intricate and perplex'd cases, which may, upon any pretence whatsoever, suppose the necessity of resisting the supreme power; what is it, but to erect a scaffold every year for the righteous Martyr, and, without a vizard, continue to repeat the mournful stroke of the executioner?' *Edm. Archer's* serm. 30 Jan. 1710, p. 29.

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destructive to our nation! *Remember this*, therefore, *and shew your selves (a) men! subjects! Christians!* and since (we have the same authority to say, that) *the present age is not wholly freed from those kind of distempers*, see that you watch against them, and *stand fast in faith* (and loyalty!) *quit you like men! be (b) strong!* so that, it may please God, a timely remedy being happily *provided*, neither we, nor our *posterity*, may hereafter be subject to so fatal a *relapse*.

‘ Let us not suffer ourselves at any time
 ‘ to be abused with a shew, nor to trust rash-
 ‘ ly to pretences: because what hath hap-
 ‘ pen’d may happen again; and to tread in
 ‘ the same track, is the ready way to drop in
 ‘ the same (c) snare ’: and ‘ what a shame
 ‘ wou’d it be for us, meanly and basely to
 ‘ betray that cause, for which our ancestors
 ‘ sacrific’d their (d) lives ’? yet, ‘ I know
 ‘ not how it comes to pass, but so it often
 ‘ happens, that they who are most secure of
 ‘ truth on their side, are most apt to be remis
 ‘ and careless, and to comfort themselves with
 ‘ some good old sayings, as *God will provide*,
 ‘ and

(a) *Isa.* xlvi. 8. (b) *1 Cor.* xvi. 13. (c) *Pelling's* serm. 30 *Jan.* 1681, p. 31. (d) *Stillingfl.* serm. 21 *Sept.* 1673, p. 45.

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‘ and *truth will prevail*, though they lye
‘ still, and do nothing towards it: but cer-
‘ tainly such negligence is inexcusable, where
‘ the matter is of so great importance, the
‘ adversaries so many, and an account must
‘ be given shortly in another world, of what
‘ men have done or suffer’d — in (a) this’.
The same causes will naturally produce the
same effects: and, if it shou’d be our misfor-
tune now, as it was then, that *men want the*
courage, or the conscience, to oppose such a
growing evil, whilst it is in their power, how
just will it be in Almighty God, to give us up
to be a prey to the like usurpations, and to
consume both us and our (b) King! — which
God avert.

What a calamitous condition our natural
soveraign has heretofore been liable to, and
how wonderfully restor’d, is thus describ’d,
by some eminent divines, *viz.* that ‘ he was
‘ forc’d to live in exile and banishment, di-
‘ vested of royal power, and all the ensigs
‘ of majesty, reduc’d to a precarious, and
‘ sometimes a necessitous state, while he saw
‘ his friends impoverish’d and ruin’d, his loy-
‘ al subjects oppress’d, his enemies trium-
‘ phant,

(a) *Ibid.* p. 48. (b) 1 *Sam.* xii. 25.

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‘phant, too vigilant, and too powerful, to
 ‘allow any hope to see an end of these trou-
 ‘bles: but that God, who can do what he
 ‘pleases, and oftentimes does such things, as
 ‘no human force nor power can effect, put
 ‘an end to these troubles, and restor’d him
 ‘to his father’s throne in peace and honour,
 ‘and with the universal joy and triumph of
 ‘his subjects — ; without any power of his
 ‘own, without the help and assistance of fo-
 ‘reign allies; while his friends at home were
 ‘opprest, while the same power that drove
 ‘him out was still in the hands of his ene-
 ‘mies; while so many persons, who were
 ‘in greatest power, were concerned, for their
 ‘own preservation, to keep him out; while
 ‘those who wish’d his return durst not whif-
 ‘per any thing tending to call the King back
 ‘(a) again: and (which ought the more to
 ‘endear our deliverance) all this was brought
 ‘about by a miracle of mercy, far beyond all
 ‘our hopes and contrivances, at a time when
 ‘we were quite lost, without all visible means
 ‘of a (b) restoration’. *After all, — seeing
 that our God hath punished us less than our
 iniquities deserve, and given us such a deli-
 verance*

(a) Dr. Sberl. serm. on the discov. of the plot, 1683, p.

4. (b) Dr. Fane’s serm. 11 Apr. 1679, p. 46.

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verance as this, shou'd we again break his commandments, and provoke him by our repeated rebellions against him and his ordinance, what less can we expect, than that he wou'd be angry with us till he had consum'd us, so that there shou'd be no remnant nor (a) escaping. For ' it is a fearful aggravation of sin, after great judgments and great deliverances, to return to sin, and especially to the same sins again: because this can hardly be without our sinning against knowledge; and— is an argument of a very perverse and incorrigible (b) temper '.

' What the state of things is now, — I shall not need to observe. We all see it, and know it full well. And if I should say moreover, that there are some still among us, as deeply tainted with those principles of sedition and rebellion, which brought about this day's tragedy, as any of their fathers were, and who, if they had liv'd in their days, would have been as forward as the forwardest of them were, in unhinging the government, and destroying the church, nay, and in bringing their sovereign to the block: though some per-

d

' haps

(a) *Ezra* ix. 13, 14. (b) *Dr. Tillot's* term. 31 *Jan.* 1688, p. 15, and 13.

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‘ haps would be angry at my saying this, I
 ‘ fear it would be only for my speaking a
 ‘ truth out of season; and they, I believe,
 ‘ wou’d be most angry with me for saying it,
 ‘ who best know it to be a (a) truth’. ‘ And
 ‘ I am exceedingly afraid, — the very crime
 ‘ of this day is not so generally, so thorough-
 ‘ ly repented of, as it ought to be. If it be,
 ‘ how comes it to pass, that the very same
 ‘ maxims and doctrines, ——are so publickly
 ‘ avow’d and industriously propagated? And
 ‘ what can be the meaning of that barbarous
 ‘ (b) feast, that is said (nor can it be gain-
 ‘ said) to be annually kept up, to mock the sad
 ‘ solemnity of the day, and glory in the exe-
 ‘ crable (c) deed’?

But, because (I know) such diabolical tri-
 umphs in the most monstrous wickedness can-
 not easily find credit, among men of true *Eng-
 lish* spirits, I think it necessary to inform my
 reader, that several of our young nobility and
 gentry, having been train’d up in seminaries
 of schism, have there been (as it were) cate-
 chiz’d into a belief, that the murder of our
 King was a gallant and heroick action! wit-
 ness

(a) Bp. Blackall’s serm. 31 Jan. 1708, p. 21, in 8vo.
 (b) Meaning the *Calve’s-head* club. (c) Dr. Moss’s serm.
 30 Jan. 1706, p. 27, 28.

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ness Lord *William (a) Russel*, and others; who, if not thus unhappily prejudic'd by an ill-fated education, might have liv'd and died in peace and honour. Nay, some of the party, even in our times, tho' they pretend to abhor the bloody fact, don't blush to undertake a *(b)* profess'd justification of those *anti-christian*

d 2

christian

(a) This noble person was not only influenc'd by the principles of Dr. *Manton*, Mr. *Johnson*, and others of the republican class, but had been sent for education, together with the sons of many noblemen and gentlemen, to one *Lewis*, a sickling Presbyterian, that had gotten the sequestration of *Totenham-Highcross*, from Mr. *Wimpew*, a loyal minister of the church of *England*: which impious wretch, *Lewis*, to divert his scholars, compos'd a farce, wherein the young gentlemen were to be actors. The farce had all the formalities of a *high-court of justice*; president, solicitor, witnesses, &c. The criminal was an old shock water dog, which he called *Charles Stuart*! this dog was arraign'd, try'd, condemn'd, and executed, by cutting off his head! by which action he instilled the principles of king-killing into his scholars; as if the murdering of a King were no more than the cutting off a dog's neck! *Tho. Long's* hist. of plots, 1684, p. 186. *(b)* *Jn. Peirce*, a licens'd preacher, in *the Curse-causeless*, (a sermon, at *Exon*, 30 Jan. 1716) does not only boast, that he never cou'd see reason to fast, or pay any religious regard to the day, (pret. p. iii) and call it a *fasting for strife* (page 6) but is so audacious, as to affirm, that 'a great part of the matter (charg'd upon their party)---is so far from being criminal, that it is truly noble, and deserves much praise and commendation!' (p. 12.) meaning (as he confesses) *what was done against the King, or his evil counsellors*: and that 'all the world must justify that parliament, for standing up in defence of the right of the subjects', &c. (p. 13.) He presumes to call that resistance and open rebellion a *noble stand!* (p. 13, 14.) to which, he says, *we are indebted, that we are*

not

christian principles, which naturally and directly tended to it: as if they presum'd, that they had, not an indulgence only for consciences truly tender, but even a licence to sow their *tares* of rebellion and heresy; and that too, not in the night-time, as the old (*a*) *enemy* did, but in the open day!

With

not a generation of slaves! (p. 14.) he calls the King's loyal and faithful servants *a corrupt and vile ministry*; and the learned and pious bishops, and other orthodox divines, *a vicious, fawning clergy!* (*ibid.*) and all those who duly observe this anniversary, according to the laws of our church and state, are lawfully stiled *angry men! profane men!* (p. 26) *the wicked!* (p. 27.) and compar'd to those *Jews and Heathens*, who *persecuted the Christians falsely for Christ's sake!* (p. 26.) while they (the self-call'd saints) are compar'd to *the best of men!* (p. 27.) to *David and Jeremy!* (p. 33.) to the apostles; yea, and to *the son of God himself!* (p. 27.) For they, good men, the *Presbyterians*, are *harmless and perfectly innocent!* (p. 9, 11, 16.) and must be suppos'd to have *a more than ordinary goodness!* (p. 27.) their *actions are such as merit commendation and praise!* (p. 9.) and therefore *the curse of this day is causeless* (forsooth) as to them, *and shall come upon him that denounces it!* (p. 7, &c.) But (what is still more remarkable and surprizing) this zealous Revolutionist (as he wou'd nevertheless be thought) takes pains to retort it upon those of the church-party, who, in a later revolution, (as he with great boldness affirms) were as guilty of resisting and *lifting up the hand against the Lord's anointed*, and their actions 'as truly a conspiring his death, as any thing they were ever guilty of, who actually put his father to death'! (p. 21, 22.) nay, he endeavours to make the latter revolution the more unjustifiable; where he says, 'Will they blame us for standing up for our liberties, when we had the parliament—on our side; and yet think themselves innocent in inviting over the prince of Orange, to rescue their liberties, when they acted only in a private capacity?' *ibid.* p. 21.

(*b*) *St. Matth. xiii. 25, 28, 39.*

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With what view therefore a late eminent prelate made such pressing *exhortations to peace and union* with that party, I shall not take upon me to guess: but while the old leaven is still fermenting among them, and such principles as these are openly preach'd, and publish'd, with the undeserv'd encouragement of several editions, I leave the world to judge, whether any true churchman, or loyal subject, can think it honest or decent, to make a clamour, as if we *did wrong to our brethren*, either by loading them with false accusations, by aggravating some lesser matters, or by an undue prosecution of real, but repent-ed-of (*a*) faults! I will not say, this was intended as an indirect insinuation, in order to the abolishing this anniversary commemoration, as some others have more directly intimated: but, amongst all the plausible reasons offer'd to that purpose, I think, the weakest is, that it was 'a fact, which no man now living cou'd possibly have a hand (*b*) in!' since that wou'd be a much stronger reason for abolishing (*c*) another, which I hope even these gentlemen themselves are hardly yet bold enough to venture upon.

How-

(*a*) Bp. Burnet's serm. 26 Nov. 1689, p. 45, in 160. (*b*) Dr. Mich. Hutchinson's serm. at Derby, 30 Jan. 1716, p. 24. (*c*) Good friday.

However, that I might offer my *mite* towards the putting a stop to so contagious a *distemper* (at least so far as the holy scriptures are concern'd,) and in hopes that I might in some measure contribute, either to *preserve the minds of his Majesty's good subjects from such infections, or restore and recover* some of those who were already (*a*) *infected*, by the notorious abuse and perversion thereof, I took the *courage* (rather than be liable to the imputation of the *want of conscience*, which the martyr of this day complains of) to offer to the publick, *A short history of the Regal Succession, and the rights of the several Kings recorded in the holy scriptures*: wherein it a-
bun-

(a) • Until some further order be taken herein, it is but
 • needful, that such treatises of this nature, as carry weight
 • and evidence with them. shou'd be publish'd to the
 • world, for the settling of men's judgments and conscien-
 • ces aright, as concerning the great duties of *christian* obe-
 • dience and subjection, and for the preventing of such
 • mischiefs as must unavoidably ensue, where those so ne-
 • cessary points are either misrepresented by the leaders, or
 • misunderstood by the people'. Bp. *Sanderſon's* pref. to
 • *Abp. Usher of the power of the prince, &c.* § v. For
 • that has a mind to destroy the discipline, the order, or
 • the very doctrine of the church of *England*, shall quote
 • ye twenty texts for't; and as many precedents (if there
 • shall be occasion) for diverting, or cutting off the suc-
 • cession; nay, for deposing the King himself, and chang-
 • ing the very form of the government. This is no more
 • than what has been actually done in the memory of man.
 • —The devil himself fishes with these baits': *L' Estr.*
 • *Case put, 1680, p. 4.*

The DEDICATION. XXXIX

bundantly appears, how far the *republican* and *Erastian* schemes are from being warrant-ed by those sacred records, to which our modern *assertors* (as they call themselves) of the *rights of the christian church*, and of the *liberties of the people*, have the confidence to appeal for the truth of them.

For there we find not the least footstep of such a *state of nature*, as *Hobbes* and his followers dream of, (when men are pretended to have been born free from any yoke of government; that is, literally, *sons of Belial!*) no popular election of Kings or priests! no original contract between the governours and governed! no coercion (*a*) over their sacred persons! nor any resistance, rebellion, or even self-defence against, much less any deposition or murder of, the Lord's anointed, (as *Parsons* the Jesuit, and the disciples of his *Doleman* do contend for,) but what is plainly condemn'd by the Holy Ghost. But, on the contrary, there

(*a*) It is accordingly declar'd, in the act that appoints the observation of this day, that, *by the undoubted and fundamental laws of this kingdom, neither the peers of this realm, nor the commons, nor both together, in parliament or out of parliament, nor the people, collectively or representatively. nor any other persons whatsoever, ever had, have, or ought to have, any coercive power over the persons of the Kings of this realm: Stat. xii. Car. II. ca. 30.* And this parliamentary declaration did not then first obtain the force of law, but was *declarative of our original constitution.*

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there we find evidence as clear as the sun, that government (and even the monarchical form thereof) was originally instituted by God himself: that the succession thereto was, as well by the law of God as by that of nature, hereditary, from father to son, and so to the next of kin, whether male or female, according to priority of birth and proximity of blood, without regard to other personal endowments or qualifications: that, tho' such succession was sometimes defeated, and the reins of government put into other hands, yet whenever such revolutions happen'd, they were always held as unlawful, and usurpations; unless they carried with them very plain evidence of their being the Lord's doing (as in the cases of *Saul*, *David*, and *Solomon*;) that as Kings were unaccountable to the people, for their administration in the state, so were the high priests, in the church, absolutely independent on the state, in relation to the exercise of their spiritual powers; so that a schism in the church was form'd against the one, in the same manner as a rebellion and usurpation in the state were form'd against the other: and, in a word, that our lawful governours, both in church and state, and they alone, (not every *Oliver*, or other usurper

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usurper or intruder, who gets possession of the regal or episcopal throne) are intituled to our obedience, by the apostolical (a) precepts.

While the first edition of that was in the press, another book happen'd to be publish'd, upon the same subject, intituled, *SCRIPTURE POLITICKS, or, an impartial account of the origin and measures of government, ecclesiastical and civil, taken out of the books of the old and new testament, &c.* by *William Whiston, M. A. &c.* 1717.

This rais'd my curiosity, to see how far I had the happiness to agree with a person, whose name has made so much noise in the world. But, upon the perusal thereof, I found his *Scripture-Politicks* and mine so very much unlike, as if they had not been taken out of the same record: for I observ'd, that gentleman had taken a great deal of pains to make his Bible a warrant for the *republican* scheme of government; whereas my observations therefrom were directly to the contrary. However, I had so humble an opinion of my own judgment, that I brought as many of the controverted passages, as my time wou'd then allow me, to the test of the Bible, to which we severally refer'd ourselves,

e

for

(a) *Rom.* xiii. 1. *Titus* iii. 1. *Hebr.* xiii. 17. 1. *Pet.* ii. 13.

any other judicious person's notice: so that hitherto, as Mr. *Whiston's* is undefended, so my little book remains unconfuted, unanswer'd. I own indeed, that I met with some few hints, in accidental conversation, which convinc'd me that I was too *short* in the explanation of two or three particulars: but I never yet have read or heard of any thing therein mistaken; except only one passage, in the case of *Jehoahaz*, the son of *Josiah*, and some few trivial *errata* of the press.

In this edition therefore (to which I have been induc'd by several motives, needless here to be mention'd) I have not only taken care to correct that oversight, but have also intermix'd *remarks* upon several cases, as I had opportunity to meet with them, misreported, by Mr. *Whiston*, and several others: tho' in truth the number of such misreported cases is so great, and those writers and preachers, who have laid themselves open to censure for it, so many, that I had not room and opportunity to take proper notice of them all. I might add, that several of them are so very high in place, and the esteem of the world, that it might have been more for my own private interest (had I consulted That more than I do the Truth) to have let them quite alone:

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alone: but whilst our controversy is about the holy scriptures (which ought to be the rule of our conduct in every thing,) the more eminent and popular the persons are, who appear on the other side of the question, so much the more danger is there of infection therefrom, and consequently so much the more necessity for us to be upon our guard against it.

Perhaps indeed I shou'd not have troubl'd you with particular *remarks* upon Mr. *Whiston's* mistakes in *Scripture-Politicks* (after such a general censure of them,) had he stood alone, and not been seconded and supported by some, whose notions, tho' every whit as pernicious, are not usually read with so good a guard, as those of Mr. *Whiston*; and therefore are the more capable of doing mischief. Besides which, as theirs are (most of them) scatter'd abroad in many different pamphlets and sermons, but his reduc'd to the narrow compass of one Book, I thought that, by confuting him, I shou'd confute them; (for they generally argue upon the same common topicks;) and the same answer that you meet with here, to his *politicks*, will serve any of the rest, (wheresoever you may chance to find them,

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them,) as well as if they had been particularly animadverted on.

In the doing of which, I may say of Mr. *Whiston*, (as a late reverend and pious divine said, in a like case, with respect to another of the same order,) ‘ I have examin’d his opinions, with the same freedom that he has propos’d them; and which the interest of truth and righteousness require, as I conceive, in this case: and this freedom, I believe, will not be offensive to himself. For, if they will stand, it will give him further opportunity to clear them: but, if they will not, as I verily think they will not, it will concern all, and no person more than himself, to be shew’d the falshood of (a) them’. And, to convince Mr. *Whiston*, how free I am from any prejudice or byass whatsoever in this examination, I do sincerely profess to every reader, and to him in particular, (in his own words,) that I ‘ lay aside all human, all uncertain political schemes: I don’t consider even the several advantages and disadvantages of the present, or any other government now in the world; for which, or against which, I properly write not: but I endeavour to discover
’ what

(a) *Kettlerw. works, vol. ii. fol. 197.*

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‘ what is truth, and what is right, and what
‘ is our duty, as *Christians*, in these impor-
‘ tant (*a*) affairs ’; always remembering that
wise saying of a very learned and famous fo-
reigner, that ‘ the faithful historian is of no
‘ age or nation: tho’ he loves his country,
‘ he never flatters it in any (*b*) particular ’.

And yet I’m not insensible, that some there
are who *will not endure sound* (*c*) *doctrine*, and
wou’d rather go on in a by-way of their own;
than undergo the small mortification to con-
fess that they had mistaken the right road:
or, in plain terms, who, notwithstanding the
force of truth, and the conviction of their
own consciences, will not suffer their practices
or principles to be question’d, without the
utmost impatience and resentment; but treat
the author with the more rage and malice,
the less they find themselves able to answer
him. But, let such learn, from the famous
Dr. Tillotson, that ‘ all doctrines are vehe-
‘ mently to be suspected, which decline trial,
‘ and are so loth to be brought into the light;
‘ which will not endure a fair examination,
‘ but magisterially require an implicate faith:
‘ whereas truth is bold and full of courage,
‘ and

(*a*) *Whist. script. politic. dedic. p. xix.* (*b*) *M. de Fenelon*
on learn. p. 84. (*c*) *2 Tim. iv. 3.*

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‘ and loves to appear openly ; and is so secure
‘ and confident of her own strength, as to
‘ offer herself to the severest trial and exami-
‘ nation. But, to deny all liberty of enqui-
‘ ry and judgment — is the greatest injury
‘ and disparagement to truth that can be,
‘ and a tacit acknowledgment that she lies
‘ under some (a) disadvantage ’.

For my own part, the natural inclination of my *genius* might have been powerful enough to divert me from hazarding my peace and quiet by such an engagement, and to avoid the sting which commonly is the fate of him who disturbs a nest of Hornets: but, some cases there are, as I have shewn before, wherein every man is to be a soldier, and even silence it self wou’d be criminal ; which consideration alone prevail’d with me to buckle on my armour, not regarding the hazards I might be personally expos’d to, for doing my duty.

If it shou’d therefore be my fate, in this encounter, to meet with no better return than that of foul (b) language, (as many others

(a) *Tillotf. serm. 4 Apr. 1679, p. 37, 38, in 4to.* (b) Among the rest, this will probably be call’d the *making a step towards Popery*; and that indeed with as much propriety as the asserting of the *independency of the church upon the state, as to its powers meerly spiritual, and the invalidity of lay-baptism,*

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thers have been rewarded for much better performances,) I shall patiently bear my share of it, whilst he who throws the dirt can't escape with clean hands, out of the kennel from whence he rakes it: and it will be satisfaction enough to my own mind, ' if I may ' so strike the favourable opportunity in this ' attempt, as, by God's blessing, to *strengthen* ' any of *those who stand* for us, *help* the waver- ' ing who wou'd otherwise be against us, ' or *raise up those that are fallen* from us; ' and thereby approve my fidelity to my great ' (a) master', under whose *banner* I am lifted, and whose *cross* I have not yet deserted.

It was a heroic saying of an exemplary prelate, in times of danger, that *he thanked God, he never much knew what fear was, when he was once satisfied in the goodness of his (b) cause*: and I humbly trust in God, that, so
f long

rism, have been boldly call'd so by Bp. Burnet (serm. 7 Nov. 1710, p. 24.) and others: whereas 'tis evident, to every man of common learning, that the former of these doctrines is older than *Popery* itself, and the latter contrary to the known principles and practice of the *Papists*! But all these *old outcries and noise of Popery*, when loudest and most clamorous, are ' as sure a sign of some violent assault from ' *Presbytery*, as a ruffian's endeavouring to divert your eyes ' from himself, betokens his intention of stabbing you in ' the back'! *Walk. suff. clergy, pref. fol. x.*

(a) *Stubs's* serm. 4 Octob. 1702, ep. dedicat. (b) Bp. Lake.

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long as I have the holy scriptures for my foundation, and you, *true churchmen* and *loyal subjects*, for my patrons, I shou'd not have been much discourag'd, in the quest or defence of the truth, tho' I cou'd have apprehended, that I was, in so doing, necessarily to *wrestle against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high (a) places!*

I might also presume upon the laws of the land, as my warrant: but, as that is, at present, out of my sphere, my concern here being wholly with those of God, and this my undertaking confined to *Scripture-Politicks*, I shall leave it to others of more leisure and capacity, to clear our constitution, from the suspicion of favouring such notions, as are utterly destructive of all manner of government in the world.

In the mean time, (since it is *not foreign to any man's office, upon all just occasions, to inculcate such doctrines, as tend to settle the measures of Christian duty, and consequently to promote the happiness of human (b) society,*) I cou'd wish to see a collection of our national laws

(a) *Ephes. vi. 12.* (b) *B. Hoadly's serm. 29 Sept. 1705, p. 18; and 22 Mar. 1707, at the end.*

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laws carefully made, by a skilful hand, and set in a full and clear light, that we might the better be able to judge in this important affair, whether we are impos'd on, by those who affirm, that the *imperial crown of England may be prov'd, even from our statute (a) book, to be deriv'd immediately from God,* (and not from the people,) as being *the King of Kings, and sole disposer of all earthly crowns and kingdoms;* and that the same ought to descend, according to the course of inheritance, by inherent birth-right, to him who is *lineally, justly, and lawfully, the next and sole heir of the blood royal:* that such as have heretofore obtain'd the crown in any other way are stil'd only *pretend'd Kings, or Kings de facto, and usurpers;* and that, *as such, their acts are held to be of no force in law:* that there can be no interregnum, or vacancy of the throne, but immediately, upon the death of the King, his next heir (who-

f 2

ever

(a) The Statutes usually refer'd to are thus noted, 1 Edw. III. c. 1. 25 Edw. III. c. 2. 16 Rich. II. c. 5. 1 Edw. IV. c. 1. 24 Hen. VIII. c. 12. 25 Hen. VIII. c. 19, 21, 22. 26 Hen. VIII. c. 1. 37 Hen. VIII. c. 17. 1 Mar. Sess. ii. c. 4. 2 Mar. Sess. ii. c. 1. 1 Eliz. c. 1, 3, 5 Eliz. c. 1. 13 Eliz. c. 2, 14. 1 Ja. I. c. 1, 7. 3 Ja. I. c. 4. 12 Car. II. c. 12. 14. 30. 13 Car. II. c. 1, 2, 4, 6. 13 Car. II. Sess. ii. c. 1. 13 and 14 Car. II. c. 3, 4. besides many more which I omit,

*ever he is) becomes King in the same instant; and while the rightful King is kept out of possession, the laws are suspended, and have no operation: that the whole sovereignty is in the King, and all the forces and strength of the kingdom his sole right; and he is not accountable to his people for his administration thereof, much less punishable by them for his abuse of it: that even the three estates are so far from being co-ordinate with, or having any coercive power over their King, that the commons were but petitioners to him, for the making his laws, as the other two estates (of Lords spiritual and temporal) were his counsellors to advise him in it, &c. These, and many more conclusions of the like sort, have been frequently drawn from our acts of parliament, by men of great reputation for learning: but, as I have no opportunity at present to examine the originals with the care and caution that the subject requires, I shall leave my readers to judge for themselves; whilst I content my self with observing, that the same free parliament, which attainted the regicides, for the execrable murder of their lawful King, did also expressly ‘ renounce, a-
‘ bominatē, and protest against all proceed-
‘ ings*

ings tending (a) thereto'; and consequently therefore against all those *seditions sermons, pamphlets, and speeches*, from whence (as is before prov'd) *the growth and increase of the then late troubles and disorders did in a very great measure proceed.*

But I must not forget to make some apology for my self, with regard to the stile, which I am aware may be liable to various objections; and the more so, because the subject itself has many inveterate enemies. Some of these (whose sense of feeling does not lie in their consciences) will probably cry out against me, as if my pen had been too sharp, and my ink too full of gall: but upon the strictest review, I can't find any thing dropp'd that way, which the subject does not require, and the season fairly excuse. For, who can treat of such a parricide, or the proceedings tending to it, with an honest *English* heart, in softer terms than I have done? nay, wou'd not such an unprecedented act rather justify the sharpest expressions any language can furnish, in detestation of the actors and their abettors? whereas I have chiefly attack'd the principles only, and left the men to their doom! *Rebellion,*

(a) Stat. 12 Car. II. c. 30.

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bellion, you know, is compar'd to (a) *witchcraft*: and a witch must expect to be severely scratch'd! but (to be serious, as the occasion requires,) I doubt not but to be acquitted of this charge by all true loyalists, when you
' consider, what moderation and temper a
' man had need be of, that, in this nation
' and this age, shall speak against faction and
' rebellion, without extraordinary (b) *severi-*
' *ty*'. Were the tragedy of this day so duly
and thoroughly repented of, that we cou'd
reasonably hope God wou'd no longer *visit*
us with his judgments on that account, I
cou'd be content, for the honour of the *Pro-*
testant name, (which *hath receiv'd so great*
(c) *a wound and reproach* by it,) that it were
buried in utter *oblivion*: but that can never
be, so long as principles of the same direct
tendency (not to say, the fact itself also) are
openly maintain'd, justify'd and gloried in!
and I can vouch even the moderate Abp.
Tillotson himself to shew, that *we must not*
use mildness in the case of a wilful and hei-
nous sin; especially if it be exemplary, and
of publick influence: to rebuke gently upon
such an occasion, is rather to countenance the
fault;

(a) 1 Sam. xv. 23. (b) *Sprat's* serm. 20 Apr. 1682, ep.
dedic. (c) Stat. 12 Car. II. c. 30.

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fault; and seems to argue, that we are not sensible enough of the enormity of it, and that we have not a due dislike and detestation for (a) it, &c.

But, whilst I am thus accumulating my vouchers, I am more justly apprehensive of another objection; that my whole book is crowded with quotations. This, I fear, will be an eye-sore at the first sight: tho' when you come to the perusal, and observe to what purpose they are severally produc'd, the question will be only, whether they are pertinently apply'd, either in support of my own *History*, or of my *Remarks* upon that of others: for if they be, (as I hope they will be judg'd,) I may expect a much softer censure, for my scrupulous, tho' unfashionable, honesty (in owning whence I took them, so that every man may have his own again,) than I shou'd have deserv'd, if I had pass'd them for my own, without any other title to them, than that pyratrical one of bare possession only. Besides, by my quoting them thus fully, by whole periods, the reader is enabl'd

to

(a) *Tillotf.* concerning the education of children, serm. 2. (as I have him quoted;) but I'm not certain that these are his very words, nor have I opportunity now to examine the original.

lvi The DEDICATION.

to judge of the strength of my additional evidence, drawn from personal authority, as well as of the force of my arguments against the adversary: whereas, if I had laid before him only the substance of what has been occasionally written on either side, he must have depended upon my judgment and impartiality, more perhaps than my small stock of reputation wou'd have given me a right to expect. And moreover, by thus setting the opinions of many of the principal men of all parties, (when they were not prejudic'd by passion, nor byas'd by interest,) as it were in one view, and in a clear light, the truth will the more naturally be discover'd among them; especially where they all concur in the same common sentiments: and that which their own greatest favourites have sometime deliberately preach'd for sound doctrine, ' I hope, ' will not be thought otherwise now; for ' truth doth never alter, nor vary with the ' times, whatever the professors of it may (a) ' do '.

However, it cannot be deny'd, that such a mixture of various paragraphs, from divers hands, and on different occasions, can't but
render

(a) *J. A. Elleby's* serm. 30 *Jan.* 1684, *pref.*

render the style of the whole somewhat rugged and uneven; and 'tis certain, that an even thread, fine smooth language, and well-turn'd periods wou'd have much better recommended the discourse to the nicer reader's favour: but, as I always thought that to be the best expression, which had the best effect upon the judgment and practice of those to whom it was address'd: so, in this treatise of the constitution of the *Jewish* government, I chose to express my self in such plain modern terms, as have a known and determin'd sense and meaning, among those whom I am to expect for my readers; and therefore I perswade myself, that *you* will not be critical, but overlook the unpolish'd dress it appears in, and receive the truth to your protection, for its own sake: for ' we all ' know, that 'tis not what is artfully pleaded, ' but what is fully prov'd; not what may be ' said by us, but what the law says, that ' ought to be our rule, in all such (a) cases '.

And now, what remains, but that all of us, in our respective stations, apply our selves dutifully and diligently to the putting a stop to those pernicious doctrines, and trait'rous practices, which have heretofore overwhelm'd

g

both

(a) *Whist.* script. polit. epist. dedic. p. xx.

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both our church and state in one common ruin? Wherein, that our honest endeavours may have the better effect, so as that those horrid sins which we have this day renounc'd, may never be repeated, at least in this our nation, let us learn, before it be too late, to live in the *true faith and fear of God, in true loyalty and obedience to his Vicegerent, and in brotherly love and charity one towards another*: and then we may, with the greater assurance, address our selves to the *King of Kings, and governour of all things* (in the words of our most excellent Liturgy,) to *infatuate and defeat all the secret counsels of the ungodly; to abate their pride, assuage their malice, and confound their devices; to strengthen the hands of our gracious sovereign, with judgment and justice, to cut off all such workers of iniquity, as turn religion into rebellion, and faith into faction; that they may never again prevail against us, nor triumph in the ruin of the Monarchy and his Church amongst us*; which is the constant prayer of

Your hearty well-wisher and
Humble Servant,

J. L.

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T H E

SHORT HISTORY

O F T H E

REGAL SUCCESSION,



HAVING oftentimes, *The Intro-
duction.*
with great concern,

observed, how much the minds
of his Majesty's subjects are
distracted, by the various glos-
ses, which artful and designing

men have put upon the succession of several of
the Kings recorded in the holy scriptures (eve-
ry one of them endeavouring to make the word
of God serve his own turn, whereby plausible ar-
guments are often pass'd upon the unwary rea-
der for authentick evidence (a), I could not but

B think

(a) *Whist. script. polit. dedicat. p. 20.* See also the remarks
of Mr. G. C. (*Geo. Conway*, I suppose) in his sermon, 12 May,
1717, entitled, *Justice done to the sacred text, &c.* (soon after
Bishop Hoadly's sermon of *The nature of the kingdom or Church of
Christ.*)

think it would be of service to my countrymen, to lay before them *A short history of the Regal Succession, and the rights of the several Kings in those sacred records.* And as my only end in this publication is to prevent a delusion, or undeceive the deluded ; so the best mean thereto is, in as plain and summary a manner, as the nature of the subject will bear, to continue it down from the beginning of all things, so far as God's people (the *Jews*) had any known government among them : In the doing of which, I have too awful a regard for the subject, to presume to deal unfaithfully with it ; and, as to the christian reader, I have, by constantly quoting chapter and verse, laid my self at his mercy to correct me wherever I may happen to be mistaken.

§ I. IT has frequently been lamented by many eminent and judicious authors, that multitudes of principles, supposed to tend to the subversion of government in general, and of ours in particular, have from time to time been industriously disseminated amongst us, by writers
and

Christ.) ' Such is the degeneracy, so great the corruption of human kind, that many times (says he) even the scripture itself is handled with a deceitful heart, and wilfully misconstrued by the children of this world; who are wiser in their generation, and craftier to establish their iniquities by a law, than the children of light are to countermine their endeavours.' p. 3. in 8vo. And Dr. *Trap's* to the same purpose, on the same subject, 19 May, 1717, p. 1. in 8vo.

and preachers, of divers classes, and seemingly different interests; the fatal effects of which I need not here to (a) mention: but, forasmuch as the holy scriptures have been gravely vouch'd to patronize them, I think it may be proper to open the following history with a summary view of the most considerable of those which have been controverted as antisciptural; so that the reader may be the better prepar'd to examine them by the several cases hereafter stated.

Now the principles, which come most properly under our consideration here, with any relation to that execrable fact, to which this whole history is directly propos'd to be applied, are such as these; viz. ' That the people were
 ' all at first, born free! That all au-
 ' thority was originally vested in them,
 ' and derived from them, as in
 ' whom alone is the plenitude of power, and
 ' absolute sovereignty! That they have a right
 ' to chuse and change their governours, and

B 2 to

*A summary
 of contro-
 verted prin-
 ciples.*

(a) ' These are principles, which to give them that honour
 ' which is due for their extraction and kindred, were first
 ' begotten by the Jesuit (the father of *Ravillacs*,) then nursed up
 ' by *Buchanan* (the father of rebels,) and at last adopted by the
 ' *Leviathan* (the father of Atheists!) And it is impossible there
 ' should be any firm peace, or lasting safety, either for prince
 ' or subject, in any kingdom where these doctrines prevail;
 ' which have been all along design'd and maintained to ruin kings,
 ' and all hereditary monarchies.' Dr. *Edw. Pelling's* serm. 5
 ' *Novemb.* 1683, p. 29.

4 *The* SHORT HISTORY *of*

‘ to limit them with laws at their pleasure! That
‘ they have a coercive power over their Kings,
‘ and may resist, arraign and depose them, when
‘ they see cause! That the supreme Power is
‘ not in the King, but in the people; nor
‘ any allegiance due to Kings, without the election,
‘ submission or consent of the people! That
‘ their concurrence is essentially necessary to
‘ sovereign authority; the voice of the people
‘ being the voice of God! That the King’s
‘ power is not absolute, but delegate from the
‘ people; and their crowns held only in trust
‘ for the commonwealth! That tho’ the King
‘ is superior to them as single persons, he is in-
‘ ferior to the collective body! That there is
‘ a mutual compact between every King and his
‘ people; and they are no longer bound to
‘ obey him than he performs his contract! That
‘ allegiance and protection are reciprocal; and
‘ in default of the latter the former ceases!
‘ That self-preservation is the fundamental law
‘ of nature, and supercedes all other obligations,
‘ whenever they stand in competition with it;
‘ the people’s safety being the supreme law!
‘ That the people may lawfully convene them-
‘ selves, or their representatives in a parliamen-
‘ tary way, without the king’s writ, and make
‘ laws and constitutions, to bind the body of
‘ the nation, by their own authority! That no
‘ King has a natural right to the crown by birth,
‘ without coronation, and the people’s consent:
‘ And

‘ and the next heir may lawfully be excluded
‘ from the succession, for the security of the
‘ people’s liberty, property or religion! That
‘ personal merit is more to be regarded than
‘ birth-right: wickedness a forfeiture of natural
‘ right: and difference in religion, a just cause
‘ of excluding or deposing of Kings or their
‘ heirs; dominion being founded in grace! That
‘ the magistrate is the minister of God no longer,
‘ or otherwise, than while he exercises his office
‘ for his people’s good! That in case of idola-
‘ try, heresy, popery, persecution, tyranny, ar-
‘ bitrary power, or any mal-administration, the
‘ people lawfully may resist, and their represen-
‘ tatives are bound in duty, for the publick good,
‘ to depose, yea to arraign and put to death,
‘ any the most rightful prince; being in all such
‘ cases (of which also they are the judges) freed
‘ from all subjection and allegiance! That such
‘ resistance is justifiable by scripture in case of
‘ necessity; and there is no obligation to pas-
‘ sive obedience in such like cases! That posses-
‘ sion and power give a right to govern; and
‘ success is an evidence of God’s favour! That
‘ submission to powers in possession (without re-
‘ gard to other titles) is due by the law and
‘ gospel, because it is to follow the conduct of
‘ divine providence! That obedience is due to
‘ usurpers, as much as to the most rightful higher
‘ powers; and insurrections against the one as war-
‘ rantable as against the other! That monarchy
‘ has no more warrant in scripture than any
other

6 *The* SHORT HISTORY *of*

‘ other form of government! That evil means
 ‘ may be used to a good end! That oaths ob-
 ‘ lige not in the sense of the imposer, but of the
 ‘ taker! That bishops may be depriv’d of their
 ‘ fees by a meer lay-power, &c.’

These, and a great many more of the like strain, are abundantly interspers’d throughout the known writings of *Calvin, Beza, Knox, Goodman, Suarez, Mariana, Parsons, Penry, Buchanan, Leighton, Burton, Calamy, Marshal, Bradshaw, Milton, Goodwin, Ashcam, Harrington, Hobbes, Ludlow, Baxter, Owen, Locke, Sidney, Hunt, Johnson, Tutchin*, and others of the Association, as well Jesuits as Puritan-Rebels and Regicides: not to speak of some moderns of greater note; whom (as a learned divine says) ‘ I forbear to
 ‘ name, both to avoid the loss of time, which
 ‘ such a long catalogue would take up, and the
 ‘ envy which would fall upon me, for naming
 ‘ some of all professions, who yet live, or whose
 ‘ memory is yet fresh among (a) . us.’ But I cannot omit Mr. *Whiston* (whose *scripture poli-*
ticks

(a) *Hicks’s* serm. 30, *Jan.* 1681, p. 23. And another writer of reputation (speaking of the progress of anti-monarchical principles, in the beginning of this century) says, ‘ They (the faction)
 ‘ have had their weekly scriblers (I wish I was not obliged to
 ‘ add some pulpits) to spread this poison: and so far had the infatuation prevail’d, that, a few years since—rebellion was esteem’d
 ‘ the most necessary requisite to qualify any one for being intrust-
 ‘ ed in the government—All the principles of 1641 (and even
 ‘ those of 1648) have been plainly and openly reviv’d—And I
 ‘ have often question’d with myself, whether the reasonings of
 ‘ the

ticks will fall under a particular examination in the process of this work :) who, tho' he has indeed very fairly dissented from those authors, in some very material points, has however unfortunately entangled himself in several of their principles, which, I am persuaded, will not stand the test of scripture proof.

§ II. As to the original of government in general, he is so far from favouring the popular scheme, that he not only admits, but asserts, and makes it his first fundamental proposition, that 'all just governments, whether ecclesiastical or civil, must be originally deriv'd from *God*—and they do all, some way or other, receive their sanction from divine (a) authority.' This he justly thinks to be so evident to all who believe a God, a providence, and the truth of the scriptures, as not to need to be prov'd in particular to them. And 'as for those (says he) who suppose government to have originally sprang up from mere human compacts, and from the people, independently on God, and without any regard to his will or authority, they seem to me, to suppose men to have sprung out of the earth, and not to
' have

' the most celebrated author on this subject might not—be paralleld, paragraph by paragraph, and shewn out of the books and pamphlets of those times, to be the very same, on which the grand rebellion and the murder of the king had been defended, &c.' *Walker's account of the suffering clergy*, 1714. pref. fol. xi.

(a) *Whist. script. polit.* p. 1.

‘ have had God for their creator : and also to sup-
 ‘ pose that all government has no higher end to
 ‘ aim at, than the conveniencies of this present
 ‘ life, both which things are entirely contrary to
 ‘ religion, and utterly inconsistent with the sa-
 ‘ cred history of the origin and primitive exer-
 ‘ cise of government among men. So that this
 ‘ cannot deserve a serious consideration under the
 ‘ present argument of scripture politicks, but
 ‘ must be left to the irreligious schemes of the
 ‘ atheists and unbelievers,’ (a) &c. So evident is
 the divine original of government, even by Mr.
Whiston’s own argument. From which his propo-
 sition, it necessarily follows, that no government,
 whether ecclesiastical or civil, is to be esteem’d a
 just government, unless it can be originally de-
 riv’d from God, or doth, some way or other,
 receive its sanction from divine authority.

Monar- § III. AND as to the particular forms
chical. thereof, whoever believes the *Mosaical*
 (b) account of the creation, and judges impar-
 tially of what he reads, cannot doubt that Monar-
 chy was the first and original form of govern-
 ment, and that too instituted immediately by God
 himself, from the beginning of the world. For,
 to obviate the false pretences of the Sons of *Be-*
lial,

(a) *Whist. scrip. pol.* (b) *If they hear not Moses, — neither will they
 be persuaded, tho’ one rose from the dead, St. Luke xvi. 31. And
 ’tis well observ’d by a Modern Historian, that this of Moses ‘ is the
 ‘ only authentick and genuine History of the Creation which has
 ‘ been left us, and carries with it all the marks of truth and pro-
 ‘ bability, even tho’ it be regarded only as a humane composition,
 ‘ and separate from divine authority.’ Univerf. Hist. 1730, fol. 35.*

lial, we read there, that the all-wise Creator made but one man at first, and ordain'd that all mankind should proceed from that one ; that (as St. *Chrystom* observes) *he might teach the world to be governed by a king, and not by a multitude*: neither was the woman herself created at the same time, but afterwards, *out of the man*, for his use, and as an *help meet for (a) him* ; thereby to shew her dependance upon, and subjection to him. And tho' some profane witlings may make light of it, this is the very argument of the Holy Ghost, used by St. *Paul*, to prove the superiority of the man over the (b) woman ; which might alone suffice to confute the *Hobbists*. But, besides this foundation in nature, it pleas'd God to add his positive and exprefs command and institution of government, when as yet there were none else but themselves two : for (as the learned bishop *Andrews* (c) expresses it) *God gave the man a sceptre, and made him his vicegerent* ; saying unto the woman, *thy desire shall be to thy husband* (or, as it is in our margin, *subject to thine husband*,) *and he shall rule over thee* (d). Which last, being spoken after *Adam* had sinn'd, plainly sheweth us also, that his dominion was not founded in grace ; that is to say, in his personal virtue, goodness, and desert.

(a) *Gen.* ii. 20, &c. (b) 1 *Tim.* ii. 11, 12, 13. and 1 *Cor.* xi. 7, &c. (c) *Leff.* fol. 96. (d) *Gen.* iii. 16. which is the very law, to which the apostle refers, 1 *Cor.* xiv. 34. to prove that the women are commanded to be under obedience.

C

§ IV. WHEN

§ IV. WHEN God had blessed them with children, it pleas'd him, that the father, *Successive.* by his paternal authority, was sole ruler *according to* or monarch over them, and all that proceeded from them, during his life; ruling them with a power patriarchal, regal, or imperial (a), as every father would and might do, even at this day; supposing him and his family to fall into any places which were not governed by any superior lord. 'For, as *Adam* was lord of his children, so his children under him had a command and power over their own children; but still with subordination to the first parent, who is lord paramount over his children's children to all generations, as being the grandfather of his (b) people.' And for the better ordering of the sons and their families, the elder was, by God himself, declared ruler over the younger. For, notwithstanding *Cain* was a very wicked man, and *Abel* a righteous one, inso-much that *the Lord had respect unto Abel, and his offering, but unto Cain, and to his offering, he had not respect* (c): yet even to this very wicked *Cain* it was, that the Lord, speaking of his good brother *Abel*, said, *unto thee shall be his desire, and thou shalt rule over him* (d), or (as it is in the margin) thou shalt have the excellency, and he shall be subject unto thee; so that neither was his dominion founded in grace, but in nature only, by virtue of his primogeniture.

Thus

(a) Bishop *Overal's* convoc. book, lib. 1. cap. 2. (b) *Filmer's* patriar. p. 12. (c) *Gen.* iv. 4, 5. (d) ——— ver. 7.

Thus 'tis evident, even in holy scripture, that the very first man that ever was born, was born in subjection, as well as all who came after him; that is to say, subject to him who either was naturally the father, patriarch or prince, or else representatively so, by right of primogeniture. How ridiculous therefore and absurd is it in men of liberal education, and how much stronger are their prejudices than their arguments, who can gravely talk of an independent state of mankind by nature! of all men being born equal into the world! and upon such rotten grounds build an argument, that 'there can be no reason, why one should have dominion over the rest without their consent (a)' &c. I'm willing to hope that Mr. *Whiston* had not this case of *Cain* and *Abel* in his thoughts, when he express'd himself as followeth; We have not, 'that I know of, one example, in all the bible, where providence gives the least preference to the eldest son, in point of government, before the youngest: I mean this (says he) barely on account of such primogeniture, and without regard to more valuable personal qualifications (b):' For nothing can be more clear, than that the more valuable personal qualifications were *Abel's*; and that it was barely on account of primogeniture, that the preference in point of government was given to *Cain* the eldest son. And, as this is full to the purpose, so it ought to have the greater

(a) *Wright's* ass. ferm. at *Ailesb.* 15 Mar. 1719, p. 5, in 8vo.
 b) *Script. polit.* p. 13.

greater weight, for being the first and general rule in those cases; especially with Mr. *Whiston*, who, but eight pages before, has himself placed this very case among the (not human, but) divine laws; where he owns, that ‘ it seems to him to
 ‘ imply, then at least, the inferiority, and in
 ‘ some degree, the subjection of the younger
 ‘ children to the elder, while they were under
 ‘ their parents authority, and in the same family,
 ‘ even without regard to their virtue (a).’

This is a full concession, that there was such a law or rule, in the beginning, in favour of the eldest son against the younger, in point of government, barely on account of primogeniture; and that too not human, but divine. But Mr. *Whiston* seems nevertheless to make it a question, whether that law did continue in force afterwards, because of *Cain’s* abuse of that power? And whether it was a law indeed, or only a particular injunction in a particular case (b)? Now, that it could be a particular injunction, made in this particular case, I see no reason to suppose: For, if St. *Paul’s* arguing the husband’s authority over the wife, from the case of *Adam* and *Eve*, be a just proof of its being a general law, to continue in force afterwards, (as doubtless it is,) then why should not this of *Cain* and *Abel* be allowed to prove the same of the right of primogeniture? Neither can I imagine how that author (who builds
 so

(a) *Script. polit.* p. 5. (b) *Ibid.*

So much of his scripture politicks upon the foundation of personal virtue, goodness and desert) could fancy that *Cain*, whose offerings God would not look upon, should nevertheless be so far in his favour, as to gain the preference in point of government, before his younger brother *Abel*, whose offerings God had graciously accepted; and that too, at the very time, when (God knew) he had premeditated in his heart, to murder his more righteous brother, on account of that very acceptance! Is it possible for him to suppose, that personal virtue, goodness, and desert should preponderate with God, in the disposal of such favours, in all other cases, and yet that *Cain* only should be singled out as a particular object of the divine favour, who had not the least pretence of personal virtue, goodness, and desert, to entitle him thereto? Nay, who was destitute of God's countenance and favour, as *St. Chryostom* expounds what we call *going out from the presence of the Lord* (a)? But I leave it to the author to reconcile this contradiction! And, since there is no reason to think this to have been only a particular injunction in a particular case, we must receive it for a law or general rule; and conclude, that it did continue in force, notwithstanding *Cain's* abuse of that power, which was not unforeseen by God, when he declared his natural right to the prerogative of primogeniture. But there seems to
me

(a) *Genes. iv. 16.*

me much better reason to suppose, that God Almighty, foreknowing the many objections that worldly-minded men would start, in opposition to this divine law, thought fit to declare and affirm it, even in the case of the worst (a) elder brother that ever liv'd. For God does not here bestow upon *Cain* any new privilege, but only confirms unto him what was, by nature, his right; and argues with him the unreasonableness of his discontent, upon principles well known and establish'd from the beginning: as *St. Chrysofom* most truly expounds it; *notwithstanding thou hast thus greatly sinn'd (viz. in not offering to me the first and best of thy substance, as thy brother Abel did,) yet I have not depriv'd thee of the privileges of thy primogeniture; but he shall still be subject to thee, as by the law of nature is thy due.* Agreeably to which, the learned *Bishop Andrews* observeth in this very case, ' That God shewed
' plain-

(a) Among the many monstrous misapplications of holy scripture, we have seen the case of this first wicked murderer applied to the just execution of notorious rebels, and regicides, by undoubted lawful authority. And particularly, a pretended loyalist, of a new edition, presumes to say, ' that the earth had scarce well drunk in their blood, ere God reviv'd the punishment of *Cain* upon him that shed it, to make him a fugitive and vagabond on the earth, &c. [*Bradbury's* ferm. 5 Nov. 1711, p. 19, in 8vo.] As if there were any parallel, between the murder of righteous *Abel*, and the legal execution of *Monmouth* and the other *worthies* (as this unconsecrated preacher calls) his associates! But we may remember others, who have dar'd to call those who suffer'd for the *Rye-house* conspiracy, *very innocent men*, tho' they confess'd their treason at their deaths!

plainly, that it is his will, that in and by the
 sin committed, no man should lose any privi-
 lege, which of right is due to him, and which
 before he had ; and every motion, in a supe-
 rior, to sin, doth not discharge him of his au-
 thority. Which is contrary to that false opi-
 nion and censure of them, which think, that
 even princes themselves, after sin committed,
 lose all their prerogative and supremacy of
 government which they had before, and that
 their subjects are not bound to do their ser-
 vice any longer to them, but that ever after
 their allegiance shall cease ; which is false, and
 contrary to all reason, and not God's intent
 and will here. For God saith, and ratifieth
 here, that *Cain*, tho' he had thus sinned, both
 against God and his Brother ; yet, being the
 elder and first-born. and so before *Abel*, so
 there should be a superiority and dominion,
 that he should still retain by nature. And it is
 God's assertion, that that superiority should
 be retained still, and that *Abel* should not seek
 to be his superior ; neither did he (a). ' How-
 ever, as this dominion of *Cain* over his brother
 and family, was in subordination to the first
 parent *Adam*, whilst he liv'd : so when he died
Cain himself succeeded in the sovereignty, in
 his own right, as the first-born ; and, after him,
 the eldest surviving branch of the family, by
 virtue

(a) *Andrews's* lect. fel. 400.

virtue of proximity of blood. (For, as the great *St. Chrysoſtom* obſerveth, the line of *Cain*, and with it his primogeniture, was extinct in *Lamech*; that is, at the flood, and not till then :) and hence it came, that the word *Elder* is uſed, as well for magiſtracy and power, as for age and gravity, almoſt in all languages; which, no doubt (as another judicious author obſerveth) ‘ is ‘ a ſign that the firſt governours were the fathers of families, and under them the eldeſt ‘ ſons (*a*).

From hence ’tis clear, that the ſtate of nature (ſo much talk’d of) was, from the beginning, a ſtate of government and ſubjection, not of anarchy or independency; and that ſtate of nature confirm’d by the poſitive institution of God. For the firſt ſovereign rul’d over ſubjects of his own begetting: and the eldeſt ſon ſucceeding his father in the ſupreme authority, acquired thereby the title of father of his people; which title, being uſually (*b*) conferr’d on ſovereign princes to this day, directly points out to us the original of government, and of monarchy, founded in nature, as well as poſitive institution. And here our republicans, if they would, might plainly

(*a*) *Sir Walt. Raleigh*, fol. 151, 152. (*b*) *Abimelech* was a common title of honour among the Kings of the *Philiftines*, ſignifying *my father the King*: and *Joſeph* in *Egypt* was proclaim’d *Abrech*, ſignifying *the King’s father* (as good interpreters aſſure us;) both which import the ſame with *pater patria*, which was conferr’d by the *Romans* on thoſe who had deſerv’d the beſt, and was generally uſed by all their Emperors.

plainly perceive, that the patriarchal authority has a ‘ foundation in nature, so as to render the ‘ younger brother, upon the father’s death, sub- ‘ ject to the (a) elder;’ tho’ several of them have the confidence to treat it with scorn, as an absurd, imaginary and ridiculous notion, and to pervert the very word of God, in hopes to prove it so.

§ V. THUS we see, that *Adam’s* mo- Adam’s
monarchy
political.
narchy was not only oeconomical, con-
fin’d to that one little family which was
at first created, but political over a society,
consisting of many families, which were to de-
scend from him, during his long life of *nine
hundred and thirty years* (b); (in which time his
progeny might well be multiply’d, so as far to
exceed the number of people in many of our
modern kingdoms;) which is the very ground
and foundation of political government, and par-
ticularly of that form thereof, which, from one
single person’s being the supreme and chief over
all the rest, is called monarchy; the power of
the monarch increasing in proportion to the num-
ber of his descendents and natural-born subjects.
And this, by the way, might serve for a full
answer to the several assertions of Mr. *Whiston*,
D That,

(a) *Stephens’s form.* 30 Jan. 1693. p. 5, 6. (b) *Gen.* v. 5.
The learned Mr. *Shuckford*, in his connection, vol. i. p. 36. ob-
serves that several authors having form’d calculations of the people
in the ante-diluvian world, do suppose it to have contained, ‘ at
‘ least two millions of millions of souls; which they think is a
‘ number far exceeding that of the inhabitants of the present earth.’

That, ‘ before the flood, we have no direct ac-
 ‘ count of the form or manner of human (a)
 ‘ governments:’ as well as to that of Mr. *Wright*,
 That ‘ it don’t appear, whether there was any
 ‘ civil government at all (before the flood) or
 ‘ no ; that there seems to have been none for ma-
 ‘ ny years ; and that this is notorious, that God
 ‘ no where appears in the old testament, to have
 ‘ concerned himself in the ordering of any go-
 ‘ vernment, till he brought the *Israelites* out of
 ‘ *Egypt*, under the conduct of (b) *Moses* :’ and
 to that of Mr. *Blennerhaysset*, who affirms for
 certain, ‘ that God has ordained government in
 ‘ general, without specifying any particular (c)
 ‘ mode :’ as well as to the appeal of another more
 celebrated writer, who recommends it to the
 consciences and common sense of the christian
 laity, to ‘ search with their own eyes, and see,
 ‘ whether they can possibly find a plain and ex-
 ‘ press passage of scripture, in which God insti-
 ‘ tuted any particular form of human govern-
 ‘ ment, for any nation in the world, unless they
 ‘ will except one (d, ’ ; of which in its proper
 place. In the mean time, I beg leave to appeal
 to the consciences and common sense of all our
 readers, whether this is not a much more plain
 and express passage, than any that learned and
 sincere Author has ever yet produc’d either from
 scrip-

(a) *Script. polit.* p. 9. (b) *J. Wright’s* aff. serm. at *Lilesb.*
 15 Mar. 1719, p. 6, 8. (c) *Blennerh.* serm. 20 Jan. 1714, p. 9
 (d) *Preservat. against the Nonj.* by *B. Bargar*, 1717, p. 13.

scripture, or the laws of *England*, in favour of certain of his darling (*a*) notions? But supposing we could not find such a plain and express passage, (absolutely and properly!) yet however, since I have abundantly prov'd from divers plain and express passages of scripture, that the monarchical form of human government was founded by God on the law of nature, I may fairly conclude (in the words of the excellent Dr. *Heylin*, against that infamous incendiary *Burton*),

‘ positive laws, I trow, are of no such efficacy,
 ‘ as to annihilate any thing which hath its being
 ‘ and original in the law of (*b*) nature.’

And in return of his appeal, I may presume to put the whole controversy upon this issue, whether he can possibly find a plain and express passage of scripture, in which God instituted any other form of human government for any nation in the world, but only that of monarchy, which he instituted in paradise; or in which he gave authority to any people to chuse their own governours, or to alter the government at their pleasure? As to Mr. *Whiston*, I refer him to his own second general proposition, where he agrees with me expressly, that

D 2

‘ fami-

(*a*) The Rev. Dr. *Innes* does not stick to say, that there is neither good sense nor sound divinity, in any or all of those which have been advanc'd in the late preservative and sermon, but that they are, in every respect, fallacious and sophistical! *Innes's* serm. of church authority, 2 June 1717, p. 14, 15. in 8vo. And the reader may gratify his curiosity further, if he pleases to consult the late Mr. *Luke Milbourne's* Legacy to the church, &c. vol. ii 1722. p. 333 (*b*) Brief and moder. answ. 1637, p. 32, 33. in 4to.

‘ family, was the only form of human govern-
 ‘ ment, among such as sprang from one common
 ‘ parent, before the multiplication of mankind,
 ‘ or before their separation, one from another,
 ‘ into different and distant (a) families:’ And in-
 sists, that ‘ this is so plainly the result of the
 ‘ law of nature, or of the will of God, declar’d
 ‘ by the common reason of mankind, and con-
 ‘ firmed in the bible — that there is no need
 ‘ of a particular proof. Accordingly says he)
 ‘ authority, both ecclesiastical and secular, was
 ‘ at first, in the same paternal hands, both before
 ‘ and after the flood; and this for a considerable
 ‘ time also: as appears in every instance, both
 ‘ in *Genesis* and *Job*; which are the only origi-
 ‘ nal, authentic records, of those first (b) ages.’

And he- § VI. As to the descendants from
reditary. Adam, we find those of the elder branch
 first recorded, in a direct line down to the (c)
 flood, wherein they were all extinguish’d. And
 then, as if there had never been an elder family,
 the genealogy of the line of *Setb* begins again
 with the history of man’s (d) creation, tho’ that
 had been deliver’d before; the better to make
 out the genealogy of *Noah*, who was to continue
 the succession after the flood, as those had done
 before it. And yet, tho’ we read, that the *pa-*
triarchs (e)

(a) *Script. polit.* p. 3. (b) *Ibid.* p. 4. (c) *Gen.* iv. 17, &c.
 (d) — v. 1, &c. (e) These are synonymous titles: as is plain from
 the holy scripture; wherein King *David* is called a *patriarch*, (*Acts*
 ii. 29.) as the patriarch *Abraham* is call’d a *mighty Prince*, (*Gen.*
 xxiii. 6.)

triarchs or kings severally begat sons and daughters, we find only the names of the eldest recorded, as the heads and rulers over their respective families and people. But these also growing generally degenerate, through their intercourse with the wicked race of *Cain*, God was provok'd to destroy their common posterity; excepting only *Noah*, who, notwithstanding the fashionable wickedness of the world, *was a just man and perfect (a), and walk'd with God, steadily and zealously, (as St. Chrysoſtom expreſſeth it,) not keeping ſome commandments and breaking others, but of uniform obedience and exact integrity; and with him was his own family only preserv'd.*

§ VII. Now, as before the flood *Adam* had been the universal monarch of the old world, and as such had the sole property of all that was in it, during his life, and after him his heirs in due course of succession; so, after the flood, *Noah* was vested in the like in the new. And whatever share thereof his sons afterwards had, it was all derived from him, and held by his donation and allotment, as being the fountain of all honour and property: and so the same descended to their respective posterity by the like authority, without the least colour of their making any contract or terms with the people (their natural-born subjects) whom they were to govern, and consequently without being any way limited by them.

Noah's monarchy political.

Here

(a) *Gen. vi. 9.*

Here then it is far from being so evident as some men of character would persuade us, that
 ‘ in the nature of the thing private property is
 ‘ before the institution of a settled government,
 ‘ because (as they argue) the great end of that in-
 ‘ stitution is the preservation of that (a) property.’
 But I need not engage further in this question, af-
 ter what has been frequently retorted by much
 abler hands, and well warranted by the holy scri-
 pture. All therefore that I shall say to it here is,
 that the right (and truly) reverend bishop *Sander-
 son*, occasionally treating of the pretended con-
 tract, which the rebels in his time were wont to
 plead for, as an argument, that all government
 was originally deriv’d from the people, (which by
 the way, he says, *never yet was prov’d, nor, he
 dares say, will ever be prov’d, while the world standeth,
 either from scripture, reason, or (b) history,*) toucheth
 upon this question of property, and expresseth him-
 self thus, ‘ True it is, that a meer rationalist (that
 ‘ is to say — an atheist of the late edition) who
 ‘ giveth more faith to such heathen philosophy
 ‘ as affirmeth the world to have been *ab æterno*,
 ‘ than to divine revelation which assureth us it
 ‘ had a beginning; (and some of the great cham-
 ‘ pions of the opinion we now speak of, have gi-
 ‘ ven cause enough of suspicion that they are little
 ‘ better :) such a one, I say, cannot possibly solve
 ‘ the difficulty. — But to us, who believe the
 ‘ scrip-

(a) *Preservat. against the Nonjur.* by B. *Bang.* p. 88. (b) *Pref.*
 to *Archb. Usher’s* power of the prince, &c. sect. xv.

‘ scriptures and acknowledge a creation, the solu-
 ‘ tion — is easy : if we will but follow the clue of
 ‘ the sacred history, in the four first chapters of
 ‘ *Genesis*, it will fairly lead us out of these laby-
 ‘ rinth in a plain way, and without any great
 ‘ trouble’. And then he states the case of go-
 vernalment and property, to the effect before-
 mentio’d, and concludes, upon the whole, both
 in *hypothesi*, that *Adam’s* government was before
Cain’s property, and in *thesi*, that undoubtedly
 government was before property. ‘ And so
 ‘ (says the bishop) this supposed pact or contract,
 ‘ which maketh such a noise in the world, proveth
 ‘ to be but a squib, powder without shot, that
 ‘ giveth a crack, but vanisheth into air, and doth
 ‘ no execution (a).’ But, to return,

§. VIII. NOAH, living *Three Hundred and Fifty*
years after the flood (b), his posterity, ac-
 cording to God’s blessing (c), were du-
 ring his life, grown exceeding nume-
 rous: insomuch, that it was become necessary
 that some branches from the old stock should be
 split off, and transplanted into different parts, as
 well for their more convenient subsistence, as for
 the better division of the nations; each of them
 having authority, to be ruler, over his own peo-
 ple and nation; and thus *of them was the whole*
Earth

*The Nations
 divided.*

(a) Pref to Archb. *Usher’s* power of the prince, &c. sect. xviii.

Whoever is desirous to see this subject treated with the con-
 tempt it deserves, may consult a dialogue between *Timothy* and
Philathus, vol. iii. p. 117, in 8vo. (b) *Gen.* ix. 28. (c) --ver. 1.

Earth (a) *overspread*. But nevertheless, as the new world was divided and peopled, without the interposition of any human means, by a (b) miracle, to demonstrate it to be the act of God himself; so was it done with the greatest, and most exact order imaginable; ‘ Either by casting of lots, or
 ‘ chusing according to the order of their birth-
 ‘ right, after some survey taken, of a sufficient
 ‘ portion of the earth, and portions bordered out
 ‘ according to the number of their nations, then
 ‘ of their (c) families, &c.’ God thus turning that which was impos’d as a judgment on them, to the benefit of the world: for, at the same time, that God almighty dispersed the people, by confounding their tongues at *Babel*, he did not leave them, every one to shift for himself: but it pleas’d him to give to every several tribe, or branch of
 them,

(a) Gen. ix. 19. (b) Mr. *Shuckford* has very ingeniously attempted to account for this in a natural way; tho’ (he owns) the writers generally suppose it to have been the effect of a miracle. But, I think, one of his own considerations is enough to overthrow all the rest; viz. that ‘ Nothing less than a very extraordinary miracle could
 ‘ have sorted them,’ in so regular a manner as we shall find they were. See *Shuckf. connect.* vol. I. p. 146. (c) *Jos. Mede’s* works, fol. 274. The learned Mr. *Selden* mentions a tradition generally received from the oriental writers, that *Noah*, (having been made lord of the whole earth by God himself) made a will by direction from God, whereby all the then known world was divided among his sons and their progeny. (*Selden de jure nat. & gent.* tom. i. col. 606. & de *Synedr.* tom. i. col. 773.) And further, that he exacted an oath of them, that none of them should usurp upon another’s right. (*Idem de jure nat. &c.* col. 663. & de *Synedr.* col. 1033. *Idem etiam in mari claus.* tom. ii. col. 195. & de *successionibus*, col. 61, 62. edit. *Wilk.*

them, a distinct (a) language; so that it was natural for them to settle together for the benefit of conversation and commerce: and whoever was the eldest of the tribe was of course, by the laws of God and nature, the head and ruler thereof; enjoying that honour by birth-right, and not by election. 'For, in those days, they knew no other right of government, but what was natural and (b) paternal: ' so that it is a groundless suggestion of a late author, that 'Perhaps, in some nations, from the confusion of tongues, it was the people's part, to chuse who should rule over (c) them'. Nay, the Lord himself, interposing his authority, appointed them their several bounds, as well as their rulers. For, as *Moses* tells us, *When the most high divided to the nations their inheritance, when he separated the sons of Adam, he set the bounds of the people, according to the number of the children of (d) Israel; or (as it is render'd in the Greek,) according to the number of the angels; meaning their rulers, who are elsewhere in holy scripture, frequently stiled Gods: so also the son of Syrach assures us, In the divisions of the nations of the whole earth, he set a ruler over every (e) people; from*

E whence

(a) Mr. *Parker* reports from antient authorities, that *Heber*, the son of *Arphaxad*, not consenting to the building of *Babel*, his language remain'd unchang'd; so that his descendants always retain'd their proper speech and dialect: *Biblioth. Bib.* p. 278. (b) *Sherlock's* serm. 29 *May*, 1685, p. 6. (c) *Disc. of God's ways of dispos. of kingdoms*, 1691, p. 9. (d) *Deutcr.* xxxii. 8. (e) *Ecclus.* xvii. 17. And here 'tis remarkable, that this was one of the

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whence 'tis plain, that political government (and that too under the form of hereditary monarchies) was by divine institution, as I have already observ'd, tho' certain persons would fain persuade us, that forms of government are only of human determination! For from these rulers (whose names are recorded to the number of seventy) their respective kingdoms descended in an hereditary course of succession. Notwithstanding all which, there are some not asham'd to assert, that 'tho' ' God was pleas'd to order that (dispersion at ' *Babel*) we do not find the least intimation of ' his interposing to set up rulers among 'em; ' which therefore must be understood to have ' been left to their own (a) choice!'

Thus were the nations of the earth divided, among the posterity of *Noah*, every one after his tongue, after their families, in their (b) nations: many of which nations are known by their names to this day; as may be seen by comparing together the several chapters noted in the (c) margin: and, in all these, did the several patriarchs, by virtue of their paternity and eldership, exercise a regal power, and that too in the most full and absolute manner; as will be shewn hereafter, in its proper place. Would it not therefore raise a just indignation in any one who pays a due regard

the most general traditions among the *Jews*, descending from father to son, and never to be forgotten; as is plain from *Deut.* xxxi. 19, &c. and xxxii. 7. (a) *J. Wright's serm. at Aylesb. 15 Mar. 1719, p. 7.* (b) *Gen. x. 5.* (c) *Gen. x. Isa. lxvi. Jer. li. Ezek. xxvii. xxxviii.*

gard to the word of God, to hear the children of this world ridiculing this natural and divine order of succession, as an absurd opinion! a fatal system! a fantastical scheme, &c. As if, according to this patriarchal system, no prince whatsoever could have a just right to government unless he could prove himself to be the ‘ eldest son of the right branch, even from (a) *Noah*? ’ or ‘ *Adam*’s heir in a direct (b) line! ’ But what wiser schemes do they give us in the room of these? Why; they lay the foundation of all government upon no firmer ground than a pretended common consent, and that absurdity of an original contract, herein before exploded: ‘ but, if you ask them when, and where, and by whom, or how this pact or covenant was made or consented to, you will find them as silent, or at least speak as little to the purpose as the man in the (c) moon.’

§ IX. I SHOULD not need to examine the succession or title of *Nimrod*, and the other Kings of the nations; my present enquiry being chiefly confined to the holy seed of *Shem*. But, since in him we are said to find ‘ an intimation of the origin of kingly or monarchical (d) government,’ I think it may be proper,

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after

(a) *Hoadly*’s serm. at *Herf.* 22 *Mar.* 1707, p. 13, in 8vo.
 (b) *J. Wright*’s serm. at *Ailesb.* 15 *Mar.* 1719, p. 6. (c) *Forenes*’s serm. at *Manch.* 9 *Sept.* 1633, p. 13. (d) *Whiff.* script. polit. p. 10. This is indeed the common opinion: but (as the learned *Selden* observes) ‘ there is reason enough to conjecture, that there were kings also long before both him and the flood.’

after what I have already said on that subject, to observe, that if, ‘ at the first, the fathers of nations were as Kings, and the eldest of families ‘ as (a) princes, ’ as is own’d by the author whom Mr. *Whiston* himself quotes to his purpose, then, by consequence, the origin of kingly or monarchical government could not be in the person of *Nimrod*, nor from the people, but from God only. No doubt, he was by good right, and just authority, Lord or King over his own family, as the other heads of families were: but, if he was not content with his own natural sovereignty, but enlarg’d his dominion, by violently invading, and seizing on the rights of other lords of families, whom he thereby drove out or made subject to his empire, (as ’tis generally suppos’d) it was against all natural right; and consequently can’t be esteem’d the origin of kingly government,

Seld. Titl. of Hon. 1726, vol. iii, col. 110. Where having mention’d *Cain’s* building a city, &c. and quoted authority to prove that *Adam* himself govern’d or commanded all mankind, as long as he lived, &c. he proceeds thus; ‘ and besides (says he) we see in those of the following times, who have left us fuller testimonies of particular forms of government, that monarchy hath continually been, ‘ and to this day is, not less generally admitted and establish’d in ‘ all nations, than as if it were deriv’d out of the law of nature ‘ which doubtless was not less follow’d in those many ages before ‘ *Nimrod*, than it hath been since him:’ *ibid.* col. 111. Nay, he afterwards positively affirms that, about the time of *Nimrod*, ‘ there was so general a propagation of this title of King over ‘ the earth, that there is scarce a nation, whereof there is memory in these ages, without a king, or prince, or monarch by ‘ name assigned to it,’ &c. *ibid.* col. 117. (a) *Raleigh’s* hist fol. 151.

ment, but an usurpation ; which our author may make a precedent of, whenever he happens to have occasion for such a one ! And as to his subsequent observation, that ‘ this settlement was not made ‘ by any particular direction from God, but by ‘ interest, and desert, and abilities, and the voluntary submission of the people, (a) &c.’ I see no conclusion to be drawn from thence, more natural than this, that supposing a prince to have interest, and desert, and abilities, and the voluntary submission of the people too, (tho’, by the way, nothing of this appears in *Nimrod’s* case, but rather the contrary : for as there is not here any colour of proof that he was chosen by the people, so the very phrase of calling him a *mighty hunter*, being ‘ a form of speech among the ‘ *Hebrews*, whereby they signify a spoiler or oppressor (b), ’ plainly implies, that he could hardly be so much entitled to their favour ;) yet, if he be set up without any particular direction from God, and against his written laws, as well as the law of nature, he can be but an usurper still, as *Nimrod* was. And therefore, whether he were the youngest son of *Cush*, as Mr. *Whiston* (c) supposes, or, whether he is mention’d alone (according to St. *Augustine*, and other commentators only as being the most eminent person, and to take occasion to touch his tyranny, I shall not dispute : all that I shall add, is a remark of a

learned

(a) *Whist.* script. polit. p. 10, 11. (b) *Hayward* against *Doleman*, p. 29, 30. (c) *Whist.* script. polit. p. 11.

learned modern, that ‘this *Nimrod* was for certain (a) the *Belus* of the antients; and this compellation, most probably, was not originally from his birth, but was afterwards given him, because of his rebellion against *Noah*, and his alteration of the patriarchal way of government, with the true old religion: for he was properly *Tyrannus sine titulo*; as could be made appear, on several accounts, even to demonstration: whence he might be called *Bel* (or *Baal*) for his dominion, and *Nimrod* for his rebellion; as the learned Dr. *Prideaux* well (b) remarks.’

However, that even among the nations too, the same authority was maintain’d, according to the law of nature, or common consent of mankind, will appear from a few hints laid together, before we come to the close of this History; to which I refer the reader, whilst I proceed here, with the succession of those who were within the pale of the church: among whom the paternal or patriarchal power continu’d, till the *Egyptian* bondage; where the exercise of the patriarchal jurisdiction was intermitted, only because they were all in subjection to a stronger prince, and that too in his own country.

§ X. BUT, to be somewhat more particular, *Shem* we find, is entitled *the father of all the children of*

(a) Mr. *Shuckford* (connect. vol. i, p. 182, 191, &c.) endeavours to prove *Belus* rather the successor of *Nimrod*: but that I shall leave to the critics. (b) *Parker’s* biblioth. bibl. vol. i, p. 271, 272; where he quotes *Prideaux’s* connect. par. 1. lib. ii, p. 100, edit. 1.

of Eber (a) : whereby, the scripture informs us, (as St. Augustine (b) observes) that he was reputed the patriarch of all that were to descend from him, sons, grandsons, great grandsons, &c. And St. Jerom (c) notes, that from his sons, who, upon the dispersion, became heads, several large nations proceeded: as from *Elam*, the *Elamites*, princes of *Persia*; from *Affur*, the *Affyrians*; from *Arphaxad*, the *Chaldeans*; from *Lud*, the *Lydians*; and from *Aram* the *Syrians* (whose metropolis is *Damascus*); all great monarchies. It does not therefore seem very material, whether *Shem* or *Japhet* was the eldest son of *Noah*. But, because some people take it for granted, (and lay great stress upon it,) that *Shem* was preferr'd before his elder brother, 'tis worth our notice, that the text (d) on which their objection is grounded, instead of *Shem* the brother of *Japhet* the elder (as we have it in our translation) ought to be render'd *Shem* the elder brother of *Japhet* (according to some very good criticks;) so that it will be clear, that *Shem* was *maximus filius*

(a) *Gen. x. 21.* (b) *Civit. Dei, l. 16, c. 3, col. 417.* (c) *Quæst. Hebr. col. 517.* Besides which the learned Mr. Parker before quoted, shews from good authorities, that from *Gomer* descended the *Gamerenses* or *Galatians*; from *Madai*, the *Medes* and *Sarmatians*; from *Javan*, the *Fonians*; from *Tiras*, the *Thracians* and *Trojans*; from *Canaan*, the *Canaanites*; from *Seba*, the *Sabeans*; from *Sidon*, the *Sidonians*; from *Heber*, the *Hebrews*, &c. see the *bibliotheca biblica* on *Genesis*, compar'd with *Shuckford's* connection, vol. i p. 151, &c. who has given us a curious map of the several countries thus peopled. (d) *Gen. x. 21.*

filius Noë, as St. *Augustine* and others expressly call him. But, whether he was the same person with *Melchisedec* King of *Salem* (as Mr. *Selden*, *Broughton*, and others do assert,) I shall leave to the more curious reader's enquiry.

Of A- § XI. IN this genealogy, is plainly
bram. deduc'd the descent of (a) *Abram*, from whom the stream of scripture-succeſſion runs on in an opener channel, than it did before: and that he was unquestionably a monarch by divine right, appears from his being expressly call'd, by God himself, to possess a kingdom entail'd upon him and his heirs for ever (b).

Isaac. § XII. To him succeeded *Isaac* his son and heir of all that he had (c). And yet so industrious are some people to seek out for objections against the doctrine of hereditary succeſſion, as to pretend, that the very case now before us is a good argument against it; because *Ishmael* was born before *Isaac*, tho' the latter was preferr'd before him: for the better colouring of which 'tis urg'd, that probably *Hagar* was married to *Abram*, and her son *Ishmael* was born in (d) wedlock. But, since *Sarah* was undoubtedly married to *Abram*, and *Hagar* (at best) but probably so, 'tis no sufficient proof that *Ishmael* had the right of inheritance by primogeniture. Besides

(a) *Gen.* xi. 26. (b) *Gen.* xii. 1, &c — xii. 1, 15, &c. — xv. 7, &c. — xvii. 8. — xxvi. 4. *Acts* vii. 5. (c) *Gen.* xv. 4. — xvii. 15, &c. — xxi. 12. — xxxv. 5. — xxxvi. 3, &c.
(d) *Page's* serm. 30. *Jan.* 1714. p. 7, 8.

sides the holy scripture itself expressly calls *Isaac* the *only son of (a) Abraham*: which must be understood of the only son born in wedlock; because he had several other sons (besides *Ishmael*) born of *(b) concubines*, meaning for certain those born of *Hagar* and *Keturah*, according to a learned *(c)* annotator: and moreover, the Angel calling *Hagar* still *Sarah's (d) maid*, and commanding her to *submit* herself to her *mistress*, seems plainly to prove the same. But supposing *Ishmael* had been the undoubted natural heir, yet 'tis plain, that *Isaac* was preferr'd by the express revelation and appointment of God himself, who is the only absolute sovereign over all rights and laws whatsoever: and therefore, tho' we dare not presume to *question the (e) legality of God's own act* (when thus manifestly reveal'd;) yet neither does it seem to us a sufficient warrant to do the like, without the like express authority from God, (any more than the known cases of *Abraham* and the *Israelites* would warrant us to sacrifice a son, or rob our neighbours!) and much less therefore can it be agreed, that 'a
' divine example is not only a sufficient justification of our actions, but is set down for our
' imitation; and therefore, not to imitate it
' would be *(f) sin,*' as some new casuists would persuade us. *Isaac's* case however affords us a much better argument against the advocates for

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resi-

(a) *Gen.* xxii. 2, 16. (b) *Gen.* xxv. 6. (c) *Biblio. h. bib.* p. 538.
(d) *Gen.* xvi. 8, 9. (e) *Page's serm.* 20 *Jan.* 1714, p. 7, 8,
(f) *Blakeway's serm.* 1715, p. 5.

resistance: one of whom having observ'd, that
 ' in all relations, where the foundation is taken
 ' away, the relation and the obligations arising
 ' out of it are destroy'd,' proceeds to argue thus ;
 ' The relation of children to a parent arises out
 ' of his conveying being to them: but, if he
 ' goes about to destroy that being, they are ac-
 ' quitted when they defend (a, themselves ;' that
 is to say, (if he means any thing by a forcible
 resistance. But, to suppose the very worst ; in
 case a parent goes about to destroy the being
 of his child, does that take away the relation be-
 tween them, and destroy the obligation arising
 out of it? He durst not say that: and therefore
 shuffles it off with an apology for self-defence ;
 which no body denies, provided there be no in-
 jury or violence done to the parent. But can the
 child, even in such a case of the last necessity, be
 acquitted, if he kills his parent for his own de-
 fence? Surely, if ever any, *Isaac* might have thus
 been acquitted: and yet 'tis plain, that tho' he
 was at least three and thirty years of age, and
 so capable of making (b) resistance against his
 aged father, when alone with him, he did not
 think himself at liberty to resist his authority, but
 signaliz'd his love of duty above his own (c) life ;
 for which he is justly extoll'd by the primitive
 fathers, as chusing to be a martyr, rather than a
 rebel. And if the authority of our natural pa-
 rents

(a) *Burnet's ferm. at Salisb. 5 Nov. 1710, p. 10, in 8vo.*

(b) *Howel's hist. of the bib. vol. 1, 1716, p. 54.* (c) *Biblioth. bib. p. 484.*

rents be so sacred and irresistible, it seems not easy to shew, how that of our natural sovereign should become less so; tho' some of our modern doctors would make children and subjects, both witnesses, jurors, judges and executioners, in their own cause.

§ XIII. To *Isaac* his eldest son *Esau* was heir (a) apparent: but, as he, by his own act, and that too, *that the purpose of God, according to election might* (b) stand, did transfer his birth-right to his younger brother *Jacob*, there is no reason to question the lawfulness of the alienation. Yet we do not read, that ever *Esau* paid any personal service, or own'd any subjection to *Jacob*: but on the contrary we see, that *Jacob* meeting him, *bowed himself to the ground seven times*, calling *Esau* his lord, and himself his servant (c); in token of a natural allegiance by birth, even after his sale of the birth-right. And so we read of eight kings of the posterity of *Esau*, who reigned in the land of Edom, before there reigned any King over the children of (d) *Israel*; whose successors were conquer'd by *David* (e) of the house of *Judah*, as had been (f) foretold by the lord: and those were so far from owning any subjection to the posterity of *Jacob*, that they refused them a passage through their (g) dominions.

But, be that as it will, we may learn by this case, that *Jacob* was not possess'd of the prerogatives

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(a) *Gen.* xxv. 25, &c. (b) *Rom.* xi. 11. (c) *Gen.* xxxiii.
 (d) *Gen.* xxxvi. 31. and *1 Chron.* i. 43. (e) *2 Sam.* viii. 14.
 (f) *Gen.* xlix. 8. (g) *Numb.* xx. 21.

gatives of primogeniture meerly by the providence of God (as certain people affect to call it, meaning his secret will, without, or contrary to his revealed will,) but by the express revelation of God, attended with his elder brother's grant; and that too confirm'd by their natural superiour, the patriarch *Isaac* himself. In which act of ratification, 'tis very remarkable, that the patriarch, pronouncing the blessing upon his first-born (as he intended it,) said, *be lord over thy brethren, and let thy mother's sons bow down to thee (a)*, &c. And tho' he was afterwards convinc'd, that he had mistaken the person, yet when he says of *Jacob*, who was then confirm'd, in the prerogative, *I have made him thy lord, and all his brethren have I given to him for servants (b)*, &c. it shews what was ' strictly and ' directly the *jus primogeniti*, the right of the first-born (c), ' tho' then alienated as aforesaid. However, as this purpose was manifestly prior to either of their births, and consequently (as the apostle argues) before they had *done any good or evil (d)*, it is plain, that *God's dealing in the case* can't truly be said to have been *preponderated by personal virtue, goodness and desert (e)*, unless we could suppose, that *Jacob* was personally virtuous, good and deserving before he was born, or that he was capable of *procuring by his good behaviour*, or his brother of *forfeiting*

(a) *Gen.* xxvii. 29. (b) — ver. 37. (c) *Biblioth. bib.* p. 584.
 (d) *Rom.* ix. 11. (e) *Whist. script. polit.* p. 12, 13.

feiting by his ill conduct, before either of them had done any good or evil: neither did it please God, that his elder brother (even wicked *Eſau*) should be actually defeated of the blessing, without his own motion and voluntary act; which was truly and properly an abdication (there being no sufficient force (a) put upon him, to oblige him thereto,) concurrent with the purpose of God. So much did he favour the claim of birth-right, as a foundation for civil superiority and dominion, contrary to that author's observation.

§ XIV. As the birth-right (b) was thus vested in *Jacob* by the Lord, so was it afterwards translated, by the same authority, from *Reuben*, his eldest son, to *Judab* the fourth (c); tho' *Judab* himself was an incestuous person, as evidently as *Reuben*; so that his dominion was not founded in grace! neither can it be said with any propriety, that inward and personal virtues obtain'd for *Judab*, what his elder brother had

(a) Thus the famous Bishop *Burnet* explains it, when (speaking of the late King *James*,) he says, 'certainly the withdrawing, upon the apprehension of danger to his person, could be no more called an abdication, than King *Charles* the second's going beyond the seas after *Worcester* fight.' Serm. at *Salisb.* 5 *Novem.* 1710, p. 12, in 8vo. (b) Mr. *Shuckford* mentions a tradition among the *Jews*, that 'before the tabernacle, whilst private altars were in use, the eldest or first-born was the sacrificer or priest of the family,' (when the father himself was not with them:) and it is for this reason, that *Eſau* was called *prophane*, (*Hebr.* xii. 16.) for selling his birth-right, because he shewed himself to have but little value for that religious office which was annex'd to it.' *Shuckf. connect.* p. 296. (c) *Gen.* xlix. 8.—xxxviii. 18.

had forfeited *for his wickedness* (a) : unless *Judab's* defiling his daughter in law, were a virtue, and a meritorious act in him, by the same law as *Reuben's* defiling his father's concubine was an unpardonable sin ! And besides, so far is this case from being an evidence to the prejudice of the primogeniture, (as our popular advocates would fain persuade us) that this very forfeiture, which they urge against it, plainly implies a natural right to the preheminance inherent in the eldest by birth, till such forfeiture ; for a man cannot forfeit any thing that he had not a prior right to. And so doubtless *Mr. Whiston* himself understood it, when he said, that *Joseph*, ‘ had a double portion allotted him by his father, in the division of the land of *Canaan*,— which indeed should have belonged to *Reuben* the first born (b). ’ And accordingly we find, that *Reuben* is so far favour'd on account of his primogeniture, that he, as the first-born, is still honour'd by their father, as his might, the beginning of his strength, *the excellency of dignity; and the excellency of power* (c) ; *the two peculiar characters* of sovereignty, (as the learned archbishop (d) *Usher* calls them,) and in regard thereof, he and his sons are usually first named in the (e) genealogies, and that too with a reason grounded even in nature.

But here, by the way, I must make a stand, to admire at some men, who, with seeming gravity, tell

(a) *Whist* Script. polit. p. 14, 15. (b) *Ibid.* p. 15. (c) *Gen.* xlix. 3. (d) *Usher's* power of the prince, &c. p. 14, 1710. (e) *Exod.* vi. 14. *Numb.* i. 5, 20. 1 *Chron.* v. 1.

tell us, that ‘ a right by law should be (if possible) more precious to us than a right by succession, since fortuitous birth giveth a right by succession, but ’tis the addition of heroic merit to princely birth which recommends to a right by (a) law:’ and would persuade us, that ‘ God himself puts little value upon primogeniture, or the like accidental privileges, even in matters of government, in comparison of those inward and personal virtues, which make men worthy of, and fit for such important (b) employments:’ and pretend to somewhat of a *national right*, as being *more divine than that of (c) nature*. As if the primogeniture of children was meerly fortuitous or accidental! or as if the author of nature himself did not know better than we (who are apt to judge according to our own weak notions, strong prejudices, or partial interests,) which child would be best fitted for such employments as he designs them to by their respective birth and succession! or as if there could be any right more divine than that of nature; except in cases where God himself has been pleased to manifest his interposition, to over-rule that by his express revelation. Surely, since *children are an heritage of the Lord, and the fruit of the womb is his (d) reward*, their primogeniture ought not to be call’d fortuitous or accidental, by men who regard the holy scripture: at least, they might have learnt from a late prelate (whose
judg-

(e) *W. Stephens’s* serm. before the L. Mayor, &c. 15 Apr. 1696. p. 22. in 4to. (b) *Whist. script. polit.* p. 15. (c) *Page’s* serm. 20 Jan. 1714, Ep. dedic. (d) *Psal.* cxxvii. 3.

judgment is of great authority with them on other occasions,) that ‘there is nothing more sacred
 ‘among men, than a right of inheritance: but
 ‘for the derivation of that right to their per-
 ‘sons, they owe it only to God; for it comes
 ‘to them by their birth, and they owe their birth
 ‘only to (a) God.’ But, to return to the case of *Reuben*; tho’ his unnatural transgression render’d him justly liable, before God, to a forfeiture of his natural privileges, yet we find, that he was not defeated of, or excluded from, his hereditary right, by his brethren or neighbours, much less by his children, subjects and servants, but by his father and lawful sovereign: and that by the immediate inspiration of God Almighty himself, who expressly entail’d the sceptre upon *Judah*, to continue in his heirs till *Shiloh* (b) should come; so that this case can be of no use to the patrons of popular schemes.

Joseph. § XV. AFTER this, comes in another of Mr. *Whiston*’s objections against the divine right of primogeniture; tho’ I need but just mention it. He asserts, that ‘*Joseph*
 ‘was preferr’d before the rest, on account of
 ‘his goodness, and particularly his unspotted
 ‘chastity, by divine providence (c), &c.’ I grant, that

(a) Bishop *Lloyd*’s disc. of God’s ways of disposing of Kingd. 1691, p. 16, in 4to. (b) *Gen.* xlix. 10. *Shiloh* was our blessed Saviour, of whom this was an acknowledg’d prophesy. Now this sceptre was given to *David* of the tribe of *Judah*, 1 *Chron.* xxviii. 4. and ordain’d to continue hereditary, from *Solomon* downwards, in the eldest son; which was the known rule in that kingdom. (c) *Script. polit.* p. 15.

that his chaffity was very eminent, and that he was highly favour'd by God Almighty : but cannot say, that he was by divine Providence preferr'd on that particular account, without, in some measure, impeaching the divine right of *Solomon*, and many other princes, in all ages, less exemplary for that excellent virtue.

§ XVI BUT, to proceed. When *Jacob*, by divine inspiration, preferr'd the younger of *Joseph's* children, before the elder, ^{Ephraim.} their father was *displeas'd*. For he was sensible, the law and order of nature could not be alter'd by any human power, and he did not then perceive, that what his father did proceeded from the Lord : And therefore he *held up his father's band, to remove it from Ephraim's head to Manasseh's head; and Joseph said unto his father, Not so, my father! for this is the first-born, put thy right hand upon his head (a);* which plainly shews us the great regard that was due to the primogeniture in those days, and that the law of nature and natural rights, was the same then, as it was before, and still continues.

§ XVII. Now, this law of nature is indeed the eternal law of the Creator, infus'd into the heart of the creature, at the time ^{The law of nature.} of the creation : by which law mankind were govern'd two thousand years, before any laws were written ; whereof the apostle says, *the Gentiles which have not the law, do, by nature, the things*

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(a) *Gen.* xlviii. 17, 18.

contained in the law; these, having not the law, are a law unto themselves (a).

Thus, in a word, not only *Adam*, but all the succeeding patriarchs, as well before, as after the flood, had, by this law of nature, royal authority over their respective children, and exercised kingly power, in full and ample manner. For so we find them raising armies; making solemn treaties of peace; sending formal embassies on negotiations of marriage; adjudging offenders to death; and granting pardons after such condemnation (b): and, 'tis remarkable, that in *Abraham's* treaty, with the sons of *Heth*, for a burying-place for *Sarah*, they stile him a mighty prince (c); as indeed he was.

What has been here said, was well summ'd up by an author, who had formerly been justly censur'd, for what he had partially written in favour of some pretended privileges of the people. 'The
' original law of nature (says he), as all politicians
' and divines assert, and the scripture manifests,
' at first gave every father a magistratical and
' judicial rule, power, over his children, progeny,
' family, and made him a king, prince, lord
' over them, without either their choice or call:
' the father, and first-born of the family, being
' both the king, prince, lord over it, and priest
' to it, from the creation, till the law was given;
' as is generally acknowledg'd by all divines;
' as God himself is king over all the earth, world,
' as

(a) *Rom.* ii. 14.(b) *Gen.* xiv. — xxi. 31. — xxvi. 31.— xxiv. 2. — xxxviii. 24, 26. (c) *Gen.* xxiii. 6.

‘ as Creator and father (*a*) thereof’. And the celebrated Mr. *Selden*, in fewer words, tells us, that ‘ civil society beginning first in particular families, under oeconomick rule, representing what is now a commonwealth, had, in its state, the husband, father and master, as *b*) king.’

Since then ’tis so evident, that all the patriarchs had this regal power, what hinders, but that they should be esteemed kings, to all intents and purposes? nay, and as absolute too, as any have been since?

If there yet remains any doubt of it, let us hear the Lord Chief Justice *Coke* (that great oracle of the law!) who assures us, from most unexceptionable authorities, that ‘ certain it is, that before judicial, or municipal laws were (*c*) made, kings did decide causes according to natural equity, and were not tied to any rule or formality of law, but did *dare jura d.*: that magistracy and government are of nature (*e*): that it appeareth by demonstrative reason, that ligeance, faith and obedience of the subject to the sovereign, was before any municipal or judicial laws: 1. For that government and subjection were long before any municipal or judicial laws; 2. For that it had been in vain to have

G 2

‘ pre-

(*a*) *Prynne's* plea for the lords, p. 10, where he proves all this by the authorities of *Aristotle*, *Bodin*, *Field*, *Selden*, and the holy scriptures. (*b*) *Selden's* works, tom. 3, col. 927. (*c*) *Viz.*

For two thousand years, before *Moses's* time; as before in p. 41.

(*d*) *Coke's* reports, part. 7. *postnati*, *Calvin's* case, 6. Jac. 1. fol. 13, and 17, b. (*e*) *Ibid.* fol. 13.

‘ prescrib’d laws to any but to such as ow’d obe-
 ‘ dience, faith and ligeance before, in respect
 ‘ whereof they were bound to obey and observe
 ‘ them (a): that this is within that command-
 ‘ ment of the moral law, *honora patrem*; which
 ‘ doubtless doth extend to him that is *pater patriæ*
 ‘ (b): that, to this *pater patriæ*, this sovereign
 prince by birth, a true and faithful obedience of
 the subject is due, by the law of nature; and ‘ an
 ‘ incident inseparable to every subject; for, as
 ‘ soon as he is born he oweth, by birthright, li-
 ‘ geance and obedience to his soveraign’ (c):
 And that, such as (he says) *is without limitation,*
condition, bounds, or reserve (d): that this allegi-
 ance is due to the King; and to him only, and
 (e) always; and that in regard of his natural per-
 son (f), and not by reason of his (g) crown:
 that this law of nature is part of the law ‘ of
 ‘ *England* (b); where the King holdeth the king-
 ‘ dom, by birthright inherent, by descent from
 ‘ the blood royal, whereupon succession doth at-
 ‘ tend: and therefore, it is usually said, to the
 ‘ King, his heirs, and successors; wherein heirs
 ‘ is first named, and successor is attendant upon
 ‘ heirs:

(a) *Ibid.* (b) Fol. 12, b. (c) *Ibid.* fol. 4, b. 12, b. and
 13. (d) *Ibid.* fol. 10. *Ligeantia naturalis nullis claustris coer-*
citur, nullis metis refranatur, nullis finibus premitur. (e) *Ibid.*
 fol. 12. (f) *Ibid.* fol. 10. (g) *Ibid.* fol. 11. This was the
damnable and damned opinion (as our author calls it) of the *Spencers*,
 upon which *they inferred execrable and detestable principles*
 (like some of those mention’d in § 1.); *all which were condemned*
by two parliaments, under K. Edw. II. and Edw. III. (h) *Ibid.*
 fol. 4, b. and 2, b.

heirs : and yet in our ancient books, succession
 and successor are taken for hereditance and
 heirs— : but the Title is by descent. (For ex-
 ample) by Queen *Elizabeth's* death, the crown
 and kingdom of *England* descended to his ma-
 jesty (King *James*, tho' then *out of this kingdom*) :
 and he was fully and absolutely thereby King,
 without any essential ceremony, or act, to be
 done *ex post facto* ; for coronation is but a royal
 ornament, and outward solemnization of the
 royal descent, but no part of the title ^(a) :
 that such allegiance, being due by the law of
 nature, is immutable, inherent, and insepara-
 ble ; and cannot be respited, alter'd or chang'd,
 much less taken away ^(b) :

This

^(a) *Ibid.* fol. 10. b. As was clearly resolved by all the judges
 of *England*, in the case of *Watson and Clarke*, 1 *Jac.* 1. And ap-
 peareth evidently by infinite precedents and book-cases (here cited
 fol. 11.) by which it manifestly appeareth, that by the laws of
England there can be no *interregnum* within the same. And ^{(as}
Dr. Burnet says, of the form of the coronation of *K. Edw. VI.*
 he being declar'd the rightful and undoubted heir, both by the
 laws of God and man, they (the people) were desir'd to give
 their good wills and assents to the same, as by their duty of
 allegiance they were bound to do.' *Burn.* hist. reform. vol. 2,
 fol. 13. Which further illustrates that true reading of *Sr. Rob.*
Holbourne upon the statute of treasons ; who says, *the King is*
crown'd because he is a King, and not a King because he is
crown'd. ^(b) *Coke's Rep.* as before, fol. 4, b. 7, b. 12, b. 13, b.
 Upon these grounds *Dr. Story* was convicted in *Q. Elizabeth's*
 time, tho' he pleaded, that he had translated his allegiance to the
K. of Spain, and therefore was not her subject. ' But this being
 contrary to his natural allegiance, which he could never shake
 off,

This quotation, from so great an assertor of the subjects privileges (and in a case too, which was ‘as elaborately, substantially, and judiciously
 ‘argu’d, by the lord chancellor and all the judges
 ‘of *England*, (none of which, I believe, was
 ‘thought to be popishly-affected) as ever was
 ‘(a) any’: and which has this peculiar to it, that
 ‘no one opinion, in all our books, is against
 ‘this judgment,’ (b) cannot need an apology especially to our lawyers, (among whom ’tis a maxim, that *no man ought to think himself wiser than the laws*;) since it has given us so clear a light into the law of nature (by which mankind were originally govern’d), in relation to the paternal and regal authority of the patriarchs, which has been so prophanely and absurdly ridicul’d; and of which I may say, as *Dr. Sberlock* said of
 non-

‘off, he was found guilty of treason, and executed’: As ’tis related by the same *Dr. Burnet*; (who had good reason to study this point.) *Hist. Reform.* vol. 2. fol. 396. For ’tis roundly asserted, as well by divines as lawyers, that a natural born subject ‘can no more
 ‘dissolve, change or transfer this obligation, by a subsequent protestation of his obedience to a prince or state, other than his natural, than he could, afore he came into the world, chuse of
 ‘what parents he would descend, the country where, and the
 ‘dominion under which he would make his entrance into it.’ *Fitz-William’s* serm. 9. Sept. 1683, p. 16. See also the *Act of Succession* pass’d in *Scotland*, 13 Aug. 1681, printed in *Dr. Hickes’s* pref. to *Fovian*, 1683. All which may sufficiently shew the ignorance of *Mr. Rob. Fleming* (amongst other of the like stamp,) who never yet heard of any such method of reasoning from the law of nature, &c. *Hered. Right from Cain to Nero*, 1717, p. 25.

(a) *Coke’s Rep.* as before, fol. 3, b. See also *Moore’s Report of the Postnati*, fol. 790. (b) *Coke*, *ibid.* fol. 28.

non-resistance, that it is *not confuted, but laugh-
out of countenance* (a). Upon such and so many
great authorities, we may without offence pre-
sume, that a modern prelate was mistaken, when
he express'd so many terrible fears of the tenden-
cy of these principles, and ventur'd out of his
element, to 'affirm of such state-maxims as these
' are, that if they must be espous'd, and are to
' be put in execution, they'll turn all the govern-
' ments in the world upside (b) down': whereas,
'tis plain, those judges were convinc'd, that such
maxims were the only way to set government firm
upon its just bottom. But whether we are bound
in charity to the dead, to conclude, that the
learned Dr. Kennet was only mistaken, when he
insinuated, that *this strange plea* (as he call'd that
of the patriarchal monarchy,) was never 'any
' where industriously set on foot, but in *England*;
' nor—ever in *England* seriously advanced, till
' the reign of King (c) Charles II.' I shall leave
to the readers reflection. Dr. Marshal's notions
of *allegiance*, &c. I should not have animadver-
ted on, if he had not trespass'd against the com-
mon rules of logick at least, if not also of law,
where he said, 'What our local constitution in
' this point is, can no otherwise be known, than
' by a resort to (d) facts': for he could not but
know,

(a) *Sherl. case of resist. ep. ded.* (b) Mr. *Peploe's* serm.
at *Lewerp.* 11 Jan. 1715, p. 14. (c) *Kenner's* 3d letter to the
bishop of *Carlisle*, 1717, p. 33. (d) *Nat. Marshal's* defence of
our constitution, 1717, p. 136.

know, that *from fact to right* is never allow'd to be a good (a) argument. As to Mr. *Whiston's* proposition, that 'the free choice, consent or recognition of a nation is the proper foundation of the rights of (b) princes'; and his affirmation, that *it appears in scripture*, 'that nothing, in ordinary cases, but the free choice or recognition of a people, gives a just right to a prince to govern (c) them'; I shall pass it over here, because the contrary thereof is demonstrated in almost every page of this book. But, since so much clamour has been rais'd against the tendency of principles manifestly founded in the laws of God and nature, as well as in the municipal law of our land, let us but take a fair view of those on the other side; and we shall find (as *Dr. Burnet* observ'd) that 'less disorder may be apprehended, from the pretensions of the *Roman* bishops, than from those maxims, that put the power of judging and controuling the magistrates in the people's 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 that have but one pretender over them, could more easily deal with him, and more vigorously resist (d) him'. And we are assur'd by the same unexceptionable author, that 'the resolving all power
' in

(a) *A facto ad jus non valet argumentum.* (b) *Whist. Script. pol. p. 8.* (c) *Ibid. ep. ded. p. 7.* (d) *Burnet's vindication of church and state of Scotland 1673. p. 68, 69.*

‘ in the people was first taken up by the asser-
 ‘ tors of the pope’s deposing power : for they ar-
 ‘ gu’d, 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 might dispose of crowns as he (a)
 ‘ pleas’d’. But ’tis no wonder that doctrines of
 this pernicious tendency prevail, when some of
 the party are advanc’d to that height of blasphemy,
 as to affirm, that God himself did not give to the
Jews any political laws, before *he was chosen to be their King by the express consent of the* (b)
people : thus audaciously making God’s own government
 elective, as well as that of the King ; and both equally
 without foundation. Nor is it strange, that men who
 patronize such barefac’d insults against God himself,
 should dare to propagate others of the like sort
 against his vicegerent, to possess the unwary reader
 with notions utterly inconsistent with the fundamental
 laws of an hereditary monarchy, and to justify, (as
 well as they can) the worst fact that the worst of
 subjects were ever guilty of. Whereas the clergy of
 our national church, in convocation assembled,
 have censur’d this as a *great* (c) *error* : nay,
 and even the people’s own representatives in
 parliament have all along declar’d expressly
 against such republican doctrines ! particularly,
 in one of our latest instances, after an unnatural rebel-

H lion

(a) *Burn.* serm. 30 *Jan.* 1680. (b) Rights of the chr.
 church asserted, p. 151, 312. and elsewhere. (c) Bishop *Overal*’s
 convoc. book, lib. 1, can. 2.

lion and regicide, and the subsequent exclusion and abjuration of the right heir, the people in convention representatively assembled, confess'd and acknowledg'd to the world, that 'it can no way be doubted, but that his majesty's right and title to his crowns and kingdoms is, and was, every way compleated, by the death of his most royal father, without the ceremony or solemnity of a proclamation, &c. And therefore, according to their duty and allegiance, they unanimously declar'd and proclaim'd, that immediately upon the decease of—King *Charles (the first)*, the imperial crown, &c. did, by birthright, and lawful, and undoubted succession, descend and come to King *Charles (the second)*, as being lineally, justly, and lawfully next heir of the blood royal (a) &c.' — And all this, after they had kept this next heir many years in exile! and our church, in the forms of prayer compos'd and us'd on those occasions, (and which are also part of the law of the land even at this day,) does acknowledge in the presence of God himself, that the *King* was *innocent*, and a *blessed martyr*, &c. notwithstanding all the popy, and tyranny, and arbitrary power the rebels charg'd him with! that *his Son* was *his undoubted heir*, and *our then most gracious sovereign*, and that the *throne* was *his right*, even during his exile and pretended attainder! that he was not chosen, but *restor'd to his own just and undoubted rights*; and

(a) Proclam. 8 May, 1660.

and as such *promiseth all loyal and dutiful allegiance to the King, and to his heirs after him (a)*. Nay, and is it not manifest, that every one, who has obtain'd or attempted the possession of this crown (whether by right, as King *Edward the fourth*, or by usurpation, as *Henry (b) the fourth, Monmouth*, and others, has always made his claim to it, as the next lawful heir, and as such pretended to ascend the throne of his *ancestors*? How then is all this hypocrisy before God, and prevarication with men, to be accounted for, if after all this solemnity, the throne be denied to be hereditary? And what colour is there for any one to say, that the right of princes depends upon the choice, consent, or recognition of the people?

H 2 . so

(a) See the *forms of prayer*, &c. for 30 *Jan.* and 29 *May.*
 (b) Dr. *Kennet* is very angry with certain authors, for calling *Henry IV.* an *usurper*, and imputes it to a *singular spite to him, because he was a DELIVERER!* *Kenn.* 3d lett. to bp. of *Carl.* 1716, p. 111. Such a deliverer I own (in some sense) is he who delivers me of all my money on the highway, and would kill me for endeavouring to recover it! and so would *Monmouth* have been still'd a deliverer, if he had got the power of conferring honours and dignities on his fawning parasites! But as to the fact, we are better inform'd, that this same '*Henry IV.*, tho' he was of the ' blood-royal, being first cousin unto the King, and last the crown ' resign'd unto him by *Rich. II.* and confirm'd unto him by act ' of parliament, yet, upon his death-bed, confess'd, that he had ' no right thereunto; as *Speed* writeth.' *Bishop Griff. William's* rights of Kings, fol. 21. And 'tis certain, that all our authentic laws, records and writings did, with one consent, deem him a notorious usurper, till such men arose, who would have usurpation thought to be a deliverance! from whom and which *libera nos domine!*

so directly contrary to all the authorities of scripture, history, law, and right reason!—But, to proceed.

Moses, a § XVIII. DURING the *Israelites* sojourning in *Egypt*, tho' they were grievously oppress'd, and made to serve with (a) rigour, (that is to say, depriv'd of their liberty and property, and reduc'd to a state of absolute slavery,) under *Pharaoh*, who was both arbitrary and an Idolator; and tho' they were increas'd and multiply'd, so that they were more and mightier than (b) the *Egyptians*; yet God (who knew best what was fit for them to do,) would not allow them to deliver themselves by a forcible resistance of their lawful sovereign, or so much as to depart out of the land, till the King gave them leave to go. In this their distress all their arms were prayers and tears. They cry'd, and their cry came up unto (c) God: who, in his own good time, rais'd up (d) *Moses*, to be their prince and deliverer; who, by wonderful miracles from heaven, prov'd his commission, and procur'd the King's leave for them to go. And tho' God, in his providence, had determin'd to overthrow *Pharaoh* and all his host; yet he would not suffer the *Israelites* (most of whom had been his natural-born subjects,) to lift up their hand against their King, even in their greatest distress; but took their cause into his own hand, and made them spectators only,
not

(a) *Exod* i. 14. (b) —vers. 9. (c) —ii. 23. (d) —iii.

not the instruments, of their own deliverance, and the destruction of their tyrannical (a) oppressor. And now, being miraculously brought out of *Egypt*, their government was a distinct and independent monarchy in the hands of *Moses*; who was King in *Jesurun*, when the heads of the people, and the tribes of *Israel* were gather'd (b) together. But so far was he from deriving his sovereignty from the choice of the people, that he had not so much as their consent, but was set over them against their will; as *St. Stephen* expressly tells us: *This, Moses, whom they refus'd, saying, who made thee a ruler and a judge? the same did God send to be a ruler, and a (c) deliverer, &c.*

§ XIX. AND that he was absolute, *Absolute and* and accountable to none for his ad- *irresistable.* ministration, but to God only, the sacred records, in many instances, do plainly prove. For, as he never ask'd the people for their advice or consent, concerning the laws which he gave them, so his divine right, and absolute authority, were remarkably asserted, by God himself, even against his own brother and sister, for but murmuring against him: *Wherefore were ye not afraid* (said the Lord to *Aaron* and *Miriam*) *to speak against my*

(a) *Exod.* xiv. 14. (b) *Deut.* xxxiii. 5. And yet the author of *the rights of the christ. church asserted*, p. 151, has the assurance to say, the *Jews*, when they came out of the land of bondage, were under no settled government, till the *Horeb-contract*, when, he pretends, they consented to take God for their King! (c) *Acts* vii. 35.

my servant Moses? and the anger of the Lord was kindled against (a) them.

But most exemplary was the punishment of (b) *Korah, Dathan and Abiram*, and their adherents, for seditiously resisting and rebelling against the same authority; ‘upon the common grounds of such things, *viz.* usurpation upon the people’s rights, arbitrary government, and ill management of (c) affairs’. Neither were these patriots, or assertors of the (good old) cause, of liberty, content with rebellion against *Moses*, their lawful prince, but they also presum’d to invade, usurp, and intrude upon the sacred office of *Aaron* the high-priest; who had been solemnly set apart and consecrated (d) to that high dignity, as *Moses* was promoted to the civil supremacy, by the express command of God himself, without any intervention of, or contract with, the people: as if *Moses* and *Aaron* had only exalted them-

(a) *Numb.* xii. 8, 9. (b) This *Korah* was himself a priest, and the very first of that order who presum’d to withdraw his obedience, and make a *separation* from his lawful high-priest or bishop. The effect of this his *schism* deserves the most serious consideration of all our modern *separatists*, who withdraw themselves from a canonical succession of undoubted lawful bishops, with whom they pretend to agree in all the *fundamental* points of doctrine. God give them grace to avoid the fate of *Korah*, by a timely repentance and return to unity and communion: remembering what the Apostle says, of those who *forsake* the true church, and break her communion, for things not demonstratively *essential* to salvation; *viz.* *If we sin wilfully, after that we have received the knowledge of the truth, there remaineth no more sacrifice for sin!* *Heb.* x. 25, 26. (c) *Stillingsf.* serm. 30 *Jan.* 1668, p. 11. (d) *Levit.* viii.

themselves out of pride and ambition, above others, who were equally holy, and equally worthy! *Ye take too much upon you, (say they) seeing all the congregation are holy, every one of them, and the Lord is among (a) them; wherefore then lift ye up yourselves above the congregation of the (b) Lord?* whereas, 'tis allow'd, that 'whoever set up for being patrons of liberty, should, at the same time, set up for patrons of religion; for otherwise the more liberty we have, the more danger we shall be in of being (c) undone'; because, 'liberty, unless wisely used, seldom proves a kindness to those who have (d) it'. But when *Moses* call'd for *Dathan* and *Abiram*, they refus'd to come up; insolently charging him with arbitrary power, tyrannical administration, breach of trust and promise (e), &c. in language much unbecoming subjects to their sovereign. Which treatment of him (who was indeed not only the meekest (f) man upon the face of the earth, but also so strictly just and tender of their rights, that he had not taken one ass from them, nor hurt one of (g) them; and moreover so great a benefactor to them all, that he had rescued them from the house of bondage, by a multitude of miracles,) may well make us cease to wonder at the like unduti-

(a) Thus did our late saints cant, *God with us!* even when they rebell'd against his authority, and usurp'd the rights of our *Moses* and *Aaron*! (b) *Numb.* xvi. 3. (c) *Willis's* serm. 5 Nov. 1705, p. 15. (d) *Sherlock's* 30 Jan. 1691. p. 27. (e) *Numb.* xvi. 13, 14. (f) —xii. 3. (g) —xvi. 15.

dutifulness and ingratitude of subjects to other (and commonly even to the very best) Kings.

Upon this, *Moses*, as he was commanded by the Lord, spake unto all the congregation of the people, saying, *Depart, I pray you, from the tents of these wicked men, and touch nothing of theirs, lest ye be consumed in all their sins (a)!* For such is the heinous nature, and contagion, of those sins of rebellion and schism, that the destruction of the actors alone was not a sufficient attonement for it: but, as every one of their adherents was, in respect of *Moses*, a rebel, and in respect of *Aaron*, a schismatick, whoever joined with, or any way assisted, or countenanc'd them in their sins, was therefore liable to share the punishment. And the more effectually to deter us from the like guilt, we find, that God Almighty wrought a miracle to destroy them: for *the ground clave asunder that was under them, and the earth open'd her mouth, and swallowed them up, and their houses, and all the men that appertained unto Korah, and all their goods: they, and all that appertained to them, went down alive into the pit; and the earth closed upon them; and they perished from amongst the congregation. — And there came out a fire from the Lord, and consumed the 250 men, that offered (b) incense.* And for the better remembrance thereof, their censers were preserv'd, to be a memorial, that no stranger, which is not of the seed of *Aaron*, come near to offer incense before the Lord, that he be not

as

(a) *Numb.* xvi. 26. (b) — 30, &c.

as Korah and as his company——; when they strove against the Lord (a). For so they may justly be said to do, who throw off those obligations of religion and allegiance which God and nature have bound them in, and bind themselves in others of their own inventing; there being indeed no other way of rebelling against God, but by opposing his institutions. Nay, when others of the people presum'd, the next day, but to *murmur* against Moses and Aaron, for the loss of their brethren, 14700 more of them were destroy'd by a *plague* (b). By which we may perceive, how the sins of rebellion and schism are more provoking to God Almighty, and more severely punish'd by him, than even that of idolatry itself; since *there fell of the people but about 3000* (c) *men*, in that their first and greatest idolatry, when they worshipp'd their *golden calf*: and from hence we may conclude, how desperate a remedy it is, to rebel against lawful authority, for fear of idolatry. For 'tis well observ'd by the learned *Stillingfleet*, that,

‘ let the pretences be never so popular, the persons never so great and famous; nay, though they were of the great council of the nation, yet we see God doth not abate of his severity upon any of these (d) considerations’.

I

Thus

(a) *Numb.* xvi. 40. and xxvi. 9. (b) ——— *vers.* 49. These proofs, amongst others, may shew the falshood of the author of the *rights of the christian church asserted*, p. 312. where he says, *God did not miraculously interpose, even among the Jews, till they had chosen him for their King; viz. at Horeb, where this blasphemous pretence, an ORIGINAL-CONTRACT was made between God and the people!* (c) *Exod.* xxxii. 28. (d) *Stillingfleet*, *serm.* 30
Jan. 1668, p. 34.

Thus was the divine authority and absolute irresistible power of *Moses* unquestionably prov'd: and, 'lest this should be thought an extraordinary case, *Moses* and *Aaron* being extraordinary persons, immediately appointed by God, and govern'd by his immediate direction, the apostle *St. Jude* alledges this example against those in his days, who were turbulent and factious, *who despised dominions, and spake evil of dignities, that they should perish in the gainsaying of Core.* (a). Which he could not have done, had not this example (as the late Dr. *Sherlock* once well observ'd) extended to all ordinary, as well as extraordinary cases; had it not been a lasting testimony of God's displeasure, against all those, who oppose themselves against the sovereign (b) powers'.

Moses the first Lawgiver. § XX. AND as *Moses* was the first law-giver, or writer, of Laws in the World, let us see how his laws (or rather those of God pronounc'd by him) agreed with the law of nature, upon this subject.

Law of inheritance in general. § XXI. IT happen'd that *Zelophebad* (one of the (c) princes of the half tribe of *Manasseh*) had *no sons, but daughters*: and these (grounding their plea upon the law of nature) sued unto *Moses* for their father's inheritance for the land was divided by inheritance; *Our father* (said they) *died in the wilderness, and he*
was

a) *Jude* 11. (l) *Sherl.* case of resist. p. 7. (c) His pedigree is set forth, *Numb.* xxvii. 1. and *Judg.* xvii. 3. and more largely drawn out by Mr. *Selden*, vol. 2, fol. 52, &c.

was not in the company of them, that gather'd themselves together against the Lord, in the company of Korah, but died in his own sin, and had no sons; Why should the name of our father be done away (a)? &c. Where, by the way, we may observe, that the whole people were made sensible, by the dreadful judgment of God upon Rebels, that resisting *Moses* and *Aaron*, was a rebellion against God himself, from whom they receiv'd their authority; and that they, and every one that was in their company, had thereby forfeited God's favour, as well as the right to their inheritance. Therefore they plead, that their father was *not in the company of Korah*; and thereupon, *Moses brought their cause before the (b) Lord.*

§ XXII. UPON this occasion there-
 fore (as a celebrated modern argues in
 another (c) case), 'we have the justest
 ' reason to expect to know the thoughts of Al-
 ' mighty God concerning' hereditary right. And
 what were they? Why, the Lord did not only
 adjudge that cause in favour of these daughters
 (which might upon occasion be a strong and in-
 contestable authority against the *Salique* law in
France;) but made it a *statute of judgment* (or
 perpetual law); saying, *If a man die, and have*
no son (which, by the way, is an admission, that
 the son had a natural right to his father's inheri-
 tance) *then ye shall cause his inheritance to pass unto*

According to proximity of blood:

I 2

his

(a) *Numb.* xxvi. 33, 53. — xxxiv. 18. — xxvii. 3. (b) —vers. 5: (c) *B. Hoadly's* serm. at *Hertford*, 22 *Mar.* 1797.

his daughter; and if he have no daughter, then—
unto his brethren; and if he have no brethren, then
—unto his father's brethren; and if his father have
no brethren, then — unto his kinsman that is next
to him of his family, and he shall possess it (a).

Indef. as- ble. § XXIII. HERE we see Almighty God
taking occasion (as the last quoted au-
thor expresses it), to confirm the law of nature,
in respect of inheritances. And to shew us, that
it is not in our power, to invert the order of na-
ture, or (as it is in the title of the chapter) that
the first born is not to be disinherited upon pri-
vate affection, this other law was added by the
Lord; *If a man have two wives, one beloved and
another hated, and they have born him children:—
and if the first-born son be hers that was hated,
then it shall be, when he maketh his sons to inherit
that which he hath, that he may not make the son
of the beloved first-born, before the son of the hated,
which is indeed the first-born, (or, as it is in the
old margin, while the son of the hated liveth :)
but he shall acknowledge the son of the hated for the
first-born, by giving him a double portion of all that
he hath; for (this reason, that) he is the begin-
ning of his strength, the right of the first-born is (b)
his.*

Now

(a) *Numb.* xxvii. 8, &c. Upon this law it was, that the great
archbishop *Chicheley* incited *Henry V.* to assert a title to the crown
of *France*: affirming, that 'if any human laws happen to cross
& upon this regulation, they lose the force of their obligation; in
& regard they go off from the standard of justice, which the se-
& veraign legislator has given to his own people'. *Collier's eccles.*
hist. vol. 1. fol. 638. (b) *Deut.* xxi. 15, &c.

Now this law (says a learned author) ‘ was, and
 ‘ still is, grounded, 1. On Gods express com-
 ‘ mand, and so it is a judicial law of God: 2.
 ‘ On natural reason, and so it becomes a posi-
 ‘ tive law of nature, obliging all nations, at
 ‘ all times, to the observation of it. — By this
 ‘ law, (as my author proceeds) it is undeniably
 ‘ evident, that the first-born should ever be the
 ‘ heir of his father, whether the said first-born
 ‘ were good or bad, beloved or hated. And the
 ‘ reason, which God gives for that law is this,
 ‘ *scilicet*, because the first-born *is the beginning of*
 ‘ *his father’s strength*; and therefore, *the right of*
 ‘ *the first-born is his (a)*; that is to say, the right
 ‘ of inheritance is his. So that this law of inheri-
 ‘ tance by primogeniture is not only a positive
 ‘ and judicial law, made by God, binding the peo-
 ‘ ple of the *Jews*: but it is also a moral law,
 ‘ founded on natural reason; and therefore is for
 ‘ ever obligatory, and at all times binds all na-
 ‘ tions to observe and keep it. For, if, among
 ‘ the *Jews*, the first-born was therefore to inhe-
 ‘ rit, because he was the beginning of his fa-
 ‘ ther’s strength: then, by the same force of rea-
 ‘ son, ought all first-born sons, of all men what-
 ‘ ever, to inherit their father’s substance, because
 ‘ they all are the beginning of their father’s
 ‘ strength; and therefore the right of inheritance
 ‘ is theirs’ (b).

Agree-

(a) *Deut.* xxi. 17. (b) *Jenner’s prerog. of primog.* p. 26,
 27.

Agreeably to which, that eminent lawyer above quoted, applies all to the kingdom of *England*; arguing from *Aristotle*, that *whatever is founded upon the law of nature, hath the same authority amongst all men*. Wherewith (he observes) our lawyers agree, for this reason, ‘for that God and nature is one to all, and therefore the law of God and nature is one to all (a).’ And, as ’tis plainly prov’d, that this general rule of succession was not to be defeated by any partial favour of the father or superior; so much less was it to be done by any practices of the younger brethren, children, or other inferiors. For as a pious and learned prelate notes, upon the death of the first-born only, and not of the second or third, in *Egypt*,) ‘we may with profit well observe, how the differences of children are known to God—: which may yield this use, never for any child to go about, with craft and subtilty, or any unlawful invention of man, to thrust himself into the place and prerogative thereof, which God, in his providence, hath not given him, but to abide in the order dispos’d to him of God, and to trust in his mercy who so disposed; for fear, lest God, who knoweth our order, severely punish us for breaking his order. He could have made the youngest the eldest (if he had pleas’d) &c.—Let it be thought on (says he): for there is too much cause in
the

(a) *Coke's Calvin's case*, fol. 12, 13.

‘ the world given ; and sin is counted (a) wisdom’.

This law of indefeasible hereditary right, or law (for succession) of inheritances, Mr. Whiston owns to be ‘ certainly a plain and clear law, relating to the affairs of private families among the Jews : but how this belongs to the affairs of publick government, or succession of Kings, or princes, *he* does not (b) see’. But if he pleases to open his eyes, and observe that this law is given in general terms, and compare it with the judgment pronounc’d in the case of the daughters of *Zelophebad* (just mention’d) who was a publick person, and a prince of his tribe, he will find no just ground to distinguish in this case, between publick and private inheritances ; always remembering this maxim, that *where the law itself does not distinguish, we have no authority to make a distinction*. But in answer to this objection, and to put it out of all question, the learned divine newly quoted, argues thus ; ‘ If succession and inheritance be established upon the first-born in private families, because of his primogeniture ; then, by the same law, the right of inheritance and of succession unto the crown, is for ever settled upon the first-born of Kings : for, the first-born of Kings are the beginning of their royal fathers strength ; and therefore, the right of the first-born, that is to say, the right of inheritance and of succession to their fa-

(a) Bishop *Babington's* works, fol. 290. (b) *Script. polit.* p. 19, 20.

‘ fathers throne, is (a) theirs’. And a much greater than he, even our *Blessed Saviour* himself, in answer to *Pilate’s* question, (*Art thou a King?*) answer’d, *Thou sayest that I am a King: to this end was I (b) born, &c.* Thereby intimating, that his right to a kingdom was by birth; (according to that of the wise men, *Where is he that is born King of the (c) Jews?*) whereas he would not accept of a kingdom upon the election of the people, even when they were eager to have *made him a King by (d) force.*

In the case of the *stubborn and rebellious son*, tho’, upon the complaint of his parents to the magistrates, he was to be *stoned to death* by the people (e): yet we do not find, that any of them could exclude or deprive him of his birthright, or the preheminance thereof; no, not even tho’ he had been an *bater of right* and righteousness; as we shall see more at large by and by. And that this sentence extends to all such as commit the like offence against their lawful sovereign (the father of their country,) is the judgment of the church of *England*, clearly express’d in (f) convocation, as well as in her catechism, &c. But (as ’tis urg’d by an eminent Civilian, against the Jesuit *Parsons*,) ‘ What if the father be a robber? If a murderer? If for all excesses of villanies odious and execrable both to God and man? surely, he de-

fer-

(a) *Fenn. prerog. of primog.* p. 28. (b) *St. John* xviii. 37.
 (c) *St. Matth.* ii. 2. (d) *St. John* vi. 15. (e) *Deut.* xxi.
 18, &c. (f) *Bishop Overal’s convoc. book*, p. 25.

' serveth the highest degree of punishment :
 ' And yet must not the son lift up his hand
 ' against him ; for no offence is so great as to be
 ' punish'd by parricide. But our country is
 ' dearer to us than ourselves : and the prince
 ' is the father of our country ; whose authority
 ' is greater than of parents : and therefore he
 ' must not be violated, how impious, how impe-
 ' rious soever he (a) be '. For, as the son to his
 ' father, (being essential relatives ;) so also ' the sub-
 ' ject, in point of obedience to his prince, is not
 ' to dispute nor question the virtues or the vices,
 ' the religion or principles of his prince ; but
 ' solely to consider that essential and indissoluble
 ' relation, — to wit, that he is his natural and
 ' lawful prince, and therefore must of necessity
 ' be (b) obeyed '.

After these, we find another law made, for
 the better preservation of inheritances in the fa-
 mily and name of the first-born ; that *If brethren*
live together, and if one of them die and have no
child, the wife of the dead shall not marry without,
unto a stranger : her husband's brother (or, as it is
in the margin, his next kinsman) shall go in unto
her, and take her to him to wife ; — And it shall
be, that the first-born which she beareth, shall suc-
ceed, in the name of his brother which is dead, that
his name be not put out of Israel (c) —. Which
 law is also explain'd by that question of the *Sad-*

K

duces

(a) Sir J. Hayward's answer to *Dolem*. p. 46. where he quotes
Quintilian, C. cero, Baldus, and the holy scriptures. (b) *Jer-*
ner of the primogen. p. 59. (c) *Deut.* xxv. 5, 6.

duces to our *Saviour*, in the (a) gospel; so that, it is plain, the first, second, third, and other brothers married the widow successively, one after another, according to their priority of birth, to keep up the name and honour of the first-born. Nay, and our *Saviour* himself has affirm'd the natural right of primogeniture, in his parable of the *prodigal son*: where, in the first place, he speaks generally of *a certain (b) man* (to shew that it was not peculiar to the *Jews*, but the common case of all men;) and then says, in the person of the father, to the eldest son, — *Son, thou art ever with me, and all that I have is (c) thine*; that is, by right of birth, as my eldest son.

After all these several express laws and testimonies of holy scripture, I must own myself absolutely at a loss, to understand what some of our modern writers (who have not openly renounc'd scripture-evidence) do mean, when they tell us, that 'the right of primogeniture, in the male line, is set up, above any other (d) right': that *hereditary right* was by *no immutable law of nature*; much less by any express institution, or declaration of the will of (e) *God*: that *the indefeasibility of it* is by no means agreeable to the mind of *God* in the (f) *scriptures*: that 'no man can shew any such open and explicit declaration to have ever been

(a) *St. Matth.* xxii. 25. *St. Mark* xii. 20. *St. Luke* xx. 29.

(b) *St. Luke* xv. 11. (c) — vers. 31. (d) *Hoadly's* serm. at *Herts.* 22 *March*, 1707. (e) *Kennet's* 3d letter to bishop of *Carl.* p. 54, &c. (f) *Lovel's* serm. 15 *Nov.* 1715, p. 22.

‘ been given by (a) God ’: that *God had a mind to put a contempt upon (b) it*: in short, that this law of inheritances never appears ‘ to have been ordained by *God*, nor approved by him, but the (c) contrary: and that we find no such law of hereditary succession, about the state of the civil power, among the *Jews*, but many things which make greatly against (d) it ’.

Now, the double portion was not the only right of the first born, as Mr. *Locke* (e) pretends: for, we find, (as bishop *Babington* has justly observ’d,) that ‘ the preheminance of the birth-right was this; *Habebant jus sacerdotii & regni in familia*. They were priests and kings in the family, after the father’s death: they had a preheminance above the rest, in the division of the father’s inheritance:—they succeeded the father in all dignity, principality, and honour: they had authority over their younger brethren, so that they rose up at their presence, and minister’d to (f) them ’, &c. All which is confess’d even by Mr. *Fleming*, who ‘ pretends to give us a more full and exact enumeration of the advantages and prerogatives included in the patriarchal blessing of those on whom the birth-right was fully conferr’d, than has yet been done by any (g) other ’.

K 2

As

(a) *Fleming's* hist. of hered. right, p. 24. (b) *Ibid.* p. 28.
 (c) *Whiston's* script. polit. p. 8. (d) *Ibid.* p. 16. (e) *Locke*
 of government, p. 148. (f) *Babington's* works, fol. 109.
 (g) *Flem.* hered. right, p. 29.

As to Kings, more particularly, the *Lord foreseeing*, ‘that the *Jews* would in time grow weary of his Government, makes provision in their law for setting up a (a) King’: where we may note, that he *prefers* kingly government before any other; because he did not make provision for aristocracy, or democracy, or any other form (which their law makes no allowance (b) for), but monarchy only. Nor did he suffer the people to meddle, or concern themselves at all in the election; but reserv’d the choice thereof wholly to himself, as his own prerogative, and commanded them to submit themselves therein only to his divine appointment: saying, *When thou art come unto the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee, and shalt possess it, and shalt dwell therein, and shalt say, I will set a King over me, like as all the nations that are about me; thou shalt in any wise set him King over thee, whom the Lord thy God shall chuse; one from among thy brethren shalt thou set King over thee; thou mayst not set a stranger over thee, which is not thy (c) brother.* This plain text a preacher, before quoted, confidently refers to, to prove, that God ‘left the people free to chuse any one from among themselves to be their (d) King’. From whence he draws some conclusions as precarious, as his premises are evidently false. For here they are expressly bound to set up (or recognize) him whom the Lord himself should chuse.

After

(a) *Sherl.* case of resist. p. 21. (b) *Ibid.* (c) *Deut.* xvii.

14. (d) *J. Wright's* serm. at *Ailsb.* 15 Mar. 1719. p. 9.

After which he lays down some (*a*) rules for their King to observe; *to the end, that he may prolong his days in his kingdom, he, and his children, in the midst of (b) Israel.* ‘By which words God plainly exprefs’d, what good will be had for a kingdom, and that an hereditary one, and for the right possessor of it and his heirs, and how advantageous the continuance thereof would be to the (*c*) people’. And further, (as the same author doth well) ‘by the way, observe, it is not said, thou shalt set under, but over; and the people are here spoken of in the singular number, as one congregate body; so that the King — was to be to the whole imbodyed society, not an inferior minister, but a superior *d* magistrate’; manifestly contrary to that false maxim of our popular demagogues, that the King is *singulis major, universis minor!*

And, here also we may perceive an evident distinction made between chusing a King, which God reserves to himself, and setting up a King over the people when so chosen: which latter power the children of *Israel* had indeed, but not the former; it being God’s sole prerogative *eligere,*

(*a*) Particularly against *standing armies, arbitrary taxes, &c.* as ’tis explain’d by Mr. *Blakeway*, serm. 1715, p. 8. (*b*) *Deut.* xvii. 20. (*c*) *Giffard’s* serm. at *Northamp.* 1 Mar. 1680, p. 27. Where he mentions a received tradition of the *Jews*, ‘that of three commands, which God gave the people of *Israel* to execute, as soon as they were well settled in the land of *Canaan*, this was the first, that they should set a King over them’. (*d*) *Ibid.* p. 26.

gere, the people's duty *recognoscere*. And this distinction is clearly expounded by the judicious *Hooker*; some of whose words may not be improper to be here inserted. 'Heaps of scriptures (saith he) are selected, concerning the solemn coronation or inauguration of *Saul, David, Solomon* and others, by nobles, ancients, and the people of the commonwealth of *Israel*; as if these solemnities were a kind of deed, whereby the right of dominion is given. Which strange, untrue, and unnatural conceits are set abroad by seed-men of rebellion, only to animate unquiet spirits, and to feed them with possibilities of aspiring unto the thrones, if they can win the hearts of the people, whatsoever hereditary title any other before them may have. I say, these unjust and insolent positions I would not mention, were it not thereby to make the countenance of truth more orient. For unless we will openly proclaim defiance unto all law, equity, and reason, we must (for there is no other remedy) acknowledge, that in kingdoms hereditary, birth giveth right unto sovereign dominion, and the death of the predecessor putteth the successor by blood in seisin; those publick solemnities before mentioned, do either serve for an open testification of the inheritor's right, or belong to the form of inducing of him into possession of that thing he hath right unto. Therefore, in case it does happen, that, without right of blood, a man, in such wise be possessed, all these new elections, and investings

are

‘ are utterly void ; they make him no indefea-
 ‘ sible estate, the inheritor by blood may dis-
 ‘ possess him as an (a) usurper’.

This *valuable authority* I quote the rather, be-
 cause it is own’d to be so, by no less a man than
 Sir *George Treby* ; who justly calls Mr. *Hooker*
 ‘ one of the best men, the best church-men, and
 ‘ the most learned of our nation in his (b) time’ :
 and this very passage (amongst others) was open-
 ly given in evidence, by the learned (c) mana-
 gers in our days, before the highest judicature
 then in our nation. So that this distinction being
 well observ’d, will help us the better to under-
 stand the scripture-phrase concerning the institu-
 tion of Kings. For, tho’ we do sometimes read,
 that the people made such an one King, we must
 not apprehend, that they were the original of
 regal power, or that the kingdom was elective ;
 but only that they own’d or recogniz’d, and
 anointed (d) him as a King of God’s making ; for
 so were *Saul*, *David*, and *Solomon* expressly set
 over them. But when that immediate designa-
 tion of their Kings from God himself was to cease,
 and the kingly government settled in the house
 of *Judab*, according to *Jacob’s* prophecy (e), then
 was the kingdom to become hereditary ; as ap-
 pears from the before cited (f) conclusion of those
 provisional precepts for the King that should be
 set

(a) *Hooker’s eccles. pol.* B. viii. (b) In the debate about *ab-*
dicaton, 1688. (c) *Sachev. trial*, fol. 159, 160. (d) *Sel-*
den’s works, tom. iii. col. 234, 235. (e) *Gen.* xlix, 10. (f)
viz. in p. 69.

set over them. Agreeable to which is that observation of the *Jews*, that ‘it was necessary to anoint the first of a family that was advanced to a kingdom; but it was not necessary to anoint his children that succeeded him’ (a): that is to say, unless there arose a competition for the crown (as in the cases of *Solomon* and *Adonijah*, *Joash* and *Athaliah*.) For ‘the eldest son of the predecessor was afterward the chosen of the Lord: his birth-right spake the Lord’s appointment, as plainly as his forefather’s unction had done, and invested him with the title of the Lord’s anointed; as we may see in *Josiah* and *Hezekiah*, and the other Kings of (b) *Judah*’.

Thus much of the laws of God, pronounc’d, and recorded by *Moses*. And we do accordingly find, that in all the regular successions, as well among God’s people, as among the nations, the royal dignity descended by priority of birth and proximity of blood, according to the law of nature: except only in cases, where the lineal succession was interrupted by the express appointment and revelation of God himself; for otherwise it was disown’d by God as a violation of his laws, and no other than a meer usurpation; as will be seen in the proper places. But I must not here conceal what contempt this doctrine is treated with, by certain moderns; calling it ‘a new invention of some modern (c) casuists! a slavish (d) doctrine! contrary to (e) scripture! absurd
‘ and

(a) *Patrick* on 1 *Sam.* xvi. 12. (b) *Edw. Symmons’s* loyal subject, 1643, p. 6. (c) *Lovel’s* ferm. 15 *Nov.* 1715, p. 24. (d) *Ibid.* p. 31. (e) *Ibid.* p. 26.

‘ and (a) ridiculous! magical terms and (b) distinctions! groundless and (c) chymical! a plain opposition to scripture, reason, the laws and history of our own and all other (d) nations’! &c. These, and many more such like, are words of great sound: and perhaps it might be as dangerous, for a person of ordinary abilities, to engage in close controversy, with men of such universal knowledge, as it would be to take up the champions glove at a coronation! I shall beg leave therefore only to give my reader the words of an orator of no mean note, in a sermon preach’d (not many years ago) before the university of *Cambridge*, and publish’d by authority. ‘ The chiefest arguments which I have hitherto met with, for excluding a popish successor, on the account of his religion, are stolen out of *Doleman* the Jesuit; which book was written designedly to hinder King *James*, a protestant successor’s coming to the crown. *Fletere si nequeunt superos!* And I do here publicly declare, what was always my judgment, that I do believe, no human acts or power in the world can, *de jure*, hinder the descent of the crown upon the next heir of the blood, which is his unalterable right by religion, law, history, and (e) reason’.

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As

(a) *Lovel's* serm. 5 Nov. 1715, p. 27. (b) *Ibid.* p. 6.
 (c) *Blakeway's* serm. 1715, p. 31. (d) *Ibid.* (e) *Dr. Miles Barne's* serm. 9. Septem. 1683, p. 18. It seems our *bishops*, &c. were of the same opinion in these days: but now 'tis otherwise.

As to what Mr. *Whiston* affirms of the appointment of the *seventy elders* or *magistrates*, that ‘it was done by the free choice of the people’, (a) &c. his own book may confute him; where he acknowledges, that it was neither done by the authority of the people, nor of *Jethro*, nor of *Moses*: but ‘when *Jethro* advised *Moses* to make judges, it was only on supposition, that God should command him (b, accordingly’. Nay, and the very texts too which himself has quoted in the margin, to make good his assertion, do, indeed, prove the quite contrary. For, as it was *Jethro*’s advice to *Moses*; *Thou shalt provide out of all the people able men — and place such over them* (c) &c. so we read, that it was not the people, but *Moses* chose — *and made them heads* &c. that the Lord commanded him to make the election, and he made it accordingly: and all that the people did, or were requir’d to do, was to *sanctify themselves* against the day that was appointed, for *Moses* to make the election, as the Lord had commanded (d) him. And what if ‘here no right of families, or of primogeniture, can be at all (e) pretended’? Was the hereditary succession of inferior magistrates ever contended for? and these ’tis plain were no other; for the supreme power remain’d still in *Moses*;

to

(a) *Whist.* script. polit. p. 17. (b) *Ibid.* p. 2. (c) *Exod.* xviii. 21. (d) — vers. 25, 26. *Numb.* xi. 16, &c. *Deuter.* i. 13, 15. — xvi. 18. (e) *Whist.* script. polit. p. 17.

to whom the final appeal lay in all great matters (a).

§ XXIV. BUT *Moses*, being forewarn'd of his death, and in his wisdom foresee-
Joshua.
 ing, that these elders, or magistrates, tho' there were seventy of them, could not be able to go thorow with the great work, nor retain the people in due obedience, without the support of a supreme governor, presented this petition to the Lord, to set a man over the congregation, which may go out before them, and which may go in before them, and which may lead them out, and which may bring them in; that the congregation of the Lord be not as sheep which have no (b) shepherd. And thereupon the Lord appointed *Joshua* to succeed him: not by any choice or nomination of the people, but upon the immediate designation of the Lord himself, and by the mediate authority of *Moses*; whom the Lord commanded to lay his hand upon him, and to give him a charge; and to put some of his honour upon him, that all the congregation of the children of Israel might be obedient (c). And so far were the people then, from claiming it as their right, by any pretence of an original contract, to chuse their own rulers, or to cramp their authority with limitations, that we find them ready to hearken unto him, and to do as the Lord commanded (d) *Moses*. Nor did they content themselves, with promising an absolute and unconditional obedience to his commands in all

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things,

(a) *Exod.* xviii. 22, 26. (b) *Numb.* xxvii. 16, 17. (c) —
 vers. 18. (d) *Deut.* xxxiv. 9.

things, but further declar'd, that they would put to death whosoever should rebel against his commandment, and would not hearken unto his words, in all that he commanded (a). And all this was soon after ratified by the Lord himself, when he magnified Joshua in the sight of all Israel, and they feared him, as they feared Moses, all the days of his life (b).

But there soon happen'd a remarkable incident, which well deserves a place here. After Joshua had taken possession of the promised land, and dismiss'd the Reubenites, Gadites, and the half tribe of Manasseh, to their proper inheritance on this side of Jordan, they, at their passage, erected an (c) altar, only as a memorial of their relation to the other tribes, and of their equal right to the worship of the Lord at Shiloh on the other side. But this appearance of a new altar seeming to betoken a new religion, and a separation from the tabernacle set up (d) at Shiloh, justly alarm'd Joshua, and the whole congregation; who thereupon immediately prepar'd to go up to war against the supposed schismatics: But first they prudently sent an honourable embassy, to expostulate with their brethren, concerning the sin and danger

(a) *Josh.* i. 16. Upon which a learned bishop judiciously observes, that 'this was an absolute government, and tho' martial, yet most excellent, to keep the people within the bounds of their obedience; — who, daring not to stir under rigid tyrants, do kick with their heels against the most pious princes'. Bishop *Griff. Williams's* rights of Kings, &c. fol. 18. (b) *Josh.* iv. 14. (c) — xxii. (d) — xviii. 1.

danger of separation : upon which the suspected party, knowing themselves to be subjects to *Joshua*, (whom therefore they could not lawfully resist) they first fairly set forth the justice of their cause to his ambassadors, and then made their humble appeal upon it to God. They did not undutifully resent the groundless imputation ; and fly in the face of their sovereign, to complain of the pretended breach of privilege, and to demand reparation for their injur'd honour ! much less did they presume to lift up their hands against his lawful authority, even in such a clear case of self-defence ; tho' they might have fairly made that plea, and were strong enough (by situation and otherwise) to have forcibly maintain'd it. But their hands were only lifted up to heaven, and their only arms were prayers and tears, for the proof of their innocence, and protection against hasty violence. And thus it pleas'd God, that the truth was manifested, the innocent clear'd, and their brethren satisfied, to their mutual comfort : whereas, had they been acted by modern politicks, there had probably as fatal a separation happen'd then, as did afterwards under the conduct of *Jeroboam*.

And, as the people had no authoritative hand in the advancement of *Joshua* ; so neither did they presume to set up any successor after his death ; tho' they had their *Sanhedrim* (or parliament, as some are pleas'd to call it,) then sitting : but, finding that it did not belong to them to chuse themselves a King, or supreme governor,
they

they ask'd the Lord, saying, *Who shall go up for us against the Canaanite first, to fight against (a) them? and the Lord (b) appointed the tribe of Judah, in which the kingdom was afterwards to be establish'd. But now, when they had not, for some time, any one civil magistrate, supreme over all the tribes, every several tribe seems to be left under the particular government of its proper chief, as the hereditary princes (c) or heads of their respective tribes: for this government was originally patriarchal, and descended by primogeniture, as hath been shew'd at large. But the common principle of unity amongst all the tribes was the high-priest; who was likewise hereditary from Aaron, and was the ultimate judge of all (d) controversies, even in civil and criminal affairs, till another judge was rais'd up for that purpose by the Lord. Yea, and even then too, the authority of the high-priest was, in many respects, superior to that of the judge himself: as appears in the case of Eleazer and Joshua; where Joshua himself was commanded to go out, and to come in, according to the direction of the high-priest, after the judgment of Urim before the (e) Lord. In short, during this interval, there was one hereditary prince over every tribe, and one hereditary high-priest over them all, to determine*

(a) *Judg.* i. 1. (b) — *vers.* 2. And so he did again, on a like occasion, against *Benjamin.* — *xx.* 18. (c) *Numb.* i. 16, 20, &c. — *vii.* 2. — *xxxiv.* 18, 22, &c. *1 Chron.* xxvii. 16, 22, &c. (d) *Deut.* xvii. 8, &c. (e) *Numb.* xxvii.

termine differences among them, or any case too hard for the princes: but, upon emergent occasions, God, who was immediately their King, in this *theocracy* (as 'tis therefore call'd,) took care of them, and rais'd up deliverers for them; as will appear presently. If this scheme be objected to, by the popular advocates, as inconclusive, let them prove a better. Sure I am, that if they contend for a perfect parity among the several tribes, without any control, 'twill rather leave us room to conclude, from what follows, that God gave his people a taste of the miseries naturally attending such a state of anarchy (tho' they give it the name of a common-wealth!) that they might be the more desirous of, and the more sensible of their future happiness under, monarchical government, which he had, from the beginning, resolv'd to bless them with. Thus, whereas, afterwards, under their lawful monarchs, they were always superior to their enemies, till such time, as, by their repeated sins, they had provok'd God to cast them off; here we see the several tribes fighting with different fortune; some conquering, and others conquered. For, *after that the Lord had given rest unto Israel from all their enemies (a) &c.* they (through a fatal oblivion!) suffering themselves to be drawn in, first to tolerate, and then to unite and incorporate themselves with, the people of the nations, *the Lord left those who remain'd, to be snares and traps unto them,*
and

(a) *Jesh.* xxiii. 1.

and scourges in their sides, and thorns in their eyes, until they perish'd from off the land (a) &c. that through them he might prove Israel, whether they would keep the way of the Lord, to walk therein, (b) &c.

Thus we read, that no sooner were *Joshua* and the elders dead, who had seen all the great works of the Lord in former days, but the next generation forsook the Lord God of their fathers, and join'd themselves to the heathens and their idols (c): whereby having, as it were, put themselves out of the Lord's protection, he delivered them into the hands of spoilers, that spoiled them, and exposed them to the mercy of foreign tyrants! civil wars! and all the other mischiefs and disorders consequent upon irreligion and anarchy (d)! and yet they were not quite destitute of government (as before is observ'd): for zealous *Phineas* stood before the ark, as high-priest, in those days; and there were the elders of the congregation, to govern them in the (e) commonwealth. Notwithstanding which, they are said, to have 'found themselves in a state of nature (or rather unnatural confusion) where will and power were the only measure of their actions: (and all this) because they had no King, no supreme magistrate in (f) Israel'. They wanted a monarch still, *the breath of their nostrils* (g), without whom they had,

(a) *Josh.* xxiii. 13. (b) *Judg.* ii. 23. (c) — ii. 8, &c.
 (d) — ii. 14. — iii. 8, 12. — iv. 2. — vi. 1. — x. 7, 9.
 — xiii. 1. (e) *Judg.* xx. 28. — xxi. 16. (f) Bishop *Chandler's* ferm. 30 *Jan.* 1717, p. 7. (g) *Lament.* iv. 20.

had, as it were, *neither life nor (a) soul!* For so it is, that, after the repetition of their sins and sufferings, we are usually told (as a reason thereof, that, *in those days there was no King in Israel, but every man did that which was right in his own eyes (b !* that is to say, they all acted without any law, and did what they would without controul. This is clearly exemplified in the theft and idolatry of (c) *Micah*; the rapines and idolatry also of the d) *Danites*; the bestialities of the men of (e) *Gibeah*; and the bloody civil wars which arose thereupon between the *Benjamites* and their (f) brethren: all which enormities the Holy Ghost imputeth to the want of a King and regal government; for, as a learned gentleman observes, ‘it seems, no government but the government of a King, in the judgment of the scriptures, could restrain men from doing what they g listed’. And yet we have heard even this very state of anarchy call’d *the felicity of those b times!* and the people, who liv’d under it, *as free a people as ever liv’d in the (i world!* But ’tis the less to be wonder’d at, in such men as these, when a person of a much higher station was not ashamed to tell the world, that he *always reckon’d those eight years (of the Oliverian usurpation in Scotland a time of*

M

great

(a) *Cujus xuu, quasi anima & mente regeantur.* Luc. Flor. l. 4. c. 3 (b) *Judg.* xvii. 6. — xviii. 1. — xix. 1. — xxi. 25. (c) *Judg.* xvii. (d) — xviii. (e) — xix. (f) — xx. (g) *Filmer’s observ. on Aristot. polit. pref.* (h) *Bradbury, 5 Nov. 1711, p. 30.* (i) *J. Wright’s serm. at Aylesb. 15 Mar. 1719, p. 8.*

great peace and (a) prosperity! By this however we may see what sort of freedom and liberty such people clamour so much for: but, 'tis no argument of their being the *Lord's prophets* who cry *peace, peace, when there is no (b) peace*; but rather the contrary: since one, who was undoubtedly inspired, speaks of such a state, as an heavy judgment; saying, in the person of the *Israelites*, — *We have no King, because we feared not the (c) Lord.*

Judges. § XXV. Nevertheless, amidst all their oppressions, no sooner did they become sensible of their apostacy, and turn unto the Lord, but *he raised up judges, which delivered them out of the hand of those that spoiled (d) them.*

Othniel. Thus *Othniel* was rais'd up, by the Lord, to deliver them out of the hand of a foreign (e) tyrant, who had been permitted to enslave them *eight* years.

After his death, being again without a governor, their relapse into sin provok'd the Lord, to suffer another foreign tyrant, to enslave them *eighteen* years: but, upon their repentance, the Lord rais'd up *Ehud*, who kill'd the tyrant in cold (f) blood. Which act (however extraordinary it may seem) is justified by all writers: not only, because *Ehud* had that express appointment and commission from the Lord, to deliver his people, but because *Eglon* was a foreigner

(a) *Burnet's history of his own Times*, fol. 61. (b) *Jerem.* vi. 14. — viii. 11. (c) *Hof.* x. 3. (d) *Judg.* ii. 16. (e) — iii. 8, 9. (f) *Judg.* iii. 1., &c.

ranniz'd over them seven years (a), till
 Gideon. *Gideon* was rais'd up by the Lord, to deliver them. And yet, tho' they cry'd unto the (b) Lord against their oppressors, they were so far from being ready as they ought) to assist towards their own deliverance, that they would have put *Gideon* to death, because he had cast down the altar of Baal, and cut down the grove that was by it (c). And so they were equally stupid afterwards, in the case of *Sampson*; as shall be shewn in its proper place. However, after *Gideon* had deliver'd them from their enemies, and put several of those foreign tyrants to death, the *Israelites* offer'd to him, and his heirs, an act of settlement (d) of the sovereignty over them; saying, *Rule thou over us, both thou, and thy son, and thy son's son* (e) also: But he utterly refus'd to accept thereof: not as Mr *Whiston* supposes 'as being 'inconsistent with the present (f) theocracy?; for he was sensible, that kingly government had been promis'd the *Israelites*, as one of their greatest blessings, and provided for them by God himself, against such time as they should be settled in the promised land (g); but because he had no warrant for it in the law, nor any particular revelation from the Lord; without one of which, he knew, the peoples election or consent could give him no right or title. He might, 'tis true, have

(a) *Judg.* vi. 11. (b) ——— vers. 6. (c) ——— vers. 30.

(d) *Morer's* serm 29 May, 1699, p. 15. (e) *Judg.* viii. 22.

(f) *Script. polit.* p. 23. (g) *Gen.* xvii. 6, 16. — xiii. 10.

Deut. xvii. 14.

have pleaded providence, and the people's submission (as others have done since): but he was too good a man, so to belie God's providence; being sensible, that such foundations, alone, are too sandy to build a lawful government upon, without either a legal title, or else an express and manifest revelation from heaven in his favour; according to Mr. *Whiston's* own confession above taken notice of (a).

Nevertheless, after his death, *Abimelech* (his bastard son) taking occasion from that offer of the people to his father, by means of divers popular arguments drawn from that stale pretence of the publick good, usurped the government as King: where the very argument which he made use of to influence them, shews plainly that monarchy was generally esteem'd more beneficial to the people, than either democracy or aristocracy; *Whether is better for you* (says he,) *either that all the sons of Jerubbaal* (which are threescore and ten persons) *reign over you, or that one reign over* (b) *you?* And this inclin'd their hearts to follow him: so that, having been furnish'd with money underhand, he therewith hired vain and light persons (or, as they are call'd in the margin of the old translation, *idle fellows and vagabonds*) which followed him (c); by the help of which mercenary wretches, (the most usual followers of such a mock-prince!) he strengthen'd himself, so as to be able to suppress an insurrection made against him

(a) Page 7. (b) *Judg.* ix. 2, 3. (c) — *vers.* 4.

him (a). And having put to death all the other pretenders (whose prior rights, by birth, he was jealous of) except one who had happily escap'd (b), the usurper vainly fancy'd himself to be thoroughly settled, and thereby to have acquir'd a right to the crown, 'ruling all things according to his lust, and (as is usual with such as come unjustly by the power) neglecting the ordinances and prescript of the law, and hating all those that in any sort were maintainers of (c) equity'. But when all human means seem'd to fail, the Lord (who 'will never want means and methods to make those who forget him return to themselves and to remember (d) him') had instruments, unthought of, to execute his divine vengeance against him, and his followers; first sending an evil (e) spirit (that is, the spirit of discord, or the devil, whom he permitted to go as his instrument of vengeance) between him, and those who had assisted him in his usurpation, and, at last, beating out his brains, by the hands of a weak woman, after he had acted the King *three years* (f). Thus (as one of our commentators observes) 'we see, that the union among wicked men, founded in sin, continueth not, but soon breaketh out, through God's just judgment, into most deadly enmity: and again, that the most wicked may prevail in their wars for a time,

' as

(a) *Judg.* ix. 34, &c. (b) — vers. 5, &c. (c) *Joseph.* lib. v. cap. 9. (d) *Burn.* serm. 23 *Decem.* 1688, p. 32. (e) *Judg.* ix. 23. (f) — vers. 22, and 53.

as did *Abimelech*, for the punishment of other wicked; themselves receiving their just reward e'er long, as he also (*a*) did'. And 'tis a just remark of a learned divine, that 'wheresoever the scriptures mention the constitution of a King after this manner, — they likewise record not only the frustrations of the people's endeavours, but also that they were frustrated by some heavy and sudden judgments from God, both upon the usurper (whereby he was degraded from his undue honour,) and the people who presumed to confer that honour upon him without a warrant from God, and so, by that means, to obtrude a deputy upon God, of their own, and not of God's (*b*) election'. Which is enough to expose the unwarrantableness of such men's reasonings, as 'suppose it more than possible, that a people may bind themselves, and convey the sovereignty over them, to a person or family, expressly and by name: which bond or conveyance ratified by publick faith, contract and agreement, they look upon to be forthwith sacred and inviolable, and a title not inferior to an immediate nomination from (*c*) heaven' &c.

But Mr. *Whiston*, after this manner, would insinuate, from *Abimelech's* courting the people to elect him, that 'that method of free election, was the then solemn known way of obtaining
' secular

(*a*) Dr. Mayer. (*b*) *Hudson* of gover. p. 114. (*c*) *Garmsh.* ferm. 7 June, 1716, p. 6.

‘secular dominion in the world’ (a): but he does not observe, that, in the very offer, which the same people had newly before made to *Gideon*, they expressly acknowledge the natural right of hereditary succession; saying, *rule thou over us, both thou, and thy son, and thy son’s son*. Where they plainly intimate, that if the father were once lawfully their King, the sons, and other descendants, would expect to succeed of course, without any other title, than that of their birth: for it was the father only, to whom they were personally oblig’d, for their deliverance from the hand of *Midian*. Neither is it strange, that one who had no other means of gratifying his unjust ambition, than by cajoling the mutinous populace, should encourage them to believe and assert more power than they truly had, when he knew, that whatever extraordinary use they should make thereof, it would the better answer his own end: as if he had said to them, *I, and my followers, will invest you, in your Sanhedrim, with the pretended power to make a King, that I myself may be the man!* However, were it as he supposes, I wonder what use our author could make of it, or how he can be consistent with himself, when, at the same time, he tells us, ‘that yet, the exercise of this
‘power by the people, when done upon foolish
‘motives, contrary to other obligations, and
‘accompanied with blood and violence, may be
‘highly criminal before *God*, and bring down
‘severe

(a) *Welf. Script. folit. p. 23.*

‘ severe judgments from (a) him’! But I shall not insist upon his inconsistencies. ’Tis enough for me that our popular advocates can have little reason to triumph in this case: since, whatever power the people presum’d to take to themselves, in order to the setting up of *Abimelech*, ’tis plain, it turned both to his ruin and their destruction; and (I have the authority of a convocation to say,) that ‘ if any man shall affirm — that the ‘ fact of the *Sichemites* may lawfully be imitated ‘ by any christian people, &c. he doth greatly ‘ (b) err’.

Here I cannot omit the parable of *Jotham*, whereby he endeavoured to open the eyes of the deluded people, and to alienate their affections from the usurper; letting them know, ‘ that those ‘ who were virtuous, and whom reason and religion had taught the safe and happy estate of moderate subjection, had refused to receive, as ‘ unlawful, what others had no power to give, ‘ without direction from the King of Kings; who ‘ from the beginning (as to his own peculiar people) had appointed them, by whom and how ‘ to be govern’d. This he taught them by the ‘ *olive*, which contented it self with its fatness, ‘ the *fig-tree* with its sweetness, and the *vine* with ‘ the good juice it had: the *bramble* only, who ‘ was most base, cut down all the rest, and accepted the sovereignty. He also foretold them, ‘ by a prophetick spirit, what should befall them

N in

(a) *Whist.* script. pol. p. 23, 24. (b) Bp. *Overal's* convoc. book, lib. i. cap. 13.

‘ in the end, and how a fire should come out of
 ‘ the *bramble*, and consume the *cedars of Lebanon*
 ‘ *non*’ (a); signifying, that not only the common
 people should be destroy’d by that upstart, but
 the nobles also who had a hand in raising him to
 his unjust power. But these being truths too
 plain to be told in such times, no sooner had
Jotham ended his *parable*, but he *ran away, and*
fled for fear of (b) *Abimelech*.

After several other vicissitudes of *sinning* and
deliverance (c), and *sinning* again, it pleas’d the
 Lord at length to deliver his people *into the hand*
of the Philistines forty (d) *years*. But, the Lord
Sampson having foretold, that *Sampson* was to *be-*
gin to deliver Israel out of their (e) *hand*,
 and he beginning to act accordingly, tho’ it was
 their duty, as well as interest, to embrace all
 occasions, and use all lawful means, to free them-
 selves from the foreign yoke, under which they
 groan’d: yet they basely resolv’d, and chose to
bind and betray their brother into the hands of
 his and their mortal enemies, the *Philistines*, who
 oppress’d them, rather than contribute to their
 own deliverance, by embracing the opportunity
 and means that God had put into their hands!
 And all this too, upon a most false, as well as
 slavish principle: *Knowest thou not* (say they)
that the Philistines are rulers over us? What is this
that

a) *Judg.* 7 and Sir *Walt. Raleigh*, fol. 366. (b) *Judg.* ix. 21.
 (c) *Viz.* by *Tola*, *Fair*, *Jephthah*, *Ibzan*, *Elon*, *Abdon*; of whom
 mention is made in *Judges* x, xi and xii. (d) *Judg.* xiii. 1.
 (e) ——— vers. 5.

that thou hast done unto us (a)? As if the bare possession of the power could have given the *Philistines* a right to the dominion over them! Whereas, they could not but know, that, by their law, no foreign power could have any right thereto: and therefore that the bare possession of such power, without a particular revelation from God, clearly prov'd in its favour, could be nothing but a downright usurpation; and consequently was of no manner of obligation upon their consciences, but to be remov'd, as soon as they possibly could do it.

'Tis true, some may say, that the success which the *Philistines* had against *Israel* was 'an evidence of God's giving them a right of dominion, and an earnest of God's good will to them! That God's hand, and visible marks of his providence were in it! That it was the Lord's doing!' &c. For thus, when our *Israel* was under the dominion of modern *Philistines*, and our rightful and lawful King driven by unnatural rebels and regicides, to seek his bread in exile, and even there too *hunted like a partridge in the mountains (b)*; when our inheritance was turn'd to strangers, our houses to aliens! our necks were under persecution! servants ruled over us, and there was none (in human view) to deliver us out of their hands! (c) &c. Then (I say) did those false prophets, most audaciously blaspheme the

N 2

Lord

(a) *Judg.* xv. 11.
merit v. ———

(b) 1 *Sam.* xxvi. 20.

(c) *Lam.*

Lord of Hosts; stiling their successes against his anointed. — ‘The glorious accomplishment of their prayers! — God’s sentence after solemn (a) appeals! — The salvation of God! — The deliverance of our laws, and liberties, and birth-rights! — (and, in short) the greatest demonstration of grace, that ever heaven made, to any of the sons or daughters of men, next to the redemption of lost man through *Christ*!’ (b) To such an high degree of blasphemy do men gradually arise, when once they prostitute their pens for gain, and let out their tongues for hire (c)! But alas! ‘whither will men wander, when they seek to defend what themselves know to be wicked! when they give themselves up to the drudgery of writing for a party, which they must
‘ sup-

(a) What presumptuous application has been made of such appeals, we may learn (amongst others) from a late reverend divine, who informs us, that the preachers under the command of the rebel *Monmouth*, had the impudence to *appeal to heaven for the justice of their arms, and to challenge God to decide for them in the day of battle.* *Cha. Hutson’s serm. 26 July, 1686, p. 2.* And his censure of them for it is very just; *viz.* ‘They invaded our land, and made war upon their lawful prince, and so were rebels; they traduc’d his royal person and government, and so were slanderers; they deceiv’d the people with innumerable false stories and legendary tales, and so were liars; they robb’d and plunder’d their fellow subjects of their proper goods, and so were thieves; and lastly they imbrued their hands in their brethren’s blood, and so were murderers’. *&c. ibid. p. 13.* (b) *Speed’s* thanksg. serm. at *Bristol*, 24 Oct. 1651, (for the defeat of the King at *Worcester*) p. 1. (c) *Mic. iii. 11.* Bishop *Burnet* truly says, that *prayers* (or thanksgivings) *are an impious profanation of the name of God, if that for which we (pray or) bl. ss God be unlawful.* *Serm. at Salisb. 5 Nov. 1710, p. 12.*

‘ support right or wrong! when they have no
‘ principles left, but to serve present turns’! Then
with a most wicked design to make rebellion
seem meritorious, were good names put upon
the most damnable actions: as resistance of law-
ful authority was the distinguishing note of elec-
tion, whilst obedience for conscience sake was a
certain mark of reprobation! to be peaceable
and loyal was an unpardonable crime, whilst to
be seditious and rebellious was a cardinal virtue!
to fight against the King was fighting the Lord’s
battles! murdering bishops was the destruction
of *anticrist*! pulling down churches was refor-
mation from popery! plundering the royalists
was spoiling the *Egyptians*! sequestering men’s
estates was doing themselves justice, (they being
the faints, and the earth was theirs, with the ful-
ness thereof!) and *binding their King in chains, and
their nobles in links of iron* was *helping the Lord
against the mighty* &c. ‘ For by this time the flat-
‘ terers of that great tyrant had learned, by a
‘ new device, upon the bare account of provi-
‘ dence, without respect to the justice of the title
‘ (the only right and proper foundation,) to in-
‘ terpret and apply to his advantage whatsoever
‘ they found, either in the scriptures or in other
‘ writings, deliver’d concerning the power of
‘ princes or the duty of subjects; profanely and
‘ sacrilegiously taking the name of that holy
‘ providence of God in vain, and using it only
‘ as a stalking-horse, to serve the lusts and inte-
‘ rests

‘ rests of ambitious (a) men’. So that it was no improper allusion of a late witty author, who compares those preachers to *poppets*, who ‘ signified nothing of themselves, but as they were ‘ guided by the masters of the machine, from ‘ under the stage, or behind the (b) hanging’! And if Mr. *Bradbury* had made an application to such preachers (of his own stamp,) and to such times as these here before us, he might with some propriety, have harangu’d against a *standing army*, and a *fawning (c) clergy!* for never could that epithet be more suitably apply’d, than to such a pack of men; whose scandalous perversions of holy scripture I should not have taken this notice of here, had we not seen the like adopted and propagated, by some who would be thought *golden (d) candlesticks* in the *church of Christ!* which brings to my mind a just reflection of a noble author, that ‘ if the person and the place ‘ can improve and aggravate the offence, (as ‘ without doubt it doth both before God and man,) ‘ methinks the preaching treason and rebellion ‘ out of the pulpits, should be worse than the advancing it in the market; as much as poisoning ‘ a man at the communion, would be worse than ‘ murdering him at a tavern. And, it may be,

‘ in

(a) *Sanders*. pref. to *Usher*, p. 5, 6. (b) *L’Estrange’s* season. memor. 1680, p. 11. (c) *Bradb.* serm. 5 *Nov.* 1711, p. 23. (d) Dr. *Innes* observes, what a misfortune it is, that the *unguarded indulgence of the church (too prodigal of her favours) induces her sometimes to confer eminent and sacred characters undeservedly upon men!* Sermon. 2 *June*, 1717, p. 13.

‘ in that catalogue of sins, which the zeal of some
 ‘ men hath thought to be the sin against the Ho-
 ‘ ly Ghost, there may not any one be more rea-
 ‘ sonably thought to be such, than a minister of
 ‘ Christ turning rebel against his prince, (which
 ‘ is a most notorious apostacy against his order)
 ‘ and his preaching rebellion to the people as the
 ‘ doctrine of Christ; which adding blasphemy
 ‘ and pertinacy to his apostacy, hath all the marks
 ‘ by which good men are taught to avoid that
 ‘ sin against the Holy (a) Ghost!’

And here, by the way, it may be proper to
 shew the notorious fallacy of judging of any cause
 from its success. For, as misfortune is no cer-
 tain proof of a bad cause; so neither is success
 a proof of a good one. ‘ For those who have
 ‘ a very just cause may deserve to be punish’d; and
 ‘ then God may justly punish them, and deliver
 ‘ them into the hands of their enemies. God
 ‘ does not always determine what is right and
 ‘ wrong by the events of war: for he is the sove-
 ‘ reign judge of the world, and may punish a
 ‘ wicked nation by unjust oppressors; as he often
 ‘ did the (a) *Israelites*’. And, even in this very
 book of *Judges*, we find a remarkable instance
 to the purpose, in the two defeats which the chil-
 dren of *Benjamin* gave the rest of the tribes of
Israel; where the just cause suffer’d the loss of
forty thousand Israelites, and was not attended with
 success

(a) *Clarend. hist.* vol. ii. fol. 17, 18, 19. (b) *Sherl. serm.*
 17 *June*, 1691, p. 25.

success till the third (a) attack. And indeed, the whole book of *Judges* is nothing else but a series of histories to this purpose, to shew us, that conquest, and possession, and success alone, never gave any of the foreign princes a right to the dominion over *Israel*: but that still, in due time, God himself provided deliverers, to destroy the usurpers (whom he had permitted for a while, to tyrannize over his people, for their sins,) and to restore them to their just rights upon their repentance. And is not here a plain distinction, between the providence of God and his permission, that whereas, in judgment he permitted their neighbours to spoil them, in his Mercy he provided deliverers, to rescue them out of their hands?

'Tis true, among these judges, there was no such thing as any hereditary descent or succession, by birth-right: nor was it necessary, since God, who was himself their King, rais'd up whom he thought fit, as vice-roys, magistrates, and officers under him, upon extraordinary occasions; letting them, between whiles, feel the miseries of an *Inter-regnum*, which never happens in hereditary governments. And it is further remarkable, that as God always punish'd their sins by foreign (b) instruments, so, whenever he was pleas'd to deliver them, it was still by the means of some
one

(a) *Judg.* xx. 18, &c. (b) On this account I suppose it was, that bishop *Burnet* reckon'd among the singular blessings of God upon this nation, 'the preserving us, during our civil wars, 'from being made a prey to our neighbours, and from strangers 'getting footing among us'. *Burn. serm.* 5 Nov. 1689, p. 4.

one of their own countrymen, unexpectedly rais'd up: and, as he permitted six several tyrants to oppress them, so (to shew how much he delights in mercy more than judgment) he provided twice as many (a) judges, in their distress, to deliver them. But nevertheless, those frequent instances of his uncovenanted mercy ought not to make us presume upon the like extraordinary deliverances, whenever we rashly and rebelliously plunge ourselves into difficulties and dangers.

§ XXVI. HITHERTO the government of Israel had been a *Theocracy*: that is, ^{Kings of all nations.} God himself was their King after a peculiar manner, and ruled them by viceroys of his own more immediate nomination, and according to laws of his own making; the last appeal or *dernier resort* being always, in extraordinary cases, to himself, by means of the miraculous *Urim* and *Thummim*. But now the people, desiring a King by succession, rather than by deputation, we shall find them govern'd after another (b) manner: namely, by a
 O race

(a) Viz. Othniel, Ehud, Shamgar, Deborah, Gideon, Tola, Jair, Jephthah, Ibzan, Elon, Abdon, and Sampson: (b) The difference between the Kings and Judges is well describ'd by Marr. Becanus the Jesuit, in these three circumstances: 1. *The judges were rais'd up by God, in an extraordinary manner, to deliver his people in times of distress: but the Kings (that is, of Judah, downwards from Solomon) reign'd by right of succession; and govern'd as well in times of peace as of war.* 2. *The judges did not succeed one another immediately, but after some interval of time, as the people's necessities requir'd, and their repentance procur'd them, a deliverance: but when one King died, another succeeded immediately.*

3. The

race of hereditary monarchs, succeeding one another, according to the natural law of primogeniture; except in two or three of the first instances, before the government was thoroughly settled; as I shall shew in due order.

For, after the death of *Eli* the high-priest, *Samuel* the prophet judged Israel all the days of his (a) life: but, when he was old, he made his sons judges; who walked not in his ways, but turned aside after lucre, and took bribes, and perverted judgment (b). Under pretence of which grievances and mal-administration (for ‘when men’s discontents grow ripe, there seldom wants a plausible occasion to vent (c) them’) the people, who are too naturally prone to revolutions, and changes of government, grew weary of judges, and long’d for the completion of God’s promise; desiring a King to judge them like all the (d) nations: By which last words, we may perceive, that in those days all the nations were govern’d by Kings; whereas

3. *The judges themselves were not so properly the rulers of the people, as God himself who rais’d them up: but the Kings were rulers in their own right, as well as by God’s authority.* *Becani analog. vet. & novi testam. c. xvi. q. 1.* To which I may add another, from the learned bishop *Morton*, that, in the time of the Kings, ‘neither did the judicial laws retain their full force, neither did God himself appoint captains over the armies, (as in the time of the judges) but all was done according to the will and commandment of the Kings; who, although they did keep the judicial law in part, and for the great extremities in war, ask’d counsel of God, yet they were free in both these respects’. *Morton’s Solomon, or kingdom of Israel, 1596, p. 14, in 4to.*

(a) 1 Sam. vii 15. (b) — viii. 1, &c. (c) *Stillingfl.* ferm. 13 Nov. 1678, p. 7. (d) 1 Sam. viii. 5.

whereas commonwealths were never once heard of, either in the laws of God or nature, but began (a) by rebellion and usurpation. For, (as Dr. *Sherlock* truly observ'd,) 'Aristocracies and Democracies were a defection from regal power, occasion'd by the ill government of princes, or by the giddiness and licentious humour of the people, who are fond of liberty, power, and innovations: but, tho' God by his providence permitted such changes of government, he never by a visible authority and direction form'd and modell'd a commonwealth as he did the *Jewish* (b) monarchy'. And Mr. *Selden* proves, that although divers of the chiefest states of the old *Grecians* (and I think only of the *Grecians* in the elder ages) were in their most flourishing times *Democracies* or *Optimacies*: yet the more ancient states there were, in every place, (c) 'monarchies'. Yea, and bishop *Lloyd* himself admits, there was no such government as a free-state or commonwealth known in the world, in *David's* (d) time. All which would incline us to conclude, with another learned author, that whensoever the first was erected, it had *neither other foundation, than rebellion, murder and usurpation, nor other author than the* (e) *devil!* And further too we may learn, that when the people ask'd a King, as other nations had, they 'meant thereby

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(a) *Viz.* among the *Grecians*. (b) *Sherl.* serm. 29 May, 1685, p. 9, 10. (c) *Seld.* (Tit. of hon.) vol. iii. col. 118. (d) *Disc. of God's ways of dispos. of kings*, 1691, p. 16. (e) *Hudson* of governm. 1647, p. 90.

‘ principally, that such their Kings might by
 ‘ succession govern them, so as one being dead,
 ‘ they might still have (a) another ’.

Hereditary. § XXVII. FOR that those Kings of
 the nations were all hereditary too, not
 elective, we might reasonably conclude, if we
 had no better proof) since we find, that the *Israe-*
lites were not then grown presumptuous enough,
 to undertake such a revolution on their own heads,
 and to proceed to an election of a King by their
 own authority (in which, doubtless, they would
 have been as forward to imitate the *nations*, if it
 had been their practice, as in the having of one)
 tho’ *all the elders of Israel had gather’d themselves*
together in convention (b). But they, dreaming
 of no such power, much less attempting to usurp
 it, applied themselves to (c) *Samuel*, that by his
 authority, or interest (whom they knew to be a
 prophet of the Lord, as well as their judge) they
 might have a *King* set over them ; saying to him,
now make us a King to judge us, &c. Yet neither
 would he take upon himself to do it, but was
displeas’d, and *prayed unto the Lord* for his (d) di-
 rection.

Here it seems most proper to obviate that
 common objection which is made by certain re-
 publicans, against kingly government. *Samuel*
 himself alone was not *displeas’d* with their desire
 to alter his government, but he tells ’em also,
 that their *wickedness was great in the sight of the*
 Lord,

(a) Ep. *Overal’s* convoc. book, l. i. c. 14. (b) 1 *Sam.* viii. 4.
 (c) — vers. 5. (d) — vers. 6.

Lord, in asking a King: and the people themselves acknowledge, that they *had added unto all their sins this evil, to ask them a (a) King*. But good interpreters agree, that their *sin* was not in their *asking a King* (for that I have shewn (b) to have been agreeable to the revealed will of God,) but in the circumstances and manner of their doing it. *Viz.* In their not *asking* for such a *King* as should *fear the Lord*, and govern them in equity, according to the law of (c) God; but out of a preposterous desire, only that they might be like unto other *nations*: in their inordinate asking a King, without first asking God's advice about it, in the allow'd method of the *Urim* and the (d) *Tbummim*: doing it out of a discontent with their present happy condition, and an inconstant humour of change: out of an ungrateful and rebellious disposition against *Samuel*, who had done such great things for them, and never injur'd (e) them: out of a distrust of God, and a base fear (f) of their enemies, from whom they had been often deliver'd: proceeding in the tract of their former rebellious (g) practices, so highly displeasing to God: out of a foolish affection to be *like all the (h) nations*, without considering whether it was good or bad: under a specious pretext (i) of mal-administration; of which they were not competent judges: without waiting God's time to give them a King, or expect-

(a) 1 *Sam.* xii. 19. (b) P. 40, 68, and 69. (c) *Deut.* xvii. 19. (d) *Exod.* xxviii. 30. (e) 1 *Sam.* xii. 3, &c. (f) — vers. 12. (g) — viii. 8. (h) — vers. 5, &c. (i) *Ibid.*

expecting the death of *Samuel*, whom he had set over them; but *rejecting* (a) the one, and thereby in consequence (as much as in them lay) deposing the other, through a disaffection to that government which himself had appointed them, and a weariness of his immediate election and designation of their governours: and audaciously persisting in their mutinous demand, even after it appear'd *displeasing* to (b) *Samuel*; on which accounts God look'd on it as a *rejecting of him* more than *Samuel*, since he had appointed him. However he commanded him to *hearken unto* (c) *them in all that they said*; but withal to *shew them the manner* (or right) of (d) *Kings*; that they might not afterwards have any pretence to complain of their prerogatives and absolute power, or think to cast them off again at their pleasure. Where likewise we may observe, how absolute all the *Kings of the nations* originally were; among whom there were *no laws, but the King's will and* (e) *pleasure*.

§ XXVIII.

(a) 1 Sam. xii. vers. 7. (b) — vers. 19. (c) — vers. 7. (d) — viii. 9. (e) *Populus nullis legibus tenebatur, sed arbitria regum pro legibus erant.* Justin. hist. p. 1. Mr. Selden rejects this testimony as *ridiculous*; and takes notice of an observation, that *Homer*, writing of the heroick times, hath not the word νόμος, i. e. a prescribed law, but only Σίμυς, i. e. an arbitrary rule: this, he says, is false; for proof of which he cites, εὐνομίην and νόμος ἀδίκος in *Homer*; and tells us of *Talus*, his laws in *Crete* written in brass, before *Homer's* time, &c. Selden tom. 3. col. 935. But that learned gentleman is severely animadverted on for it, by another; who observes, that by νόμος ἀδίκος *Homer* means the just measure of riming, but never useth νόμος for

b § XXVIII. WHAT this manner (or right) of the King was, we have express'd *Absolute.* by Samuel, thus, *He will take your sons, and appoint them for himself for his chariots, and to be his horsemen, and some shall run before his chariots; and he will appoint him captains over thousands, and captains over fifties, and will set them to ear his ground, and to reap his harvest, and to make his instruments of war, and instruments of his chariots: and he will take your daughters to be confectionaries, and to be cooks, and to be bakers: and he will take your fields, and your vineyards, and your oliveyards, even the best of them, and give them to his servants: and he will take the tenth of your seed, and of your vineyards, and give to his officers, and to his servants: and he will take your men-servants, and your maid-servants, and your goodliest young men, and your asses, and put them to his work: he will take the tenth of your sheep; and ye shall be his servants (a).* Where I must observe, by the way,

for the *set law of living*: and besides, that there were many ages, and many Kings, before *Homer's* time, and before *Talus*, *Minos*, *Radamanthus*, or any other law-maker; yea, even before *Moses* himself, who was the first that either gave laws or invented letters. And therefore (*says he*) *Mr. Selden, vi veritatis victus*, confesseth (*ibid.*) that, in the first times, in the beginning of states, there were no laws, but the arbitrements of princes, as *Pomponius* speaketh. *Bishop Griff. Williams's* rights of Kings, 1662, fol. 78, 79. which agrees with the authorities herein before cited (p. 43.) from *Coke's* reports; as well as with the opinion of the judges, in the great *case del union*, reported by *Sr. Fran. Moore*, fol. 790, *no one opinion in all our law-books* contradicting it; as before is observ'd, p. 46.

(a) 1 Sam. viii. 11, &c.

way, that the word *servants* is to be understood, ' not as servants signifies slaves and vassals, but ' subjects, who owe all duty and service to their ' prince as far as he needs (a) them : according to that of our blessed Saviour himself, where he says, *if my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants (b) fight*. But, since it is made a great question among the learned, whether this speech of *Samuel's* shews what the King had a just right to do, or only what, by a stretch of his power, he would do ; whether it describes ' some of the ' many fore calamities which are too probable ' consequences upon the establishment of absolute ' monarchy in any nation, and which may all be ' summ'd up in one comprehensive word (c) ' *slavery* ; or whether all these were not intol- ' rable, but such as have been born, and are so ' still, by free consent of the subjects towards ' their princes, and what subjects ought with pa- ' tience to bear at their soveraign's (d) hand', I shall beg leave to lay before the reader these following observations: 1. That the *Greek* word *δουλωμα* (used in the *Septuagint*,) and the *Latin* word *jus*, are never, in the inspired writings, taken in the more rigorous, but in the more moderate sense ; that is, not for power, but for authority or right: 2. That there is nothing here set down by *Samuel* that is simply forbidden by the law of God, but what the best of Kings may do, as
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(a) *Sherl.* of resist. p. 24. (b) *St. John* xviii. 36. (c)
B. Hoagl. serm. at *Hertf.* 22 *Mar.* 1707. (d) *Raleigh's* hist.
 tol. 393.

the publick occasions (*a*) require. 3. That these were plainly the prerogatives of the Kings of all the *eastern nations*, whom the *Jews* were here desirous to *be like*. 4. That this place is not to be understood of a tyranny, but of the natural state of the kingdom; as may appear, where *Samuel* telleth *Saul*, that he need not *set his mind on his asses that were (b) lost*, ‘seeing whatsoever was good, pretious, and to be *desired* in all *Israel*, it did belong, in some sort, to him —; (*meaning*) that it was now the part of all the people to contribute even of their best things to the King’s uses, and the setting forth of his Majesty; yea, and that the King might lawfully exact of them things needful for these (*c*) purposes’. This does not therefore seem to be (as a celebrated preacher before quoted contends) such ‘a very sad and lamentable account of the miseries and unhappineffes peculiarly belonging to absolute monarchy, and consequent upon the establishment of it, as must be a demonstration to all, who have not the most unworthy notions of Almighty God, that he could have no original design of appointing such a form of government, as the best, or as his own institution, sacredly and inviolably to be kept up in any nation, much less in all the nations of the (*d*) world’. That this was not so (I say) as he insists, needs no other proof, than what

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(*a*) B^{ishop} *Griff. William’s* rights of Kings, &c. fol. 81. (*b*) 1 *Sam.* ix. 20. (*c*) *Bishop Merton’s* Solomon, p 57, 58. (*d*) *Bishop Heally*, as before.

is already herein before made of the divine institution of this very form of Government: and that too *originally design'd*, and promised by God to his own chosen people, the *Israelites*, even before they had any being as a nation; and no other form of government ever once instituted, promised, or provided for them; and consequently as being *the best for all the nations in the world*. For 'it were impiety, to think, that God, who
' was careful to appoint judicial laws for his chosen people, would not furnish them with the
' best form of (a) government'. But for any person to affirm, that 'all the rest (except the government of the *judges*) can plead no more than
' (b) permission', is an offence both against truth and modesty.

Irrefragible. § XXIX. AND how sacredly and inviolably it was to be kept up, if not sufficiently prov'd already, will plainly appear, upon perusal of the words wherewith the prophet concludes this account of the right of Kings, saying, — *Ye shall cry out in that day, because of your King, which ye shall have chosen you, and the Lord will not bear you in that (c) day: ' that is,*
' God

(a) *Filmer's* pref to the *Anarchy of limit. monarchy*. Where the same learned author well observes, that 'it is a shame and scandal for us *Christians*, to seek the original of government from
' the inventions or fictions of poets, orators, philosophers, and
' *heathen* historians, who all liv'd thousands of years after the
' creation, and were (in a manner) ignorant of it; and to neglect
' the scriptures, which have with more authority most particularly given us the true grounds and principles of government'.

(b) *Bradb. serm.* 5 Nov. 1711. p. 12. (c) 1 *Sam.* viii 18.

‘ God will not alter the government for you again,
 ‘ how much soever you may complain of it. This
 ‘ is a plain proof, that their Kings were invested
 ‘ with that sovereign power, which must not be
 ‘ resisted, though they oppress their subjects to
 ‘ maintain their own (a) state’ &c. So that whe-
 ‘ ther *Samuel* here describes a King or a tyrant,
 it is all one in this point: for ’tis plain, the peo-
 ple had nothing to do, but to obey their King;
 and in case of his tyrannizing over them (since
 he was their undoubted lawful King) they were
 to have no remedy, but (such as the primitive
 Christians had in those cases) prayers and tears.

‘ This is that doctrine of passive obedience,
 ‘ which of late hath had so ill a sound among
 ‘ many of us: but, I dare say, for no other rea-
 ‘ son, but because it may have been by some
 ‘ (b) misrepresented’. It has been call’d, the ‘ab-
 ‘ solutely concluding whole nations under mi-
 ‘ sery and slavery, without hopes of (c) redress’!
 It has been ridicul’d, and reflected on, in divers
 pamphlets, speeches and sermons, as a *pernicious*
and enslaving tenet; inconsistent with the law of
reason, with the law of nature, and with the pra-
ctice of all ages and countries; first invented to sup-
port arbitrary and despotick power: and a brand of
indelible (d) infamy has been requir’d to be fasten’d

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(a) *Sherl.* case of resist. p. 13. (b) Archbishop *Sharp's* serm.
 30 Jan. 1699, in 4to. p. 19. (c) B. *Howdy's* serm. 29 Sept.
 1705, in 4to. p. 9. (d) No wonder, some men are so for-
 ward to brand the doctrines of our blessed redeemer, when we
 find

on it! As if it could not be of *God*, because it suits not with every man's notions of *liberty*! nay, we have been told, with great assurance, that 'a passive obedience would appear, upon examination, to be a much greater opposition to the will of *God*, than the (a) contrary'. But these learned persons have not yet prov'd how, and where, it would appear so; nor shew'd us when it was *first invented*. In such questions, we are not to have recourse to *Dutch* casuists and politicians; but to the law and to the (b) testimony: for where can we learn the will of *God*, but in his own revelation of it by his inspired writers? If they look only into this very place here before us, (which some of them would have to be the very *original standard*, or first institution of kingly government,) they will find a quite different declaration of the will of *God*: and if they look further, they will find, that their own notions of liberty were not known either in (c) *Job's*, or *Solomon's* days; but that as passive obedience under lawful authority is the express doctrine of the

find others so blasphemously audacious, as to declare in print, that the holy scriptures were of the clergies own inventing; and that if *Jesus Christ* laid the foundation of those powers (which these worse than *Jews* or *Infidels* are averse to,) 'the old *Romans* did him right in punishing him with the death of a *SLAVE*!' See an account of the growth of *deism* in *England*, 1696, p. 7. (commended by the author of the rights of the christian church asserted, p. 185.) as I find them both quoted, with a just abhorrence, in the second part of the wolf stript, &c. (by *Mr. Leslie*) 1707, p. 14, and 34.

(a) *B. Hoadly*, as before. (b) *Isa.* viii. 20. (c) *Job* xxxiv. 18. *Prov.* xx. 2. *Eccles.* viii. 2, &c.

the old (a) testament; so it is ‘ the doctrine also
 ‘ of *Jesus Christ*, and that a necessary, indispen-
 ‘ sible one (b) too’; and, as such, was the *practice*
and example of our great master himself, and of
his blessed apostles; from whose ‘ unerring practi-
 ‘ ces and precepts, all true Christians must take
 ‘ the measures of their actions, and the rules of
 ‘ their life’; as those first converts did, *so long as*
Christianity continued pure and (c) unallay’d. And
 indeed, it seems very reasonable to believe, that
 God Almighty did not lay before the people that
 long list of the regal prerogatives, in order *to*
deter (d) them from desiring the government of
 absolute monarchs, as the Kings of *all nations*
 were (as the celebrated (e) preacher frequently
 quoted insinuates,) but rather to shew us, that
 when we in our worldly wisdom, and under pre-
 sence of publick good, take upon us to murmur
 at, and cast off, such government and governours
 as the Lord had appointed us, instead of better-
 ing ourselves by such revolutions, we may rea-
 sonably expect tyrants to rule us with rods of
 iron; as has been frequently verified in most na-
 tions of the world!

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(a) *Stradl. serm. 30 Jan. 1674, p. 13.* (b) Archbishop
Sharpe, as before. (c) *Burnet’s serm. 6 Dec. 1674.* (d)
 There are two powers of Kings plainly set forth in God’s word.
 The former is *potestas*; what he may and ought to do, in equity,
Deut. xvii. The latter is *potentia*; what he may do, with impu-
 nity, *1 Sam. viii.* The former is the King’s rule for his own
 conduct, for which he is answerable to God: the latter is the
 people’s rule for their obedience, for which they are answerable
 both to God and the King; as is observ’d by divers good authors.
 (e) *B. Hoadly’s serm. at Hertf. 22 Mar. 1707.*

Nevertheless, the *Israelites* still persisting in their suit, *Samuel* proceeded to the providing a King for them; but (to take away all colour of the people's having any hand in it,) he first dissolv'd their unauthoriz'd (a) convention.

Saul's elec- § XXX. Now the Lord had told Sa-
tion divine: muel in his ear, a day before Saul came, that he would send him a man, to be captain over his (b) people: and, when he did come, *Samuel* was so far from making him King even by his own authority, that (tho' he was both a prophet and a judge of *Israel*,) he did not so much as know him, any otherwise than by faith, till the Lord said unto him, behold the man whom I spake to thee of; this same shall reign over my (c) people. Accordingly *Samuel* took *Saul* (apart from all the people:) and when they were alone, anointed him in the name of the (d) Lord. And when he again called the people together unto the (e) Lord, he did it not for their consent or approbation, but only, by

(a) 1 Sam. viii. 22. (b) ——— ix. 15. (c) vers. 17.

Where the original word (which we translate to *reign over*) properly signifies (as the margin notes,) to *restrain in*: as if it had been said, *this same shall restrain my people*. For reigning is restraining: and so is all government a restraint of lawless liberty; which doubtless is the reason why the sons of *Beliel* are never easy, under even the mildest of governours. (d) 1 Sam. x. 1.

The *Hebrews* think, that *Saul* was not anointed with the same oil wherewith *David* and *Solomon* were anointed: for that was taken out of the tabernacle, but this was not; and that was pour'd out of a horn, denoting the durable state of their kingdom, but this only out of a brittle vial, denoting a short continuance. (e)

1 Sam. x. 17.

by the solemn casting of the lot (as is commonly suppos'd, tho' that does not appear in the text,) or by some other means of revealing or declaring the divine designation, to let them *see him whom the Lord had (a) chosen.*

Here it is very remarkable, and ought for ever to silence all the clamour of our fanaticks and republicans, on this head; that, in all this transaction, we do not find the least evidence, in any of these conventions, or general assemblies, of the people's ordering or resolving, or in any manner acting or assisting in this affair: further than this, that, after the *Lord*, (who has the *whole disposing (b) thereof* had caused his lot, or other mark of designation) to fall upon the same person, whom he had before anointed, and had directed the people to find him where he *had hid himself*, all the people shouted, and said, *God save the (c) King!* as doubtless they would have done, whosoever had been the person, since the having a King was what they only wanted and longed for. Nay, the very words of the text, *they* (that is the people) *inquired of the Lord (d) further*, (or, as it is in the *septuagint*, *Samuel inquired further of the Lord*) strongly imply some more direct and immediate application to the Lord in the whole transaction; at least, I'm sure, it plainly proves, that nothing was done therein without his express direction. Besides, that *Saul* was not so popular a man, as to have the common suffrage, and to be

(a) 1 Sam. x. vers. 24. (b) Prov. xvi. 33. (c) 1 Sam. x. 24. (d) — vers. 22.

be elected by the voice of the people, appears in this, that the *children of Belial* (who, by the way, are oftentimes the majority) mocked and *despised him*, instead of promoting his election. Neither was the *renewing the kingdom* afterwards in *Gilgal* (a) any more than the *people's* being summon'd again by *Samuel*, to pay their duty of homage and allegiance to *Saul*, who was already their King by right divine. For *Saul* was both nominated and confirm'd King, and had also taken the exercise of the government upon him, and issued a more peremptory proclamation or (b) decree before this solemnity: and *St. Paul* himself declares the same, where he says, *they desired a King, and God gave unto them* (c) *Saul*.

And yet, for all this, certain persons are still pleas'd to insist, or insinuate, from this very case, (tho' nothing can be more clear to the contrary,) that 'God submitted *Saul* to their (the people's) election, in giving them the liberty to chuse the tribe and person by (d) lot! that 'he did not compel the people to accept *him*; having before left them free to chuse any one from among themselves to be their (e) King! that the people have an interest in agreeing to the form of their government, or electing the person that is to reign over (f) them! that Kings ought not to be set up over any people, but by their own consent, and at their own desire; and

(a) 1 *Sam.* xi. 14. (b) — 7. (c) *Acts* xiii. 21. (d) *Blakeway's* serm. *Novemb.* 1715, p. 19. (e) *J. Wright's* serm. at *Ailesb.* 15 *Mar.* 1719, p. 9. (f) *Whist.* script. pol. p. 26.

‘ and upon such foundations, as they themselves
 ‘ solemnly agreed (a) to’! that when a King is
 set over any people, there is not ‘ any obligation
 ‘ of their continuing under such a form, any lon-
 ‘ ger than the life-time of that King to whom
 ‘ they voluntarily subjected (b) themselves’! &c.
 nay, and one there is, who (notwithstanding his
 great pretences to modern loyalty) has the affu-
 rance to affirm, that ‘ *Saul* had no more than
 ‘ heaven’s (c) connivance’! and will not allow
 him so much as even the new-invented title of
providence! Strange doctrines these! when, not
 to insist upon its being censur’d by a convo-
 cation, as a *great error* (d), the Holy Ghost him-
 self has inspired the scripture-historian expressly to
 assure us, that the form of government was origi-
 nally appointed them by the Lord, without the
 people’s consent, agreement or desire, nay, and
 even before they were a people, that they were
 expressly forbid to set up any; but him *whom the*
Lord himself should chuse; that this very King
 was set up over them by God himself, without
 their having the least knowledge of him, or
 where to find him; that by the provisional pre-
 cept above-mention’d, the people’s obligation of
 obedience, is not to determine with the life of
 their King, but to continue to his children after
 him; and that (as to *Saul*) *Samuel* knew no more
 of him than the rest of the people did, but as-

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(a) *Whiff.* script. polit. p. 27. (b) *Ibid.* p. 26. (c) *Bradl.*
 5 Nov. 1711, p. 12. (d) *Bp. Overal’s* convoc. book, l. i. c. 13.

tures us himself, that *the Lord* had chosen and set him King over them; as hath been here before particularly proved. Nay, Mr. *Whiston* has himself unwarily answer'd this objection, where he quotes scripture to prove, that 'during all the life of *Samuel*, *Saul* never thought his authority sufficiently safe and sacred, but when it was owned and supported by (a) *Samuel*' the prophet of the Lord. A plain evidence to me, that he knew his title and authority depended entirely upon God alone, and not upon the people; nothing being more natural (as experience tells us,) than for princes to depend upon those for their safety and settlement, from whom they receiv'd the sovereign power.

His power absolute. § XXXI. AND as the Lord had given them a King, so he also gave them (b) laws, whereby they were to be govern'd by him; not to limit the King's prerogative, or debase the sovereign power, so as to make him accountable to, and deposible by, the people: for he was vested with that absolute power, which the *judges* had also enjoy'd before him, that whosoever should disobey him, and not *hearken* unto his sentence or judgment, should be put to (c) *death*: which being so agreeable to that of *Samuel*, where he declares the right of the Kings and the duty of subjects, as is before recited, plainly teaches the duty and necessity of unconditional obedience (either

(a) *Whist.* script. polit. p. 27. (b) 1 *Sam.* x. 25. (c) *Deut.* xvii. 12.

(either active or passive) to lawful princes, and the unwarrantableness of resisting their persons or authority. And indeed (says one of our eminent historians) ‘ if practice do shew the greatness
 ‘ of authority, even the best Kings of *Judah* and
 ‘ *Israel* were not so tied by any laws, but that
 ‘ they did whatsoever they pleased in the greatest
 ‘ things, and commanded some of their own
 ‘ princes, and of their own brethren, to be slain,
 ‘ without any tryal of of law, being sometime
 ‘ by prophets reprehended, sometime (a) not’;
 but (as I may add from another author) never by the *Sanhedrim*, or states of the (b) realm. Yea, and Mr. *Stephens* himself confesses, that ‘ even
 ‘ in such a case as this, there can be no legal ju-
 ‘ risdiction pretended to; no judicature remains,
 ‘ to judge of the prince’s (c) actions: nothing
 ‘ being more ridiculous, than that a prince, in
 ‘ whom ’tis confess’d by all, the whole executive
 ‘ power of the law is lodg’d, should become
 ‘ legally accountable to his subjects, and answer-
 ‘ able to that justice, which he alone has the right
 ‘ of (d) administering’. But, because there are many amongst us, who give too little credit to holy scripture and the opinions of divines, in these controversies, I shall add this observation from *Sigonius*, that *the power and authority of Kings did proceed, not so much from the laws, as from the arbitrement and will of the King: for they un-*

Q 2

derstood

(a) *Raleigh's hist* fol. 393. (b) *Stillingfl* serm. 30 Jan. 1668, p. 38. (c) *W. Steph.* serm. 30 Jan. 1693, p. 16. (d) *Ibid.* p. 15.

derstood a King according to Aristotle's sense, who, being free from laws, might govern with the most ple- nary (a) right. And Herodotus tells us, that the Egyptians, 'as a modest admonition to their suc- cessors, did sit solemnly in judgment upon their Kings, after they were dead: before they put them into their sepulchres; a survey was made of their past reigns, and accordingly there pass'd a sentence of honour or dishonour on them; but to do it while they liv'd, is so presumptuous an abomination, as that nothing was able to provoke them to (b) it'. All which I would recommend to the serious consideration of the advocates of resistance, who exclaim against the principles of obedience as unnatural and servile; as well as to Mr. Whiston, who seems to insinuate a sort of a contract between Saul and the (c) people. A strange sort of a contract this! wherein the King was absolutely at his liberty to do what he pleas'd, and the people had no redress for their greatest grievances, but to cry unto the Lord (the only ruler of princes!) by whom he was set over them, and to whom alone he was accountable for his administration! tho', by this way of arguing, that scripture-politician may perhaps prove the people guilty of breaking the original con-

(a) *Car Sigonius, de republ. Hebræor. l. 7. c. 3.* — Potestas atque auctoritas, quæ non tam a legibus, quam ab arbitrio & voluntate regis profecta sit: nam regem ipsi intellexerunt more Aristotelis, qui solutus legibus plenissimo jure regnaret. (b) *Meggors's serm. 30 Jan. 1673, p. 14.* (c) *Whist. script. polit. p. 26.*

(a) contract, whenever they rebel against or resist their lawful prince, or use any other arms against him than prayers and tears, and *crying to the Lord*; which I'm persuaded is not his aim!

§ XXXII. BUT, to proceed. Amongst *And irresistible.* other passages of holy scripture, which are wrested in favour of the doctrine of resistance, great stress is laid, by some zealots, upon that where we read, that *Saul* having, by a rash vow, sentenc'd his eldest son *Jonathan* to death, *the people rescued Jonathan that he died* (b) not. But how groundless this argument is, appears in these several considerations. 1. That the people were so far from a rebellious disposition, that when their soveraign had *adjured them not to eat any food until evening*, they all religiously obey'd him, tho' they *were distress'd and* (c) faint; and were ready to *do whatsoever seemed good unto* (d) him. 2. They do not appear to have us'd any violence or force whatsoever, to *rescue* the son, or resist the father: but

(a) An eminent lawyer, on a late solemn occasion, hearing an *original contract* urg'd, to enforce the *legality of resistance*, express'd himself thus; 'When the original contract was made, that learned gentleman did not think fit to inform us. Was it before *Magna Charta*? If so, why not compriz'd in it? — I never met with it in any of our law-books. — I never heard it urg'd in any court before. — I never heard it pleaded to any indictment for high-treason. — And therefore, till the legislature have declar'd what the original contract is, and determin'd what act of the supreme executive power shall amount to a dissolution of that original contract —, the law stands still upon the foot of the 25th of *Edward III.*' &c. Mr. *Phipps*, in Dr. *Sachse's* trial, fol. 144, 145. (b) 1 *Sam.* xiv. 45. (c) — vers. 24, and 28. (d) — vers. 36.

but all their arms were (*a*) *prayers*, entreaties, and rational arguments, representing to *Saul*, what a happy instrument *Jonathan* had been to *Israel*, in their obtaining so great a deliverance *that b. day*; which, together with the consideration, that *Jonathan* had *not heard when his father gave that (c) charge*, was enough to prevail with any man to repent of a rash vow, and *rescue* an innocent person, tho' less dear to him than such a worthy son. 3. If the people had presum'd to press upon him *forcibly or mutinously*, 'tis confess'd, they had therein been *guilty of (d) sin*; and consequently this case can be nothing to the purpose which it is quoted for, in either light.

However, *Saul* not being the promised King of the house of *Judah*, *the Lord* (not the people) *rejected (e) him*, (or decreed, that the sceptre should be transferr'd from his family to that of *David*;) tho' not for tyranny over his subjects, but rather for too much clemency to his (*f*) enemies, whom the Lord had devoted to *utter destruction*; and for his

(*a*) The original word which we translate *rescued* is, by the seventy, interpreted $\pi\rho\sigma\sigma\upsilon\lambda\eta\sigma\alpha\tau\omicron$; which in other places of holy scripture is us'd for such humble and devout *prayers* as are put up to God himself: as in *Acts* viii. 15. — ix. 40. — xx. 36, &c. (*b*)

1 *Sam.* xiv. 45. (*c*) — vers. 27. (*d*) *P. Martyr* in loc.

(*e*) 1 *Sam.* xv. 23 and 26. — xvi. 1. (*f*) — xv. 3, &c.

Here I must take notice of a republican teacher, who triumphs on *Samuel's* killing *Agag*: not for his doing it in pursuance of God's commandment, but because *Agag* was a King! and therefore (in his sense) 'there could not be a nobler conclusion to the publick actions of the judges, than to *hew a tyrant in pieces before the Lord*'! *Bradbury's* serm 5 Nov. 1711, p. 24.

his presuming to offer the (a) burnt-offering of his own head, without waiting for *Samuel*. And therefore the Lord sent *Samuel* to the house of *Jesse*; and gave him particular instructions to anoint *David* there, whom he had provided for his (b) King. Not that *David* was hereby invested immediately with the kingly power: ‘but this
 ‘anointing was only a designation of him to suc-
 ‘ceed *Saul* after his death. So *David* always un-
 ‘derstood it; looking upon *Saul* as the Lord’s
 ‘anointed, as long as he lived; that is, as the
 ‘King of (c) *Israel*’. Thus *Saul* being hencefor-
 ward only tenant for life of the kingdom, and
David (as the lawyers term it) reversioner in fee,
 the common interest of God’s people was there-
 fore, in an extraordinary manner, included in
David’s safety; and he was oblig’d to preserve
 himself, for the publick, as well as his own pri-
 vate welfare. And besides, *Saul* now degenerat-
 ing daily, grew jealous of *David*, and sought by
 any means to take his life; hunting him from
 place to place, like a partridge in the (d) mountains;
 and moreover having massacred fourscore and five
 priests of the (e) Lord, as if he had design’d an
 utter extirpation of God’s publick worship: yet,
 notwithstanding all his personal dangers and pro-
 vocations, tho’ he had not only self-preservation
 to engage him to a resistance, but also the com-
 mon rights of all the kingdom (and particularly
 those

(a) 1 Sam. xiii. 8, &c. (b) — xvi. 1, &c. (c) Patrick’s
 comment. (d) 1 Sam. xxvi. 20. (e) — xxii. 17, 18.

those of God's true religion to challenge his protection, and wanted no courage to defend or avenge himself, in any cause that was good, he religiously avoided all occasions of exerting it against his sovereign, and shew'd himself most eminent in the practice of non-resistance. For, when he had *Saul* twice (as it were by miracle) in his power, and could at the same time, by one blow, have secur'd himself of the kingdom, as well as his life, he absolutely refus'd to hurt his sacred person, or to suffer his less-conscientious followers to do it; saying, *Destroy him not! for who can stretch forth his hand against the Lord's anointed, and be (a) guiltless?* Surely *David* might (in these circumstances,) or else no body may! but he was so far from being illuminated with our new lights, that his conscience check'd him, and his heart smote him, because he had cut off *Saul's* (b) skirt (tho' he did that only to convince him how much more he had in his power to have done;) whereas our modern saints have no such qualms about the cutting off their King's head! Yea, *David* told *Abner* and his guards, they were worthy to die, (c) because they had kept their master no better: and he actually put the *Amalekite* to death, who said he had lent an hand to (d) slay him, tho' at his own request.

And

(a) 1 *Sam.* xxvi. 9. (b) — xxiv. 5. *Lyrarus* tells us, it is to this day a tradition among the *Jews*, that *David* was punish'd in his death respectively to this sin, that no cloaths could keep him warm. And indeed there seems to be some ground for this, 1 *Kin.* i. 1. (c) 1 *Sam.* xxvi. 16. (d) 2 *Sam.* i. 14, &c.

And yet, notwithstanding all this, many popular writers and preachers take the liberty, to insist upon *the lawfulness*, and even *the necessity of self-defence*, and of *direct resistance*, of *private subjects to their Kings*, in cases of *extremity*, &c. (as Mr. *Whiston* has observ'd, and rebuk'd one of them for). 'Perhaps (says he) there may be some cases, in which this self-defence may not be unlawful: however, I can hardly, I confess, find this matter clear enough in scripture, to warrant a Christian's practice upon that foot *a*'. Thus far Mr. *Whiston*. But a worthy *Rector of St. Peters-poor, London*, goes much further in his censure of this Doctrine; and says, 'were I to set up for a publick patron of wickedness, I hardly know a villany in nature so black and monstrous, which I could not more plausibly recommend to men's reason and consciences, than this of resistance against lawful authority, which is— enough to nauseate any conscience, but a devil's *(b)*'. And a truly reverend bishop of *Sarum* did not scruple to say of this popular pretence, that 'it is, in respect of policy and government, what the *sin against the Holy Ghost* is to *c*) religion'. And indeed, tho' it would not be so strange in others, yet for those who appear in the habits and orders of the Church of *England*, to fly so openly in the face of her

R known

(a) Script. polit. dedic. p. iv. (b) Dr. Scott's serm. 26 Jul. 1685, p. 14, in 4to. (c) Dr. Ward's serm. 5 Nov. 1661, p. 33, in 4to.

known (a) doctrines, is very surprizing. For,
 ‘ blessed be God, our church hates and condemns
 ‘ this doctrine, from what hand soever it come,
 ‘ and hath established the rights and authority of
 ‘ princes on sure and unalterable foundations,
 ‘ enjoying an entire obedience to all the lawful
 ‘ commands of authority, and an absolute sub-
 ‘ mission to that supreme power God hath put in
 ‘ our soveraign’s hands. This doctrine we just-
 ‘ ly glory in: and if any, that had their baptism
 ‘ and education in our church, have turn’d re-
 ‘ negades from this, they prov’d no less enemies
 ‘ to the church herself, than to the civil autho-
 ‘ rity: so that their apostacy leaves no blame on
 ‘ our church; which glories in nothing more
 ‘ than in a well-temper’d reformation, from the
 ‘ later corruption which the dark ages brought
 ‘ in, to the pure and primitive doctrines, which
 ‘ our Saviour and his apostles taught, and the
 ‘ first Christians retained and practised for many
 ‘ (b) ages’. And so our *Homilies*, approv’d by
 the *articles* of our religion, for godly and wholesome
 doctrine, and necessary for these (c) times, do ex-
 pressly deny the lawfulness, as well as necessity, of
 either resistance or self-defence against the lawful
 power: and that too grounded upon this very
 case now before me; arguing, that, tho’ ‘ King
 ‘ *Saul* was not of the best, but rather of the
 ‘ worst

(a) That passive-obedience and non-resistance are the doctrines of the church of *England*, was fully given in evidence, at the trial of Dr *Sacheverel*, fol. 154, &c. (b) Dr. *Burnet*’s serm. 6 Dec. 1674, (reprinted 1710) in 8vo, p. 47. (c) Art. xxxv.

‘ worst sort of princes, as being out of God’s
 ‘ favour, — and sought the destruction of *David*
 ‘ by all means possible ; and tho’ *David* was then
 ‘ the very best of all subjects — highly and sin-
 ‘ gular in the favour of God, — as well as of
 ‘ the people — and by God appointed to reign
 ‘ after *Saul* : yet (for all this) he would not even
 ‘ save his life by rebellion or any resistance, but
 ‘ by flight, and hiding himself from the King’s
 ‘ (a) sight’, &c. Much less did he ever ‘ seize
 ‘ upon him to carry him prisoner, to be tried by
 ‘ the *Sanhedrin* : nor is there any foundation for
 ‘ any such power in the *Sanhedrin*, over the per-
 ‘ sons of their sovereigns ; it neither being con-
 ‘ tained in the grounds of its institution, nor any
 ‘ precedent occurring in the whole story of the
 ‘ bible, which gives the least countenance to it.
 ‘ Nay several passages of scripture utterly over-
 ‘ throw it : for, how could *Solomon* have said,
 ‘ where the word of a King is, there is power, and
 ‘ who may say unto him, what dost thou (b) ? if,
 ‘ by the constitution of their government, the
 ‘ *Sanhedrin* might have controlled him, in what
 ‘ he said or c) did’ ?

There were not wanting some about him, to
 insinuate unto him, that providence had put the
 King into his power, that by his destruction the
 throne might be vacant for himself to ascend ;
Behold the day of which the Lord said unto thee,

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be

(a) *Homily* against wilful rebellion, *second part.* (b) *Eccles.*
 viii. 4. (c) *Stillingfl.* serm. 30 *Jan.* 1668, p. 37.

behold I will deliver thine enemy into thine hand,
that thou mayst do to him as it shall seem good unto
thee (a). — God hath deliver'd thine enemy into
thine hand this day (b). And some of our modern
 politicians would probably have told him, that
 'tamely to sit still — is a tacit consent to the
 'ruin and misery of mankind, whose publick
 'peace and happiness is the sole end of (c) go-
 'vernment'. And, 'tis certain, *David* 'might
 'have pleaded necessity and providence as much
 'as ever any could (d)', when he was thus per-
 secuted by *Saul*, and the persecutor strangely de-
 liver'd into his hands; and might especially have
 imputed all his sufferings to the advice of evil
 countellors, while *Doeg*, the *Edomite* *e*, was at
 the King's ear: and yet we find, he had another
 opinion of the person and authority of even a bad
 King, and other notions of God and his provi-
 dence; and therefore acted upon this, which
 'must be a settled principle, that the providence
 'of God will never justify any action which his
 'law (f) forbids'. But he 'was not so well tutor'd
 'in the art of rebellion, as to secure himself this
 'way, and wanted some of our new masters to
 'instruct him in (g) it'! For, looking upon it
 only as a trial and probation of him, and that
 nothing could be necessary for him to do that
 was not lawful in itself; and likewise 'knowing
 'full

(a) 1 *Sam.* xxiv. 4. (b) — xxvi. 8. (c) *B. Hoadly's*
serm. 29 *Sept.* 1705, p. 13. in 4^{to}. (d) *Stillingsf.* *serm.* 30
Jan. 1668, p. 36. (e) 1 *Sam.* xxii. 9, &c. (f) *Sherk.*
case of resist. p. 32. (g) *Heylin's rebels* (ap. *ecclism.* 1643, p. 15.

‘ full well, that the bare prediction of this, did
 ‘ not authorize him to execute it, without a com-
 ‘ mand (a)’, *The Lord forbid* (said he) *that I should*
do this thing unto my master, the Lord’s anointed,
to stretch forth mine hand against him, seeing he is
(tho’ not a good King, yet nevertheless) the anoint-
ed of the (b) Lord.—Wickedness proceedeth from the
wicked, but mine hand shall not be upon thee (c).
 — *As the Lord liveth, the Lord shall smite him,*
or his day shall come to die, or he shall descend into bat-
tle and perish; the Lord forbid, that I should stretch
forth mine hand against the Lord’s anointed (d)!
 Thereby clearly intimating, that as the Lord
 had set *Saul* in the throne, so it must be the act
 of the Lord alone (and not that of man) which
 was to make the throne vacant. In a word; as
Saul had not the kingdom given him, nor any
 condition impos’d upon him, by the people; so
 neither could his transgressions be deem’d a for-
 feiture of his sovereignty to them: and therefore,
 even after *Samuel* had denounc’d his rejection in
 the name of the Lord, and it was publickly (e)
 known that *David* was anointed to be his Succes-
 sor, *Samuel* continued to pray, and to mourn, for
Saul, and to do him *honour* as usual *before his*
 (f) *people*. ‘ He did not forget (as some of us
 do) his own doctrine of passive-obedience, which
 (g) formerly he had preach’d unto (h) them’; and
 much

(a) *Rye’s treat against the nonjur.* vol. 2, p. 633. (b) 1 *Sam.*
 xxiv. 6. (c) — vers. 13. (d) — xxvi. 10, 11. (e)
 — xxv. 30. (f) — xv, 31, &c. (g) — viii. 18.
 (h) *Symmons’s loy.* subj. 1643, p. 56.

much less did he incite them to relieve themselves by resistance: but, what he had before laid down by precept, he now taught them by his own example; in obedience to which, *Saul* was still respected as their undoubted sovereign (by *David* as well as by all the people,) till God, his only superior, depriv'd him at once of his life and kingdom. After all which, I can't but admire at those, who would insinuate a distinction between the *resistance of private and publick persons, and between private and publick injuries*; as if our church in her homilies, had condemn'd the one, but determin'd nothing in case of the (a) other! Surely, *David* was more than a private person, and the injuries before-mention'd to be committed by *Saul*, were more than meerly personal and private; and therefore, as our church has largely set forth that case, as an example of that obedience which she requires of subjects to their lawful-soveraigns, we can't fairly deny that she has condemn'd resistance of authority, without any such distinctions as would render all obedience arbitrary or precarious.

David, a
King by di-
vine right.

§ XXXIII. Now, after God's providence had open'd the way to it, and made the throne vacant, by the death of *Saul*, then, and not before, was *David*, by the Lord's express (b) direction, anointed King in *Hebron*, where he reign'd over the house of *Judah*
seven

(a) *Nat. Marsh's* def. of our constit. p. 142. (b) 2 *Sam.* ii. 1, &c.

seven years and six months (a): but the rest of the tribes for some time, adher'd to *Ishbosheth*, the next known heir of the family of *Saul* (for *Mephibosheth*, the son of *Jonathan*, was not to be (b) found,) as of course to succeed to the throne, according to the law of nature; till, becoming thoroughly sensible of the Lord's express designation of *David*, they came together to him, and anointed him King over *Israel (c)* also. And this was undoubtedly the true reason, why *Mephibosheth* never disputed *David's* title, and not a disregard to his own natural right of inheritance, which he knew must yield to an express title from God himself. But *Abner's* conduct, in this great affair, is worth our serious reflection. He had been captain of *Saul's (d)* host, and was also his near kinsman, and a most valiant (e) man. But, upon the death of *Saul*, tho' he well knew of *David's* divine appointment to the succession, yet his own ambition, or other private motives, induced him to set up *Ishbosheth* as King over all (f) *Israel*, and to maintain a long and bloody war even against what he knew God had engag'd himself to bring about: and yet, no sooner did a private quarrel happen between *Ishbosheth* and him,

(a) 2 Sam. ii. 11. But this is not to be understood, as if *David* had so long reign'd over *Judah* only; for *Ishbosheth* reign'd but two years, and after his death, all *Israel* came in to *David*: but I reckon these *seven years and six months* from his settling at *Hebron*, till his conquest and removal to *Jerusalem*. (b) 2 Sam. ix. 3, 4. (c) ——— v. 1, &c. (d) 1 Sam. xiv. 50. (e) ——— xxvi. 15. (f) 2 Sam. ii. 8.

him, but then presently, *So do God to Abner, and more also, except, as the Lord hath sworn to David, even so I do to him; to translate the kingdom from the house of Saul, and to set up the throne of (a) David, &c.* Thus he could do, out of resentment, what he would not do for religion. Which confirms a just remark of an eminent doctor, that ‘no obligations, tho’ the most signal and divine, will hold men in obedience and peace, if their ambitions or interests look another way: and if at any time, present advantage, or an expectation, or some passion, do incline them to seek David their King; yet, the appearance of a change of interest, that expectation defeated, or a cross-animosity, will burst those bonds, unless religion, and communion in worship, help to twist (b) them’.

Now, when *all the tribes of Israel came to David unto Hebron*, we read, that *King David made a league with (c) them*, which some people have mistaken for an original contract, yet we cannot understand it so, or of his submitting to any terms or limitations, to cramp his authority: but, as *the Lord had said to David, Thou shalt feed my people Israel, and thou shalt be ruler over my people Israel, therefore came all the elders of Israel to the King to Hebron — according to the word of the Lord by Samuel (d)*; not to elect, nor to confirm, but only to recognize his divine right, and to pay their

(a) 2 Sam. iii. 9, &c. (b) *Allestr.* ferm. vol. 1, 1684, fol. 231. (c) 2 Sam. v. 1, &c. (d) *Ibid.* and 1 Chron. xi. 2.

their homage and allegiance to the Kings, as the ordinance of God: and David perceived that the Lord (not the people) had established him King over Israel (a); and accordingly, the Lord saith, I have found David my servant, with my holy oil have I anointed him (b).

After all this, with what colour of scripture, reason, or good sense, David can be said to have been 'call'd to the throne by God, and the voice of the people (c)', I own myself at a loss to understand; since nothing can be plainer than that, neither the Lord, nor his Prophet, ever once asked the people's voice or consent, nor desir'd their concurrence thereunto: nay, and further, that David was so far from being popular, that even when he offer'd himself afterwards to fight in the common cause against Goliath, neither the King himself, nor his General, knew so much as whose son he (d) was, till they were told by his own mouth.

§ XXXIV. AND tho' David had, *Absolute and thro' human frailty, (or perhaps thro' irresistible.* the advice of evil counsellors!) fallen into the grievous sins of adultery and (e) murder, each of which alone was capital, in ordinary persons, by the law of (f) God himself; yet we don't find the least attempt made by the people, to call him to account for it; nor any of the Lord's prophets

S. de-

(a) 2 Sam. v. 12. (b) Psa. lxxxix. 20. (c) Dr. Chndl. serm. 7 June, 1716, p. 3, in 8vo. (d) 1 Sam. xvii. 55. (e) 2 Sam. xi. (f) Levit. xx. 10. Deut. xxii. 22. Numb. xxxv. 31, &c.

declaring, that, upon his falling into sin, he had forfeited his right of dominion, and ought to be depos'd, as our modern fanaticks, and some of the worst of papists do pretend. Had *David* liv'd in our days, and committed such sins, (unless he had been, on other accounts, a particular favourite of the party,) it would probably have been asserted, that 'that governour
 ' who — is not a *terror to evil works, but to good,*
 ' who is not the *minister of good* to the virtuous,
 ' and of *vengeance* to the wicked only, and who
 ' is not *continually watching* for the good and hap-
 ' piness of humane society, is not the governor
 ' — (*to whom obedience is due*;) and much less,
 ' if he manifestly act contrary to the only end
 ' of his (a) institution: ' — that governours
 ' cannot, in such instances, be call'd God's vice-
 ' gerents without the highest prophaneness; and
 ' therefore to oppose them, in such cases, can-
 ' not be to oppose the authority of God (b)! &c.

How nearly the close application of this might have affected a prince, who had broke through the express laws of God, to gratify his own vicious appetites, is manifest enough. But such doctrines were not then taught by the Lord's prophets: neither is there the least colour of proof, that the *Sanhedrim* (or states of the nation) ever pretended to any right to take cognizance of these things; for 'it is ridiculous to think,
 ' that high court could controul their (c) King'.

And

(a) *B: Hoadly's serm. 29 Sept. 1705, p. 7.* (b) *Ibid. p. 13.*
 (c) *Patrick, on 1 Sam. viii. 18.*

And yet we find, that princes, tho' not accountable to their subjects, have however a superior, to whom they must render a strict account of their administration, and who will, here or hereafter, severely chastise the *mightiest* of them, for all abuses of their power and his authority; which is enough to keep the greatest tyrant in (a) awe!

Thus, in the case before us, the Lord himself takes the matter into his own hand, and sends the prophet *Nathan* to *David*, to summon him before himself as his judge, and to denounce a (b) sentence adequate even to the very circumstances of his crimes. For, whereas 'he had dared to take
' to his bed the *wife* of another man, the prophet
' plainly tells him, another should go to bed to
' his wives; whereas he, a publick person, had
' secretly done so foul an act, the prophet tells
' him, his wives should be adulterated openly,
' before all Israel, and even in the sight of the sun!
' yea, whereas he had dar'd by an unjust sword to
' slay a subject, God sends him word, *The sword shall*
' never depart from thy house! and indeed all this
' was verified in his rebellious darling, in his
' lovely son, his son (c) *Absalom*'. And yet, when this message had, by God's grace, thoroughly rous'd *David*, and awaken'd his conscience, to bring him to a sincere repentance; even then, in his penitential confession to God Almighty, he says, *against thee, thee only, have I sinned, and*

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done

(a) Satis illi erit ad poenam, quod Deum habeat ultorem, *Bract.*
See also *Wisdom* vi. 1, &c. (b) 2 *Sam.* xii. 1, &c. (c) 7.
Allington's serm. 6 *Apr.* 1660, p. 7, 8.

done this great (a) evil! not that he can be suppos'd to have been insensible of his sin, with respect to the innocent and loyal *Uriah* in particular, or to the whole people in general, by the scandal of his *(b)* example : but because he knew, that, being a lawful King, he was subordinate only to God, and accountable to him alone, in respect of punishment. ‘ If therefore we own
 ‘ the scriptures for our Guide in all doubtful and
 ‘ important points *as all of us still pretend to do,*)
 ‘ here is an instance to guide us in a matter of
 ‘ this great and weighty *(c)* moment’. But alas!
 ‘ tho’ the good actions, and their rewards; are
 ‘ enroll’d for our imitation ; the evil, and their
 ‘ punishment, for our terror : yet have we some
 ‘ in our times, that seem to have been conversant
 ‘ with the sacred scriptures, only to learn how
 ‘ to be conscientiously wicked, and to sin by pat-
 ‘ tern ; that weed out the worst deeds of men
 ‘ there mention’d, to be a scheme for their prac-
 ‘ tice —. A pregnant instance of which is the
 ‘ unnatural rebellion mention’d in this and the
 ‘ subsequent *sections*, and its exact agreement with
 ‘ our times ; it seeming to be a history of our
 ‘ days under borrow’d *(d)* names’.

§ XXXV. DAVID, having thus happily wash’d away those heinous sins, by a true repentance and humiliation, he is recorded, in the holy scripture, to have *executed judgment and justice unto all his*
 peo-

(a) *Psa.* li. 4. (b) *Regis ad exemplum*, &c. (c) *P. Latham's* serm. 29 *June*, 1683, p. 32. (d) *T. Heyricks* serm. 26 *Jul.* 1685, p. 2.

(a) people; because he did that which was right in the eyes of the Lord, and turned not aside from any thing that he commanded him all the days of his life, save only in the matter of (b) Uriah: and as such is propos'd as a pattern for his son Solomon to walk (c) by, and made the standard by which the succeeding Kings were judged. How
 ver, there wanted not an enemy, even Yet rebell'd
against by his
son Absalom. of his own blood, to rebel against him, and usurp his kingdom. For Absalom, his son, was forwarded by his own ambition, to conspire against him; and made use of the common arts and specious pretences of rebels, to steal the hearts of the men of (d) Israel from their lawful King. In order to which, having prepar'd chariots and horses, he sets about to render himself popular; declaring to every one who came to the court for justice, that his cause was good and right, but there was no man deputed of the King to hear (e) him: thereby traiterously insinuating, that there were many and great defects in his father's administration! that the King regarded not to do his subjects justice! that there was great cause of complaint given! but withal, how careful and diligent he himself would be to redress all grievances, if once he had it in his power. Ob (said he) that I were made judge (meaning the supreme judge) in the land, that every man, which bath any suit or cause, might come unto me, and I would do him (f) justice! but, tho' the giddy populace

(a) 2 Sam. viii. 15. (b) 1 Kin. xv. 5. (c) 2 Chron. vii. 17, 18. (d) 2 Sam. xv. 6. (e) — vers. 3. (f) — vers. 4.

pulace (who are too fond of revolutions,) did not see through the fallacy, it was plain enough by his address to them, and not to the King himself, that his real design was only to supplant his father in their affections, in order to usurp his throne: and what good can reasonably be expected from those, who will do wrong to one, under pretence of having thereby an opportunity of doing right to (a) others?

To this pretence of publick good, on the one hand, the subtle *Abfalom* added that of religion and liberty of conscience, on the other. He told the King, he had made a *vow to serve the Lord in Hebron, and pray'd his leave to go to perform (b) it*: whereas, in truth, it was only to get the better opportunity to *send spies throughout all the tribes of (c) Israel*, to have his rebellious adherents in readiness to attend him. Thus that, which teacheth nothing but the most dutiful obedience, is perverted to sanctify downright rebellion; till
at

(a) It was an excellent remark (worthy of its reputed author,) that a good aim, much less a good pretence, cannot justify a bad action: and therefore we ought to be as solicitous about the lawfulness of the means, as about the goodness of the end. It is a maxim in morality, that *bonum oritur ex integris*; and in Christianity, that *we must not do evil that good may come of it*: and we may possibly rescue ourselves from future couzenage, if we examine the lawfulness of every circumstance leading to the end propounded, before we are tickled and transported with the beauty of the pretence. *Modern policies taken from Machiavel, &c.* 1653, in 8vo. p. 31. (suppos'd by Dr. *Saurose*, afterwards Archbishop of *Canterbury*,) reprinted 1690, in 4to. p. 7. (b) 2 *Sam.* xv. 7, 8. (c) ——— vers. 10.

at length the poor deluded people become as devoutly wicked, as those (intimated by an ingenious writer) who could ‘ fire a pistol in their prince’s face, whilst they were repeating the fifth (a) commandment ’! But this is not strange: for they, who level at the government, always disguise those aims with the fair and specious colours of maintaining endanger’d religion, liberty, and property; while they have no sense of the first, intend to oppress the second, and seize on the (b) third’.

Nevertheless, by these and such like artifices, the *conspiracy* became *strong* and *general*: for the people increas’d continually with Absalom; tho’ many of them went with him in their simplicity, and knew not any (c) thing they were to do, or at least never consider’d the fatal consequences of what they were engag’d in. Among those who join’d in this unnatural expedition, the principal was *Achitophel*, one of *David*’s counsellors, (‘ or the president, (d) it’s possible, of that honourable board ’;) whose name will therefore be infamous to all posterity, next to that of *Judas*, of whom he is not improperly said to be a (e) type. As for the rest, in general, they may be suppos’d to have been the very dregs of the people; since rebellion, properly so call’d, is fitly compar’d to a common-sewer, into which all the kennels of the nation, naturally (f) run.

(a) *Lewis*’s scourge, no. 5. (b) *Dr. J. Fitz-William*’s serm. 9 Sept. 1683, p. 13. (c) 2 *Sam.* xv. 11, 12. (d) *Achitophel*’s policy defeated; a serm. 9 Sept. 1683, p. 10. (e) *T. Long*’s serm. 9 Sept. 1683, p. 5. (f) *Dr. Scott*’s serm. 26 July, 1685, p. 25, 26.

Thus *David*, by the sudden increase of his enemies, and the base desertion of some of his most obliged friends, was reduc'd to the necessity, not only to abdicate the government, but even to *flee* for his life, and to *escape* beyond (a) *Jordan*: and the good King *wept as he went up, and had his head cover'd, and he went barefoot, and all the people that was with* (b) *him*. And well he might be thus affected. For tho' he had been train'd up from his youth in the school of affliction (wherein many princely virtues are best to be (c) learn'd) and, even after he was anointed, was not admitted by God to the exercise of his kingly power, till he had spent some years under this discipline; tho' *the evils which compass'd him about were* (d) *innumerable*; and his enemies who hated him wrongfully were (e) *strong and mighty, and more than the hairs of his* (f) *head*; tho' he was revil'd by people of all sorts, from the gravest who *sate in the gate* (or place of judicature,) and *spake against him*, down to the very drunkards, who made *songs* (and libels) upon (g) *him*: yet nothing of all this touch'd him so home, as when his own flesh and blood conspir'd his ruin; when his own familiar friend in whom he trusted, which did eat of his bread, had lift up his heel against (h) *him*; which

(a) 2 *Sam.* xv. 14. — xvii. 22. (b) — xv. 30. (c)
 The learned bishop *Morley*, speaking of *David* being a man after God's own heart, says, 'perhaps it was his breeding in this school that made him to be so'. *Morley's* serm. at the coron. of King *Charles* II. 1661, p. 53, in 4to. (d) *Pf.* xl. 12. (e) — xxxviii. 19. (f) — lxix. 4. (g) — *verf.* 12. (h) — xli. 9.

which he elegantly complains of (a); ‘ where he
 ‘ bemoans his own present distress, and the perfidiousness of his own principal servants and
 ‘ counsellors, who, with *Absalom*, fought his life
 ‘ and (b) crown’.

Upon this abdication or desertion of his throne (if that may be so call’d (c) which was occasion’d by a just apprehension of danger to his person,) *Absalom*, with his party came to (d) *Jerusalem*, and was permitted by God, for the sins of the nation, to take possession of the vacant throne, and of the whole kingdom, from *Dan* even to (e) *Beer-sheba*; so that, for some time, the usurper had every thing but God and justice on his side, and the loyalists had not force sufficient to make head against him, in behalf of their exil’d King! but, to their immortal honour let it be remember’d, that *Zadok* (f) and *Abiathar*, and all the priests and levites retain’d their natural allegiance, and continued stedfast in loyalty to their sovereign *David*. ‘ They had not learnt the new doctrine of
 ‘ resistance, nor did they act by the politick rule
 ‘ of our modern *Laodiceans*, who really neither
 ‘ espouse the King’s cause, nor the faction of his
 ‘ enemies; but stand aloof off, till they may,
 ‘ with discretion, join themselves to the stronger
 ‘ side. *Zadok* and *Abiathar* were as wise as they,
 ‘ but more honest; and tho’ they were God’s
 T ‘ priests,

(a) *Psa.* lv. 12, &c. (b) *Bishop Sheldon’s* serm. 28 *June*, 1660, p. 8. (c) *Bishop Burnet* says, certainly it cannot be call’d so; as I have noted upon p. 37. (d) 2 *Sam.* xvi. 15. (e) — xvii. 11. (f) — x. 24.

‘ priests, yet continued the King’s loyal subjects
 ‘ in his greatest distress and utmost extremity.
 ‘ — I wish that some who term themselves *mini-*
 ‘ *sters of the gospel* would acquit themselves, in
 ‘ this respect, as well as these (howsoever despis’d)
 ‘ *priests of the (a) law*! for this their loyalty was
 perhaps the main human cause, that this rebel-
 lion of *Abalom* (as well as that of *Sheba*, which
 soon follow’d it) was of a short continuance; God
 having so guarded the government of his own
 people, by a strict conformity and uniformity,
 that, without a schism in the church, no rebel-
 lion against the King could long continue.

Now, when treason rode triumphant among
 the multitude, and faith was but to be found
 among the few, the treacherous *Ziba* took his op-
 portunity to betray his loyal master (*b*) *Mephi-*
boseth; and the foul-mouth’d *Shimei* presum’d to
 cast stones at his sovereign Lord the King, and
 to curse (*c*) him even to his face! It does not
 appear, that this miscreant had receiv’d any per-
 sonal injury, or any just provocation, thus to in-
 sult his lawful sovereign in his distress; and there-
 fore we may fairly suppose, that the corruption
 of his own heart was the only reason, that he took
 the advantage of the times, (as other time-servers
 are apt to do,) which then did favour every
 one that would be the King’s enemy. But if he
 had been so provok’d, the law of God was very
 express

(a) *Achitophel’s* policy defeated; *A* serm 9 Sept. 1683, p 26,
 27. (b) 2 *Sam.* xvi. 1, &c. (c) — vers. 5, 6.

(a) exprefs against reviling the Lord's anointed; which in the holy scriptures is call'd (b) *blasphemy*: and therefore, tho' *David* himself (through the clemency natural to lawful Kings) was so gracious as to forgive him, yet God Almighty, who looks upon any injury done to them as done to himself, (whose authority they have,) would not hold him guiltless, but return'd his wickedness upon his own head, and brought it down to the grave with (c) blood. And yet, 'for one *Shimei* in *David's* time, we have a (d) thousand in our days'. But it is remarkable, that immediately upon this happy restoration, this blasphemer of the Lord, and of his anointed, was among the very first, who *hasted* (e) to make a formal submission to the King, and address him for mercy; which (however undeserved) he readily obtain'd of him. For tho' *David* return'd upon his own terms, yea, even in conquest, with the sword in his hand, and might have justly made many examples of his vengeance; yet, like a true father to them, he passes an *act of indemnity* to all his people, and would not strike off this very wretch, who had so highly try'd his patience, tho' some about him had press'd him earnestly to do it. Upon which case, I find a remark of a modern divine, which

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I think

(a) *Exod.* xxii. 28. (b) *1 Kin.* xxi. 10, 13. (c) — ii. 9.
 (d) *Heyrick's ferm.* 26 July, 1685, p. 4. And (as Sir *J. Hayward* tells the Jesuit *Parsons*,) *Shimei did not half so cruelly curse or revile holy David, as those do who charge him with resistance against Saul; which he detested.* *Hayw.* answ. to *Doleman*, 1603, p. 99.
 (e) *2 Sam.* xix. 16, &c.

I think well worthy of remembrance. Speaking of *Shimei's* cursing, and *David's* patience under it, as if *the Lord* had not only permitted, but expressly *bidden him* do it; and his pious confidence that *the Lord* would requite him good for (a) it; he offers it to be consider'd, when the provocations of a people are so very clamorous and importunate, that nothing can befall them but as a pointed providence, and they can never be to seek why God's hand is upon them; whether, in case their Prince should abuse his power, it would not become them, instead of meditating resistance, to say rather, *let him alone, for God has bidden him*: and I will be bold to add, that they may say this, with at least as good reason, as *David* could of *Shimei*; since it's so very plain, that even evil princes are the ordinance of (b) God, &c.

Abfalom's *revolu-*
tion - principles
expos'd. § XXXVI. THIS revolution (tho' in truth a most unnatural rebellion and treasonable usurpation, and reported as such in the sacred records,) had nevertheless its false prophets, impudent enough to impute it all to God's providence, and *the Lord's doing!* *The Lord* (said *Shimei*) *hath deliver'd the kingdom into the hand of Absalom thy (c) son.* Such as he could

(a) 2 Sam. xvi. 10, &c. (b) Mr. D'Oyly's serm. at Bath, 17 Sept. 1710, p. 20, in 4to. (c) 2 Sam. xvi. 8. Several of our late eminent divines having taken occasion to apply this case to that of a later *Absalom* (which was happily suppress'd.) have elegantly describ'd the consequences naturally attending such rebellion

could behold God's hand, and visible marks of providence in all this! (like those miserable interpreters of God's word herein before (a) mention'd;) whereas 'tis certain, his incest and usurpation were equally from God's permission, and the Lord was no more the author of the one than the other: nay (as a late popular writer frankly observes) ' there is as plain and as legible (b) scripture, to ' entitle him to the bloody *French* and *Irish* massacres, as there is to make him the setter-up of ' divine (c) usurpers!—— To deny God's providence, is to shut him out of his own world; ' but to ascribe wicked actions to the divine providence, is the greater injury of the two. For ' the

lion, whenever it is permitted to succeed: how, ' God should ' have been entituled the author, and be mock'd with a thanksgiving-day for the success! the actors had been honour'd as patriots and saints! the protestant religion had — receiv'd another ' indelible blot! and — heresy, hypocrisy, and regicide been made ' the publick profession and religion of the nation! *T. Long's* serm. 9 *Sept.* 1683, p. 35, 36. ' We had quickly seen a flourishing kingdom — seiz'd on, eaten up by lice; by a swarm ' of the basest and most infamous vermin that ever bred out of ' the filth of a nation! we had seen the Athiest glutting his lust ' with the rapes of our wives and daughters, and quaffing the ' tears of widows and orphans! we had seen the beggar on ' horseback flaunting in the spoils of our fortunes, and triumphing on the heads of our nobles and gentry! in a word, we had ' seen our laws trampled on, our liberties enslav'd, and our yet sacred and virgin throne, to our everlasting infamy, deflower'd ' and profan'd by a spurious illegitimate issue! *Dr. Scott's* serm. 26 *July*, 1685, p. 26, 27.

(a) Page 92. (b) *The Lord killeth, and maketh alive.* 1 *Sam.* ii. 6. (c) *Sam. Johns.* argum. proving the abrogat. of *K. James*, 1692, pref. p. 15.

‘ the *English* of God’s providence is, as God
 ‘ would have it. Now, when this is applied to
 ‘ usurpation, which is robbery and wrong in the
 ‘ highest degree, — ’tis to say, that robbery is
 ‘ as God would have it, and oppression is as God
 ‘ would have it! but this, all the world knows, is
 ‘ contrary to God’s known and revealed will;
 ‘ and therefore as the Atheists deny God, so
 ‘ these men make him to deny (a) himself’. And
 what less violence do those offer to the divine
 majesty, who presume notoriously to wrest the
 holy scriptures, (and particularly the case here
 before us,) to favour such resistance as is there-
 in expressly condemn’d? Yet so did the trum-
 peters of rebellion, within the memory of man,
 endeavour to justify their own party by the mis-
 applied example of *David*, and condemn their
 King’s conduct under the person of *Absalom*: as
 if *Absalom*’s sin had only consisted in his rising up
 against the (b) righteous (as they presum’d to call
 them-

(a) *Ibid.* p. 39, 40. (b) *See* *Gibson*’s *serm.* 24 *Sept.* 1645,
 p. 34. But because this prophane preacher has here also cast his
 odious reflections upon the solemn prayers which all the ortho-
 dox members of our church constantly put up for our lawful
 sovereign, I shall transcribe what the learned *Dr. Comber* says,
 in his commentary on the *collect for the King*. ‘ His friends are
 ‘ our friends, and his enemies our enemies; for whoever attempts
 ‘ to smite the shepherd, seeks to destroy the sheep, and is a mor-
 ‘ tal foe to the whole nation — If it be a foreign prince that
 ‘ opposeth our King, he is a robber, and unjust, to invade his
 ‘ neighbour’s rights: if he be a subject that riseth against his so-
 ‘ veraign, he hath renounc’d christianity with his allegiance, and
 ‘ is to be esteem’d a troubler of our *Israel*. Therefore, whose-
 ‘ ever they be that are enemies to the King, or whatsoever the
 ‘ pre-

themselves!) whereas it was manifestly his rising up against his lawful sovereign; without any regard to *David's* personal righteousness, but only to God's authority, under which he was sacred and irresistible. But such preachers must be suppos'd to have forgot the *fifth commandment*; which containing an express promise of *long life* to those who *honour* their parents, whether natural, spiritual, or political, doth consequently imply a threatening, that those who do it not, (and much more then, those who actually rebel against them all, as the usurper here before us did,) shall be cut off short: and we can't believe, that the most zealous *Achitophels* would be content with such a revolution in their own families, to be insulted and turn'd out of doors by their own children and servants; and much less that they would own it to be *the Lord's doing*. 'Tis true, the great revolutions of government are attributed to a particular providence of *God*; who *is the judge, and putteth down one, and setteth up (a) another*. Yet still this 'doth not found any right of dominion (as some fancied, till the argument from providence was return'd with greater force upon themselves:) but it shews, that when God pleases to make use of persons or nations as (b)

' scour-

' pretence be, we wish they may never prosper in that black impiety of unjust invasion or unchristian rebellion'. As I find him quoted in *A vindic. of some among ourselves, &c.* 1692, p. 25

(a) *Psa.* lxxv. 7. (b) 'Tis well observ'd, that God, 'to prevent the cavils of unreasonable men, has providentially laid open

‘ scourges in his hand, to punish a people with ;
 ‘ he gives them success above their hopes or ex-
 ‘ pectations ; but that success gives them no (a)
 ‘ right. — And if God gives no right to him
 ‘ whom he sets up, then it remains still in him
 ‘ whom he has put down ; so that he is rightful
 ‘ King still, though he is out of possession, and
 ‘ the other is but an usurper that is in (b) pos-
 ‘ session ’.

And that the people’s choice, consent or sub-
 mission was another of *Abfalom’s* pretended titles,
 we may perceive by *Hushai’s* mentioning that in
 particular, as one of the reasons for his seeming
 to come over to his interest ; saying, *Whom the*
Lord, and this people, and all the men of Israel,
chuse, his will I be, and with him will I (c) abide ;
 which, by the way, is the first time that we hear
 of that fallacious principle, *vox populi vox Dei!*
 that *the voice of the people is the voice of God!*
 tho’ here it was not made use of as a maxim,
 but

‘ open his conduct in those most remarkable words, *Isa. x. 5.*
 ‘ *O Assyrian, the rod of mine anger, and the staff in his hand (or*
 ‘ *the power I have arm’d him with) is mine indignation: I will*
 ‘ *send him against an hypocritical nation, and against the people*
 ‘ *of my wrath will I give him a charge to take the spoil. And*
 ‘ then it follows, v. 7. *Howbeit he meaneth not so, neither doth*
 ‘ *his heart think so, but it is in his heart to destroy, and cut off*
 ‘ *nations not a few. And we learn from the 12th verse, that*
 ‘ *when the man had perform’d all this work, God would punish*
 ‘ *him for what he had done.* Mr. D’Oyly’s serm at Bath, 17 Sept.
 1710, p. 18, in 4^o.

(a) *Stillingsf.* serm. 13 Nov. 1678, p. 17. (b) *Bishop Lloyd’s*
disc. of God’s ways of dispos. of Kingd. 1691, p. 56. (c)
 2 *Sam. xvi.* 18.

but meerly as a colourable complement to the humour of the party: for *Hushai* was so far from being a revolter in his heart, that he was *David's* (a) companion, and remarkably *his friend*; which made *Abfalom* at first admire at his supposed (b) desertion. But he was expressly authoriz'd, and commanded by King *David* himself, to make his court to the usurper in this manner, in order to defeat the counsel of *Achitophel*, and to give him notice of what (c) pass'd; which he happily effected. How far such insincere professions may be justifiable in human policy, I shall not take upon me to determine. 'Tis plain, he went a great length in his compliance; not only saluting *Abfalom* in the proper stile of sovereignty, *God save the King, God save the King!* but in such further terms as were understood as a promise of true allegiance: but then, as he did not presume to take the name of *God* in vain by any oath, and he had *David's* own authority for what he did, his case appears in a different light from that of those who scruple no terms of compliance with any other *Abfalom*, or *Oliver*, who hath power to reward them.

And yet, notwithstanding all these his pretended titles, grounded upon the King's abdication, the people's election, his own success, and full possession, and (what is still more) the providence, that all this happen'd according to what *the Lord* had foretold to *David* by the prophet *Nathan*;

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Abfa-

(a) 1 Chron. xxvii. 33.
— xv. 33, &c.

(b) 2 Sam. xvi. 16, 17.

(c)

Abalom was never the more their King, but a sturdy rebel, and his enterprize, even when it was in its height, is by the Holy Ghost branded with the foul name of a (a) *conspiracy*: and *David*, tho' out of possession and in exile, is every where acknowledg'd to be their only lawful and rightful King (as I have shewn our (b) soveraign was in a like case;) and as such, in God's good time, happily restor'd to his repenting subjects.

David's re- § XXXVII. ' Now the men both
storatien. ' of *Judab* and *Israel*, they were all
' convinced; they all very well knew, that the
' feat of the kingdom was *David's*; knew *Ab-*
' *salom* to have no title but what the sword made
' him; knew the right of the throne belong'd
' to him who was fled, to him who was out of
' the land: and therefore, if they would have
' peace and government built upon the founda-
' tion of righteousness, they could not but con-
' clude, the King himself must have his right;
' he who was unjustly banisht, must in righteous-
' ness be call'd (c) home', &c. And yet none of
these considerations would weigh with them, till
after they had tasted of the calamities of war,
and felt the smart of arbitrary government under
a prevailing faction: but when they found them-
selves actually subject to that tyranny, under an
usurper, which they were only afraid of under their
King, then they became sensible of their folly and
madness, in having made so fatal a revolution;
and

(a) 2 *Sam.* xv. 12. (b) Page 50. (c) *Allington's* serm.
6 *Apr.* 1660, p. 38.

and therefore after a bloody battle, and the death of the usurper, they bethought themselves, that it was their true interest, as well as their duty, to call home *David* again, rather than presume to set up another *Abfalom*, and be consequently forc'd to keep an army on foot to support him in his usurpation. For (as 'tis well express'd by a divine before quoted,) ' a King, it seems, is one
 ' of those good things, whose want doth best
 ' commend them: for whilst *David* was at home,
 ' and in the city, the citizens would not strengthen
 ' his hands, would not stand to him, for he was
 ' fain to fly; but now, when out of the land,
 ' then they begin to consider the feeling and sensible
 ' distance between an usurper and a father,
 ' between an *Abfalom* and a *David*. And then
 ' they find there was as much difference between
 ' the King and his usurper, as is between an
 ' husband and an adulterer: for as the one takes
 ' a woman for his love, and the other for his lust,
 ' even so do they take crowns, the King to promote,
 ' the usurper to make a prey on it; the
 ' King he loves, the usurper he lusts; the King
 ' studieth the advance, peace and improvement
 ' of his people——, but the usurper he studieth
 ' how to advance himself, how to build up his
 ' house (a)' &c. Thus God, who alone is able to bow the hearts of men, and to *turn them whithersoever* (b) it pleases him, having providentially influenc'd these revolvers, they, as it were with

U 2 one

(a) *Allingt. serm. 6 Apr. 1660, p. 33.* (b) *Prov. xxi. 1.*

one heart, *sent this word unto the King, Return thou and all thy (a) servants*; and contended fiercely among themselves, which of them should be *the first in bringing him (b) back!* which manifests the truth of that proposition, that ‘just authority, however depress’d for a season, usually recovers and gets up again, and unjust usurpation, however high and successful for a while, seldom holds out long against a righteous (c) title’. And the reason thereof seems very convincing. For ‘while any man holds and claims only by unrighteousness, he doth not hold of God, nor doth God look upon the thing he holds, as his, till some way of right makes it so: whilst he holds it by wrong, he rates him not as the owner, but usurper, and therefore bids him restore the right owner his own again; and that is all any man ever gets with him by meer unrighteous possession; viz. no property therein, but only guilt and punishment, and a necessity of making restitution (d)!’. And this reasoning holds good, more especially with relation to *kingdoms and nations*, which ‘are therefore either rewarded or punish’d in this world, because they shall not, as such, be judg’d in the other: and the same may be said of their rulers too. When the greatest monarch goes down into the grave, all his pomp and power, his titles and majesty perish
‘ toge-

(a) 2 Sam xix. 14. (b) — vers. 9, and 43. (c) Ford’s serm. 28 June, 1660, p. 7. (d) Kestlewell’s works, vol. 2. fol. 2 13. See also Beveridge’s serm. of restitution.

‘ together with him ; and he shall stand in judg-
 ‘ ment in the same undistinguish’d rank with the
 ‘ meanest of his subjects : whatsoever reward
 ‘ therefore God shall please to give to such a
 ‘ one, as a King, it must be all in this present
 ‘ (a) life’.

But before I leave this remarkable case, I cannot but stop to compare the modesty of this King *de facto*, *Abfalom*, with the unwarrantable assurance of our *English* protector, *Oliver* ; where I can’t find the least footstep of any oath, covenant or engagement to *Abfalom*, much less any abjuration of the titles and pretensions of *David*, the King *de jure*, tho’ he was then in exile, and thereby divested of the exercise of his sovereign authority. And therefore not finding any thing of that here (in which our late *English* usurpers so far outwent those *Jews*,) I shall not presume to determine, whether in case such oaths, or covenants, or engagements had been requir’d in *Abfalom*’s case, the people of *Israel* (b) could with a good conscience have taken them ; nor whether, if they had, by whatever inducements, been prevail’d withal to take them, such oaths, or covenants, or engagements had oblig’d them to any thing but repentance and restitution ; nor whether such people had been bound in conscience, upon the
 the

(a) *Wake’s* serm. 26 Nov. 1691, p. 19. (b) A zealous modern is very positive, that ‘ no ecclesiastical wash can hide the
 ‘ crime of abjuring the person, whom I believe my sovereign,
 ‘ and professing allegiance to another whom I think an usurper’.
 ‘ *Tho. Bradbury’s* serm. 5 Nov. 1715, p. 26.

the first conviction of their illegality, to have reversed and disclaim'd them; nor particularly, whether *Joab*, who (a) *thrust three darts through the heart of Absalom*, the usurper, had been guilty of treason; nor whether he could have justified himself in so doing, by virtue of his natural allegiance to *David*, the King *de jure*. These, I say, are questions, that, not being resolv'd in the case before me, I shall not presume to determine; but refer them to be discuss'd at leisure, by the help of the several eminent authorities here (b) quoted, whilst I proceed in my history. However, with respect to that other case, to which this is applicable, in our *English* history, I must observe, that the representative body of the nation, in a free parliament assembled, declar'd those oaths, covenants, and engagements which were impos'd upon the subjects, as well as all other the acts and ordinances made, during the late grand usurpation, to have been 'unlawful, and impos'd against
' the fundamental laws and liberties of this king-
' dom; to have had in themselves not the least
' colour of law or justice to support them; and
' (therefore) to have been null and void to all in-
' tents and purposes (c) whatsoever'.

Sheba's revolt,
and his sudden
fate. § XXXVIII. ABSALOM being
sent to his Place, and the men of
Israel being discontented, that those
of

(a) 2 *SAM.* xviii. 14. (b) See Bishop *Hall's* propositions; *Sanderfon's* cases of oaths; The whole duty of man; *Wake's* discourse of swearing; and other casuists. (c) *Stat.* xiii. *CAR.* 2. c. 1.

of *Judab* had been more active in the King's restoration than themselves, *every man of Israel went up from after David, and follow'd Sheba*; who embrac'd that occasion to usurp the *ten tribes* (a) himself. He blew a trumpet, and said, *We have no part in David, neither have we inheritance in the son of Jesse*; every man to his tents, O *Israel*! as if he had plainly profess'd, in behalf of himself and his party, that 'unless they might have
' the crown land, they were rather for a war than
' a settlement, rather for confusion than a King;
' they valued a King at no more than was their
' own interest and their own (b) advantage'. But, he soon met with his reward, being pursu'd to death by certain loyal (c) subjects: and then all the people return'd again to their true allegiance. In which case it is observable, that tho' this usurper had also all the tribes of *Israel*, while *David* had but the loyal tribe of *Judab* with him, he was never once termed a King, but a *man of Belial*; which, (as a learned prelate observes)
' in effect is as much as if it had been said, that
' he was of his father the (d) devil'!

Here it may be proper to take notice of the spawn of old *Leviathan*, who would persuade us, that *dominion is founded in power*; and that *tho' the right of the sovereign is not entinguish'd by a prosperous invasion or rebellion, yet the obligation of the subjects is*: so that, *when our lawful King is not able*

(a) 2 Sam. xx. 1, 2. (b) Allington's serm. 29 June, 1660, p. 54. (c) 2 Sam. xx. 22. (d) Archbishop Usher of obedience of subj. p. 125.

able to protect us, we are at liberty to seek it any where; and are bound to defend him who has the possession, and power to protect us, so long as we are able. But all this may well be answer'd as a facetious and popular writer does it. 'It is true
 ' indeed (says he) what a right reverend preacher
 ' said, that *possession is eleven points of the law*:
 ' but where is the twelfth? we want the point of
 ' right; without which the eleven points of law
 ' are like the verdict of eleven jurymen, for re-
 ' ceiving of which, King *Alfred* heretofore
 ' hanged one of his (a) judges. — Suppose
 ' any man, by forcible entry, gets possession of
 ' the manor-house, is he thereupon Lord of
 ' the manor, or has he a right to the rents of
 ' the tenants? it intitles him to nothing that I
 ' know of but to be follow'd by a writ of eject-
 ' ment; for the right and the estate are for ever
 ' inseparable: for tho' the right owner be not
 ' in the estate, yet the estate is always in (b) him'.
 However this is plain, from the case here in our
 view, that 'the publick peace being once bro-
 ' ken, it is impossible for them that begin a ci-
 ' vil war, to stop where they will, or end it when
 ' they please, or even to judge what their own
 ' resolutions will be, as the state of things alters
 ' or advances: new men will graft upon the
 ' schemes and successes of the prime designers;
 ' and they that are once engaged, will gradually
 ' advance to the highest villanies, rather than
 ' quit

(a) *Sam. Johnson's* notes on the *phoenix* edition of the pastoral letter, 1664, p. 20. (b) *Ibid.* p. 25.

quit the game, or suffer it to be played out of their (a) hands'.

§ XXXIX. As to *Solomon*, it is granted that he was King by a divine right, in the strictest sense of the (b) word.

Solomon, a King by divine right.

For, tho' he was a younger son of *David*, and consequently indeed could not be the next heir by birth, as himself acknowledg'd to his mother, concerning *Adonijah*, saying, *Ask for him the kingdom also; for he is mine elder (c) brother*, (where, by the way, we may observe, that *Solomon* himself, who did not use to speak improperly, affirms, that, by the ordinary right and course of succession, the Kingdom was to have gone according to the natural law of primogeniture;) yet, as he was the person who was, expressly and by name, promis'd to be establish'd in the throne, by the Lord, even before his (d) birth; of which *David* was also put in mind (e) afterwards: therefore (and for that reason only) it was, that *Solomon* was immediately set upon the throne, by *David's* order, according to the word of the (f) Lord.

This is further manifested both by *David* and *Solomon* himself. For *David*, instructing *Solomon* in God's promises, and his duty, tells him, *The word of the Lord came to me, saying, A son shall be born to thee, — his name shall be Solomon; — and I will establish the throne of his kingdom over*

X

Israel

(a) Dr. Chandl. serm. 7 June, 1716, p. 23. (b) F. Archer's serm. at Tunbr. 8 Aug. 1714, p. 27. (c) 1 Kin. ii. 22. (d) 2 Sam. vii. 12. (e) 1 Kin. i. 11, &c. (f) — 32, &c.

Israel for (a) ever: and in a set speech, wherein he declar'd both his own and Solomon's divine right, he says, *The Lord God of Israel chose me before all the house of my father, to be King over Israel for ever — ; and of all my sons, he hath chosen Solomon, my son, to sit upon the throne of the kingdom of the Lord over Israel ; and he said unto me, — I will establish his kingdom for (b) ever. And again he saith, Solomon my son, whom alone God hath (c) chosen, &c.* Thus Solomon also himself says, *The Lord hath perform'd his word that he spake, and I am risen up in the room of David my father, and sit on the throne of Israel, as the Lord (d) promised: and again Solomon said unto God, Thou hast shewed great mercy unto David my father, and hast made me to reign in his (e) stead. In full conviction whereof, and to put his title out of all doubt, all the Princes, and the mighty men, and all the sons likewise of King David, submitted themselves unto Solomon the (f) King.*

'Tis true, Adonijab (his eldest surviving brother) at first made a party, to secure his natural right of succession. And such was the universal respect to the law of primogeniture, that *all Israel set their faces on him, that he should (g) reign: but he soon was convinc'd, and acknowledg'd, that the kingdom was his brother Solomon's from the (h) Lord ; who alone has the power and prerogative*

(a) 1 Chron. xxii. 8, &c. (b) ——— xxviii. 4, &c. (c) ——— xxix. 1. (d) 1 Kin. viii. 20. (e) 2 Chron. i. 8. (f) 1 Chron. xxix. 24. (g) 1 Kin. ii. 15. (h) Ibid.

rogative to dispense with, and supersede his own laws, and those of nature.

Here, tho' the case is plain enough in itself, yet I find it necessary to add a remark, with respect to the insinuation of Mr. *Whiston*. He admits, that *Adonijah* was the *eldest son then (a) alive*, but insinuates, that nevertheless, *Adonijah* himself 'does not yet deny, that the consent of the people was also requisite in such a case; and that when God turned the hearts of the people to recognize *Solomon*, that recognition was a sufficient title to the throne, even in barr to that primogeniture itself (b)'. In answer to which, and to demonstrate the fallacy thereof, it is observable, that *Adonijah* affirms (and appeals even to *Solomon's* mother for the truth of it) that the right of succession was his: *Thou knowest (says he) that the kingdom was mine* (meaning by the natural right of primogeniture;) as if he had said, according to *Peter Martyr*, *This is so notorious and manifest, that it is impossible you should be ignorant of (c) it*; for (as *Adonijah* proceeds) so fully sensible was every body of that my inherent right, by virtue of the laws of God and nature (which also they knew, to be absolutely indefeasible (d), without the manifest and apparent interposition of God himself, and that too, not by doubtful events, which some affect to call the *appearance of God by his providence*; but by an express and clear revelation of his di-

X 2

vine

(a) Script. polit. p. 29. (b) *Ibid.* p. 30. (c) *P. Mart.* in loco. (d) *Deut.* xxi. 15, &c.

vine will, for that purpose,) that they, even *all* Israel, *set their faces on me, that I should reign*, as, being their King's eldest son : but when it appear'd, beyond all doubt, by such publick revelation, to be the will of God to alter the entail, then (and not before they acknowledg'd the *kingdom to be turned about to Solomon, because it was his from the Lord*: and as *Adonijah* himself (being likewise made sensible of God's exercising his peculiar prerogative in that case) readily submitted, and waved his claim to the crown, there was, from that time, no other pretender in view, and consequently no colour for any one to scruple the recognition of *Solomon*, whom God himself had so unquestionably appointed, and even nam'd to be their King, as before is demonstrated.

Nevertheless, so far was that recognition from being a sufficient (or indeed any) *title to the crown*, much less a *barr to the primogeniture* (as that learned *scripture-politician* pretends) that the very word *recognition* necessarily supposes a prior right inherent in the person recogniz'd, and implies an acknowledgment of that prior right, not the giving of a new one : besides, I *appeal to the consciences and common sense* of all mankind, whether any thing can be found more clear in the whole *bible* than this, that the people look'd upon it as their indispensable duty, to recognize the right of the eldest son, according to the known laws ; till being made thoroughly sensible, that God had openly dispens'd with his own laws (in that particular case) and declar'd himself in favour of

Solomon

Solomon by name, and that, to make it the more notorious to them, *Adonijah* himself had also wav'd his pretension to the crown; the people, then having no room left to dispute the title, readily recogniz'd him whom *the Lord* had so expressly nominated, and to whom *Adonijah* himself had as expressly submitted.

It did not therefore require any great depth of judgment to observe from this case, that *hereditary right has been interrupted*, and that, 'notwithstanding such an interruption, yet the estate of the people of *Israel* was very happy under *Solomon's* (a) government'! for, when God Almighty did thus expressly interpose to chuse a King for them, and they had not provok'd him by any rebellious acts at that time, to *give them a King in his* (b) *anger*, 'tis no wonder that the people should be as happy under such a King, as under one of their own chusing; nay, I believe, it would puzzle this learned author to find out any one instance (at least in the scripture-history,) of their ever having been happy under any King of their own chusing: and whereas he observes, that 'after Kings have been anointed with oil, their persons have been always accounted sacred, and reckon'd to be God's vicegerents, and the supreme heads of the' (c) *people*', a little more reading (d) would have taught him, that the royal unction is but a ceremony, which, like that of coronation, is no part of the title; and that

many

(a) *T. Page's serm.* 20 *Jan.* 1714, p. 2, 3. (b) *Hos.* xiii. 11. (c) *T. Page*, as before. (d) See p. 45, and 72.

many Kings were never anointed, who, never the less for that, were as sacred, and as truly God's vicegerents, as those who were.

But, after the best inquiry I can make into the case before us, I can't discover the least colour of scripture, to warrant Mr. *Whiston's* observation, that God, in this preference of *Solomon*, had respect to his *personal virtue, goodness, and (a) desert*. He ventures indeed, tho' without authority, to call *Solomon* the *better son*, and *Adonijah* the *(b) worse*: but he will have much ado to prove that, especially at the time when God reveal'd his resolution to establish *Solomon* in the throne; unless, as he did in the case of *Esau* and *Jacob*, he will pretend to distinguish the better from the worse, before they were born, or were capable of *doing either good or (c) evil*; which, with submission, does not become him to judge of. I suppose, he does not think *Solomon* was so *preferr'd on account of his chastity*, as he says *Joseph (d)* was! and much less can we imagine it, on the account of his idolatry, tho' that was foreseen by God Almighty, even when he entail'd the crown upon him.

However, we may see the necessity of those speeches which *David* and *Solomon* made in maintenance of their divine right; that the people might perceive, by apparent proofs, that the fundamental laws of nature were not alter'd by them, without the express revelation and appointment

(a) Script polit. p. 12, 13. (b) *Ibid.* p. 29. (c) *Eq. n.*
ix. 11. (d) See p. 40, 41.

ment of the Lord; which alone supercedes all other legal qualifications whatsoever. Upon which account (and no other) *Adonijah*, and all who had help'd him to exalt himself against the Lord's exprefs ordinance, were guilty of usurpation and treason, and thereby forfeited their liberties, estates and lives, as well as their employments, to *Solomon's* mercy.

And as *Adonijah* himself had a pardon, or a reprieve only, upon condition of future good (*a*) behaviour, (and therefore lost his life afterwards, as soon as the King judg'd the condition broken;) so *Abiathar* his life was spared by King *Solomon*, for his former good services to King *David*, but the priesthood is said to have been taken from him, and restored to *Zadok*, that he might fulfil the word of the Lord, which he spake concerning the house of *Eli* in (*b*) *Shiloh*; of which I shall treat more particularly by and by.

§ XL. IN the mean time, I must take notice, how manifestly King *Solomon* himself violated the law which God had given for the rule of the King's conduct, as before (*c*) is intimated. God's law was exprefs, that he shall not multiply *And irrefi-*
horses to himself — ; neither shall he *stable.*
multiply wives to himself, that his heart turn not
away; neither shall he greatly multiply to himself
silver and (d) gold: and yet *Solomon* did multiply
horses to a very great (*e*) number, and had them
fetcht

(*a*) 1 *Kings* i. 52. — ii. 23, &c. (*b*) 1 *Sam.* ii. 35. † *Kiv.*
ii. 27. (*c*) P. 109. (*d*) *Deut.* xvii. 16, 17. (*e*) 1 *Kings*
iv.

*fetcht up and brought forth out of (a) Egypt, contrary to the same law: he multiply'd wives also, to the prodigious number of seven hundred that were princesses, and three hundred (b) concubines; many of which too were strange women, of the nations which they were absolutely (c) forbid to inter-marry with: he likewise multiply'd silver and gold, infomuch that he exceeded all the Kings of the earth for (d) riches: and moreover, in his old age, his strange wives turn'd away his heart after other (e) Gods. So that the people might very plausibly have been told, that 'they were a free
' people; that Solomon invaded their liberties and
' privileges; that therefore they did but them-
' selves justice, if they took the cause into their
' own hands, and righted themselves; that their
' King was a favourer of idolatry; that they
' were God's people, and therefore ought to se-
' cure God's rights as well as their own, and not
' suffer any innovation to be made in religion;
' that their taking up arms therefore would not
' be*

iv. 26. It is said, that he had forty thousand stalls of horses for his chariots, and twelve thousand horsemen. But this is, by good interpreters, thought to be a fault crept into the original by the negligence of transcribers; and the rather, because 2 Chron. ix. 25. it is only said, that Solomon had four thousand stalls for horses and chariots: which indeed is the more probable, because we find, 1 Kin. x. 26. and 2 Chron. i. 14. that he had no more than one thousand and four hundred chariots; and the chariots of war did not commonly consist of more than two horses.

(a) 1 King's x. 28, and 2 Chron. i. 16, 17. — ix. 28. (b) 1 Kings xi. 3. (c) — vers. 1, 2. Exod. xxxiv. 16. (d) — x. 23. (e) 1 Kings xi. 4.

‘ be rebellion — ; that their King, and those that
 ‘ adher’d to him, had fallen off from God, and
 ‘ therefore had forfeited all their propriety in the
 ‘ government and the (a) land’, &c. according
 to the doctrine of the late times here expos’d.
 And yet, for all this his idolatry, and other trans-
 gressions of the known law, tho’ God (who was
 his only proper judge) was highly provok’d, and
 threatned to *rend the kingdom from* (b) *him*, there
 is not the least suggestion, that there was a justi-
 fiable occasion for his subjects to rebel and set
 up another King ; because ‘ he was accountable
 ‘ to no earthly (c) tribunal’.

§ XLI. AND now I shall endeavour The case
of Solomon
and Abiaz-
thar stated.
 to set forth a fair state of the case of
Solomon and *Abiathar*, because I find
 great advantage taken therefrom, by certain
Erastian writers ; among whom it is become a
 standing argument for the suppos’d right of the
 civil magistrate, to deprive bishops, and other ec-
 clesiastical persons, from their ecclesiastical func-
 tions, or at least from the exercise thereof, upon
 mere civil or state crimes : as if they were in-
 deed *no other than* (what a presbyterian author
 would make the *priests of old* to have been) the
 ‘ menial or household servants of the King — to
 ‘ order things appertaining to the King’s table
 ‘ and service ; and over all these the high-priest,

Y

‘ as

(a) *Wagst.* serm. 9 Sept. 1683. p. 4, 5. (b) 1 Kings xi. 11.
 (c) *Sherl.* of resist. p. 32.

‘ as lord high-steward and lord high chamber-
 ‘ lain (a) ’!

Thus an eminent prelate, here frequently quoted, calls this ‘ so plain and so unexceptionable
 ‘ an instance against the *adversaries of lay-depriva-*
 ‘ *tions*, in this very point of deprivation, that,
 ‘ he thinks, their own answers shew the impossi-
 ‘ bility of getting clear of (b) it’. And to put
 the better colour upon his argument, he makes
 bold with the work of God, and affirms that ‘ *So-*
 ‘ *lomon* depriv’d one of the exercise of his func-
 ‘ tion, to which he had been appointed according
 ‘ to the institution of God himself, and the same
 ‘ *Solomon* appointed another to succeed (c) him’.
 And upon this he flourishes, after his manner,
 and triumphantly demands, ‘ what can be a more
 ‘ express parallel than this, of the supreme civil
 ‘ power depriving one ecclesiastical person, and
 ‘ putting in another, upon the sole consideration
 ‘ of the interest of the (d) state ’? Now, as it is
 not my business here to follow him out of my own
 road, I shall not pursue him through his several
 turns of reasoning upon it, but stick close to the
 facts, as I have them warranted by the holy scrip-
 tures: and the rather because I find the late reve-
 rend Dr. *Nat. Marshall* affirming, that ‘ what is
 ‘ suggested of *Solomon’s* restoring *Zadok*, who
 ‘ was the rightful high-priest, as being of the elder
 ‘ family, is a precarious, unsupported assertion,
 ‘ in

(a) *Fleming’s* hist. of hered. right, 1-17, p. 19. (b) *B. Bangor’s* preserv. against the *Nozjur.* p. 45, edit. 4, 1717. (c) *Ibid.*
 (d) *Ibid.*

‘invented meerly for a salvo to an *hypothefis*
 ‘which muft fink without it, contrary to the
 ‘tenour of the (a) *history!*’ &c. But, tho’ I will
 not be fo bold to fay (as Mr. *Whifton* does,) that
 thefe writers ‘treat upon this fubject of govern-
 ‘ment, both ecclefiastical and civil, as if there
 ‘were hardly any fuch book as the bible among
 ‘(b) us!’ yet I prefume to think, there is enough
 to be collected from the tenour of the *history*
 to manifelt, that this inftance is nothing to the
 purpofe for which it is fo frequently cited.

For in thofe facred records we have plain proof,
 that, after the death of *Nadab* and (c) *Abibu* (the
 two eldeft fons of *Aaron*,) the furvivors were
Eleazar and (d) *Ithamar*, who *minister’d* in the
priefts office in the fight of *Aaron* their (e) *father*;
Eleazar being the chief over the chief of the (f) *Le-*
vites: that, upon the death of *Aaron*, *Eleazar*,
 as the eldeft fon, immediately fucceeded him in
 the office of high-prieft (which was hereditary,)
 and was folemnly invefted as fuch by *Mofes*, as
 the Lord (g) *commanded*: that upon the death of
Eleazar, his fon (h) *Phinebas* fucceeded in the fame;
 unto whom, and his feed, was given the covenant
 of an everlafting (i) *priefthood*, or (as it is in other
 interpreters) the *prieft’s office* for ever by a covenant;

Y 2

for

(a) *N;* *Marfh.* def of conftit. 1717, p. 41. (b) *Whift.* *Script.*
polit. dedicat. to *B. Bangor*, 1717, p. xviii. (c) *Levit.* x. 1, 2.
Numb. iii. 4. — xxvi. 61, and 1 *Chron.* xxiv. 2. (d) *Exod.*
 vi. 23. — xxviii. 1 *Chron.* vi. 3. — xxiv. 1. (e) *Numb.* iii.
 4. (f) — verſ. 32. (g) — xx. 28. (h) *Judg.* xx.
 28. (i) *Numb.* xxv. 13.

for (as the son of *Sirach* expreffes it,) *there was a covenant of peace made with him, — that he and his posterity ſhould have the dignity of the prieſthood for (a) ever*: that accordingly we have the line of the high-prieſts from *Aaron*, through *Eleazar*, *Phinebas*, &c. in a direct hereditary deſcent, down to the (b) captivity: that in this ſacerdotal line or pedigree, we find *Zadok* expreſſy regiſter'd, as high-prieſt; but not one of the race of *Ithamar* nam'd therein. All which proves from the tenour of the hiſtory (written by divine inſpiration) that *Zadok* had the only natural and proper inherent right to the high-prieſthood, and did not owe it to any human appointment, as theſe Gentlemen inſinuate.

'Tis true indeed, that, about the time of the *Judges*, the houſe of *Ithamar* ſeems to have encroach'd upon that of *Eleazar*, and to have taken the advantage of thoſe licentious times, to extend their juriſdiction beyond their proper bounds. For *Eli* the prieſt, who deſcended from *Ithamar*, is ſaid to have *judged* *Iſrael* *forty (c) years*: and his houſe enjoy'd ſuch ſtate and power afterwards, 'as only could regularly be claim'd by the true high-prieſt, of the family of *Eleazar*; ſo that they have commonly paſſ'd for the ſole high-prieſts of that nation for ſome (d) time'. Thus we read of *Abia*, the ſon of *Abitub*, the ſon of *Phinebas*, the ſon of *Eli*, the Lord's prieſt in *Shiloh*,

(a) *Eccleſ. xlv. 24.* (b) 1 *Chron. vi. 3, &c. Ezra vii. 1, &c.*
 (c) 1 *Sam. iv. 18.* (d) *Whiſt. ſcript. pol. p. 99, 100.*

(a) *Shilob*; and of *Abimelech*, the son of *Abitub*, at (b) *Nob*; who was massacred by *Saul*, with all his house, except only his son *Abiathar*, of whom we are here treating. But whatever state any of these might have taken upon themselves, 'tis certain, that not one of them being register'd by the Holy Ghost in the line or pedigree of the high-priests, we ought not to reckon them lawful and rightful high-priests, as we do *Zadok* and the rest of the elder family of *Eleazar*. So that, even supposing *Abiathar* had, *de facto*, been in the sole possession of the high-priesthood, and had indeed been depriv'd of it by *Solomon*, (both which the advocates for lay-deprivations take for granted,) yet, since 'tis plain, that he had no right to it, according to its divine institution, with what propriety can it be said, that *Solomon* depriv'd one of the exercise of his function, *to which he had been appointed according to the institution of God himself?* or what advantage would it be to their scheme, to grant (for argument sake only,) that *Solomon* had actually depriv'd one who plainly had no right, to make way for him who had the only proper right to it? 'Tis not necessary to insist, that *Solomon* was undeniably the lawful sovereign, and therefore, as such, did not want sufficient authority to do any act, that was not unjust

(a) 1 *Sam.* xiv. 3. 'Tis well observ'd by Mr. *Selden* (tom. ii. col. 93.) that these words, *the Lord's priest in Shiloh*, must refer to *Eli*, not to *Abia*, because *God had*, before *Abia's* time, forsaken the tabernacle of *Shiloh*. *Psa.* lxxviii. 60, and 1 *Sam.* iv. 11.
 (b) — xxi, and xxii.

just in itself, even upon the sole consideration of the interest of the state: for (with submission, I should think) not only the supreme civil power, but any person whatsoever who is able, might be well warranted in the use of all lawful means, in order to the dispossessing an unjust invader of another's property, and the imitating that divine character of helping them to right that suffer (a) wrong.

But, if we examine this case still further, we shall find, that when *Eli* was in the height of his state, and his sons (those sons (b) of Belial!) were making themselves (c) fat (as unjust possessors are apt to do,) with the spoils of God's people, inso-much that, by their unrestrain'd licentiousness, they were not only become personally scandalous, but are said to have made the Lord's people to transgress, and even to abhor the offering of the (d. Lord, there came a man of God unto (e) *Eli*, denouncing terrible judgments against his house, and among the rest, that his posterity should be reduc'd to a low station and great distress, whilst a faithful priest should be rais'd up, who should walk before the Lord's anointed for ever; all which was soon after confirm'd to him by the prophet (f) *Samuel*. And in pursuance of this account, we read, that when King *David* had brought the ark of God to Jerusalem, to set it in the tabernacle that he had pitch'd for (g) it, *Zadok* and *Abiathar* were the priests

(a) *Psa.* cxlvi. 6. o'd transl. (b) 1 *Sam.* ii. 12. (c) —
 vers. 29. (d) — vers. 24, and 17. (e) — vers. 27, &c.
 (f) — iii. 11, &c. (g) 2 *Sam.* vi. 17. and 1 *Chron.* xv. 1,
 &c.

(a) *priests* who had the principal charge of it : and in the division, which he made of the sons of *Aaron*, into four and twenty orders, or courses, according to the number of the chief men among the sons of *Eleazar*, there were sixteen chief men of the house of their fathers, and eight among the sons of *Ithamar*, according to the house of their (b) fathers : and *David* distributed them, both *Zadok* of the sons of *Eleazar*, and (c) *Ahimelech* of the sons of *Ithamar*, according to their offices in their (d) service ; by which we may learn, that *Zadok* at least was over the sixteen, and *Abimelech* at most but over the eight. Thus we see the house of *Ithamar*, *Eli*, or *Abiathar* (for it is all the same) was already, in *David's* time, but half so considerable as that of *Eleazar* : and since, 'tis certain, there was one high-priest, properly so call'd, over all, we can't doubt but *Zadok* had a primacy, or metropolitanical jurisdiction (as we call it) over all the *Jews* in general, and whatever particular jurisdiction *Abiathar* had over his own division, it must have been still subordinate

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'a) 1 *Chron.* xv. 11. (b) 1 *Chron.* xxiv. 4. (c)
 Here the reader is to be advertis'd (from the learned *Selden*, de
 successione in pontificat. *Ebraeorum*, tom. ii. col. 94.) that *Abiathar*
 is sometimes call'd *Abimelech* or *Abimelech*, as his father *Abimelech*
 is also sometimes call'd *Abiathar* ; particularly in *St. Mark* ii.
 26. which being compar'd with 1 *Sam.* xxi, and xxii, will disco-
 ver the truth of this observation to the meanest capacity : And
 this will also shew, that where we read *Abimelech*, the son of
Abiathar, 2 *Sam.* viii. 17, and 1 *Chron.* xviii. 16. it should be
Abiathar, the son of *Abimelech*. But this I leave to the Critics.
 d) 1 *Chron.* xxiv. 3.

to *Zadok*. And moreover we always find *Zadok*, as the superior, plac'd before *Abiathar* (or *Abimelech*,) wherever they are mention'd (a) together, as well in *David's* time, as in that of *Solomon*: yea, *Zadok* alone is call'd *the ruler of the house of* (b) *God*; and *the ruler of the* (c) *Aaronites*, even before *Abiathar's* treason, as *Phinebas*, the son of *Eleazar*, is call'd *the ruler over them in time* (d) *past*, (who was, without dispute, the only proper high-priest in his time;) and *Zadok* alone was *anointed to be* (e) *priest*, that is, the chief, or supreme high-priest, when *Solomon* was anointed King, in the life time of his father *David*, tho' *Abiathar* was, after that, still reckon'd a (f) *priest*, in the same rank as he was before, to wit, in subordination to the only true high-priest *Zadok*. So far was *Abiathar* from being the proper high-priest of the *Jews*, even in *David's* time; and so far is it from being true, that he was *depriv'd*, and *Zadok* put into it by *Solomon*, as successor to him in that high office, that *Zadok* was always before

(a) 2 *Sam.* viii. 17. — xv. 35. — xx. 25. 1 *Kings* iv. 4. 1 *Chron.* xv. 11. — xviii. 16. — xxiv. 3, 6, 31. Where it is to be noted, that their being thus frequently nam'd together, is no proof that they were equally high-priests: for we read of their ancestors, 1 *Chron.* xxiv. 2. that *Eleazar* and *Ithamar* executed the priest's office; and yet 'tis evident, *Numb.* xx. 28. that *Eleazar* alone was the high-priest, and not *Ithamar*, as before is set forth, p. 163. (b) 1 *Chron.* ix. 11. (c) — xxvii. 17. *Zadok* could not properly have been call'd so, if he had not been ruler over the posterity of *Ithamar* as well as of *Eleazar*, who were equally *Aaronites*. (d) 1 *Chron.* ix. 20. (e) — xxix. 22. (f) 1 *Kings* iv. 4.

fore him, always above him. And therefore we need not here to enter into the question, whether *David* ' should have suffer'd the whole *Jewish* ' church to continue in a state of schism, by a ' detention of *Zadok* from his (a) right! since 'tis plain, that good King indeed ' was a man so much ' after God's own (b) heart', and so far from a forcible detention of God's high-priest from his right, that he restor'd him to it, and thereby took care to heal that schism in which the whole Jewish church may more properly be said to have continued, from the time of *Eli*, while the line of *Itamar* was suffer'd to enjoy that high and holy office, instead of the elder line of *Eleazar*, on which God himself had expressly entail'd the high-priesthood, as before is fully prov'd.

And as we find *Abiathar*, even at *Solomon's* accession to the throne, not the high-priest, but in a state of subordination; let us now examine the full import of that text (upon which so great a stress is laid,) where *Solomon* is said to have thrust him out from being priest unto the (c) Lord, &c.

It has been already (d) intimated, that upon *Adonijah's* attempt upon his father's crown, he conferr'd (or concerted measures) with *Joab* and *Abiathar*, and they following *Adonijah*, helped (e) him; and that their lives, and all they had besides, were thereby at the King's mercy: and therefore, whatever station *Abiathar* had been

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(a) *N. Marsh.* def. of constit. p. 41, 42. (b) *Ibid.* (c) 1 Kings ii. 27. (d) *Pag.* 159. (e) 1 Kings i. 7.

in, so soon as he was convicted of so foul a crime as high-treason, upon manifest overt-acts, it could not but be deem'd a favour shewn him by his lawful soveraign, to spare his forfeited life, tho' it had really been on condition of his losing all the rest. But instead of this, *Unto Abiathar the priest said the King, Get thee to Anathoth, unto thine own fields, for thou art worthy of death: but I will not at this time put thee to death, because thou (a) barest the ark of the Lord God before David my father, and because thou hast been afflicted in all wherein my father was afflicted. So Solomon thrust out Abiathar, from being priest unto the Lord: that he might fulfill the word of the Lord, which he spake concerning the house of Eli in (b) Shiloh; — and Zadok the priest did the King put in the room of (c) Abiathar.*

Now, that this was not intended as a deprivation, is plain from the very words of the sentence, which confin'd him to *his own fields* at *Anathoth*: for he had no fields of his own there, but what belonged to him as (*d*) priest; and therefore if he had been truly depriv'd of the priesthood, (as is alledg'd,) the estate annex'd to it had been no longer his own. As if (for instance in a modern case,) the sentence against a bishop of *Rochester* (*e*) had been, in the like terms, *Get thee to Bromley*

(a) Meaning, that he had assisted *Zadok* in bringing up the ark to *Jerusalem*. (b) 1 *Kings* ii. 26, 27. (c) — vers 35. (d) *Josh.* xxi. 18. (e) See this point farther illustrated, in the notes upon the late edition of *Fran. Mason's* vindic. of the church of *England*, fol. 222.

Bromley unto *thine own house*, &c. I presume, nobody would have construed that as a deprivation of the see of *Rocheſter*, (ſince *Bromley* belongs to the biſhop of that ſee only as biſhop of it;) but as a puniſhment meerly ſecular, to confine him to his own houſe there, and conſequently to diſable him, for the time, to hold his ſeat in parliament, or to exerciſe his other office in perſon at *Weſtminſter*, of which he was alſo Dean. And thus *Abiathar*, being confin'd to *Anatboth*, was thereby conſequently diſabled to officiate in his courſe at the *tabernacle* at *Jeruſalem*; but not otherwiſe in the leaſt affected as to his ſacerdotal character; which he ſtill retain'd nevertheleſs, as I have already ſhewn: ſo that if ever it had pleas'd the King to relax ſuch ſentence, and to give him a free pardon inſtead of this bare reprieve, *Abiathar* had been capable of exerciſing his office, in as full and ample manner as ever before. But during his continuance under this confinement, which had the effect of a ſuſpenſion upon him, as it diſabled him to exerciſe his office himſelf, the eight families of the houſe of *Ithamar* were immediately under the juriſdiction of *Zadok*; as well as the other ſixteen of the houſe of *Eleazar*; tho' not as ſucceſſor to *Abiathar*, but as the ſupreme or metropolitan, over all the ſons of *Aaron*. For as to that expreſſion, that *the King* put *Zadok* in the room of *Abiathar*, it proves no more, than that he eſtabliſh'd and confirm'd the high prieſt of the houſe of *Aaron* in his full right and proper ſtation, according to the injunction

given him by *David* from *the* (a) *Lord*: where *the courses of the priests, and all the work of the service of the house of the* (b) *Lord* are join'd together, and alike commanded; and a strict charge is expressly given him, in relation to the whole oeconomy of the house of God, which 'tis plain, he could not alter! *And behold,* (said *David,*) *the courses of the priests and the Levites, even they shall be with thee for all the service of the house of* (c) *God*: and thus we read, that when *Solomon* had finish'd the temple, *he appointed, according to the order of David his father, the courses of the priests to their service, — as the duty of every man required —*; for so had *David, the man of God,* (d) *commanded*. But, if the kingly authority had extended to the actual depriving of the true priests, and putting others into their places, then *Solomon* might have put any other into the place of *Abiathar*, without regard to *Zadok*; which he does not seem to have had in his thoughts, nor do I know that any body has yet presum'd to say he had authority to do it.

After all this, I leave the unprejudic'd readers to judge, with what truth and sincerity it can be affirm'd, that *Solomon*, ' by his own authority, took ' away what he never gave, nay, what *Abiathar* ' had from God (e) himself'! by which must be meant his sacerdotal character, or spiritual relation to God's people committed to his care, if
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(a) 1 Chron xxviii. 19. (b) ——— vers. : 3. (c) ——— vers. 21. (d) 2 Chron. viii. 14. (e) B. Bangor's preserv. p 45.

the meaning of that author (*a*) may ever be (absolutely and properly) understood from his own words, and from the tenour of his discourse.

In short, if this single text must be press'd into the service, to prove the authority of Kings to deprive bishops and priests of their sacred function, it will as well prove their authority to degrade them of their holy orders; because it is said, *King Solomon thrust out Abiathar from being priest unto the Lord*: but that will prove too much, and consequently shall prove nothing at all; because no Kings do now pretend to such authority to degrade them. And if the difficulty be solv'd, by supposing, that *Solomon* had an extraordinary commission from the Lord to do what he did, it will render this case of no use at all to those who cite it as a precedent for our times; since there is no pretence of any other Kings succeeding him in such extraordinary commission to do the like. And therefore, upon the whole matter, this being but a particular fact, nakedly set forth, without any mention of the circumstances relating to the proceedings upon it, it seems to want that certainty that is requisite to the making it fit for a precedent.

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(*a*) The learned Dr. *Trapp* says of him thus; 'I desire to be inform'd, what we are to think of a writer, who expresses himself in such a manner, that no body can understand him? for not only Dr. *Snape*, and myself, but all the lower house of convocation, and every body else, as far as I can observe, have it seems been entirely ignorant of his meaning. And what sort of meaning must that be?' *Trapp's* P. S. to his sermon. 19 May. 1717, p. 31, 32.

I might here appeal to the censure of a convocation, which has condemn'd it as a *great (a) error*, in any man to affirm, 'that the people
' had any lawful interest, at any time, — either
' to chuse their priests, or (they being appoint-
' ed of God as is aforesaid) to deprive them of
' their places', &c. But because the judgment of a convocation may seem to be of little or no authority with some of the writers we have here had to deal with, I shall content myself with subjoining a few such testimonies as they can't fairly except against.

In one of their own celebrated performances before cited, I find the civil power, and the ecclesiastical or spiritual, expressly acknowledg'd to have 'two rights, as distinct as heaven and (b) earth'. And in another it is observ'd, that 'by orders a man receives from Christ, a command to execute a sacred office upon lawful occasions, and he himself covenants so to execute it: now, as he cannot be absolv'd from that covenant, but only by Christ with whom he covenanted; so neither can he be discharg'd from that command, but only by Christ who impos'd (c) it, — or persons authoriz'd by (d) Christ'; meaning bishops in their synods. And a third is more express, that 'the greater power doth not always imply the less: nor doth it follow,

(a) Bishop *Overal's* convoc. book, l. ii. c. xii. (b) Bishop *Hoadly's* preserv. against the *Nonjur.* 1717, edit. 4, p. 41. (c) Dr. *G. Rye's* treat. against the *Nonjur.* 1719, vol. 1. p. 32, 33. (d) *Ibid* vol. ii. p. 216.

low, because the state may keep a clergyman in close confinement, or even put him to death, from whence will accidentally follow an incapacity in him from administering the sacraments, &c. that therefore it may formally deprive him of the power to administer them, which he receiv'd from Christ. — Death will dissolve all relative obligations, and deprive a man of the privileges to which he may be entitled — ; but yet, he who hath the power of putting a man to death, hath not the power otherwise to dissolve those obligations, or to deprive the party, whom he may put to death, of those privileges. A *Roman* Emperor had authority to have made any Apostle of Christ a close prisoner, or to have put him to death, upon a just occasion ; which would naturally have depriv'd him of his apostolical powers : but yet a *Roman* emperor had otherwise no authority to meddle with the apostolical commission ; nor would Christ have remitted the *wo*, which St. *Paul* apprehended to himself (*a*) if he preach'd not the *gospel*, whilst he had power and liberty to do so, tho' the civil magistrate had forbidden him. So that we see, there is a manifest fallacy in the argument, which would entail upon the state a depriving power, as the less, from the (confess'd) greater power of imprisoning, or of putting to death. Our state hath apparently disclaim'd the one, whilst it hath asserted the

(a) 1 Cor. ix. 16.

‘ the (a) other’. But Mr. *Whiston* is still more full to that point; who, having stated the case of *Solomon* and *Abiathar*, among those where persons use their power somewhat *out of their proper sphere*, concludes, ‘ Upon the whole, here is no civil deprivation of an ecclesiastical person, or secular entrenchment on the ecclesiastical authority, but a just execution of the divine decree, without any such deprivation or entrenchment at (b) all’. And, speaking of the *bishops whom the state depriv’d at the revolution*, he takes the freedom to reflect on all such deprivations, in these plain terms; ‘ Certainly, one would think it a somewhat natural consequence of the acknowledgment of the spiritual powers at the admission of a bishop, that he should not be degraded or depriv’d, either of the right, or of the exercise of the same, without some accusation and conviction before the church, or college of bishops, or metropolitan, whereto he belongs; which is still own’d to be the regular way in ordinary cases even at this day: and the contrary procedure of depriving bishops from the exercise of their spiritual power, by

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(a) *N. Marshall's* def. of const't 1717, p. 20, 21. (b) *Whist.* script. pol. p. 103. (c) *Viz.* for the *pretended crime* (as he calls it) of refusing ‘ to take that oath to K. *William* and Q. *Mary*, of the lawfulness whereof, after the former oath to K. *James*, they were not satisfy’d: which deprivation, in my opinion, (*says he*) they had more justly deserv’d, had they, with such their persuasion, comply’d with that oath, contrary to the dictates of their own consciences’. *Ibid.* dedic. to B. *Bangor*, p. xii.

' a meer secular authority, for meer secular of-
 ' fences, seems to me almost as absurd as the pre-
 ' tended power of the bishop of *Rome* to deprive
 ' secular princes of their secular power for ec-
 ' clesiastical offences: and those that are sensible
 ' of the great usurpation and wickedness of the
 ' latter, ought never to give any encouragement
 ' to it, by justifying the former procedure; espe-
 ' cially while the state has many other easy and
 ' unexceptionable ways of punishing seditious or
 ' rebellious clergymen; and can therefore never
 ' be under any great temptation to do what is
 ' in itself so perfectly unjustifiable upon the foot-
 ' of scripture and Christianity. I say, perfectly
 ' unjustifiable upon those foundations. For, as I
 ' have shew'd in this essay, that the case of *Abi-*
 ' *athar*, depriv'd by *Solomon*, which is the only
 ' pretended scripture-example, was quite of ano-
 ' ther nature, and done upon another foundation;
 ' so is the old state of Christianity known to be
 ' fully against such a practice: insomuch, that
 ' the greatest vindicators of the state at the re-
 ' formation and revolution, have not, I think,
 ' been able to produce one single authority for
 ' it; at least, not till such late centuries as are of
 ' no value when unsupported by earlier (a) anti-
 ' quity'.

I might here have added two modern authori-
 ties: I mean the disturbances in the church of
England, as well as in that of *Scotland*, occasion'd

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(a) *Whist. script. pol. ded. to B. Bangor, p. x, xi.*

by the lay-deprivation of Dr. *Burnet*, archbishop of *Glasgow*; and an address of the house of Lords, (in or about *March*, 1705, as I remember,) complaining of some such deprivations of the clergy in *Carolina*, as being *repugnant to the laws of this realm, and destructive to the constitution of the church of England*: but, as I have not the printed address now by me, to vouch my quotation of the latter, and the former is easily to be met with in the books here refer'd (a) to, I shall leave this point to the reader's judgment, upon what has been so largely related already. And I presume, I shall need no apology for having been the longer upon it, because it has afforded matter of great controversy, with respect to the rights of Kings, and the doctrine of the *independency of the church upon the state, as to its pure spiritual powers*: however, I hope, this shall no more be call'd a *popish* (b) *principle* (which is known to have been the doctrine of the primitive church, earlier than popery itself;) especially since it is thus openly countenanc'd by such zealous protestants, as have here vouch'd for it on this occasion. But now, to return to the history.

Rehoboam's hereditary right. § XLII. AFTER the death of *Solomon*, the original law of hereditary succession, according to proximity of blood, came to be exactly observ'd in the kingdom of *Judah*. For, in obedience thereto, all *Israel* came to *Shechem* (to *Rehoboam*) to make; (or

(a) *Collier's eccles. hist.* vol. ii. fol. 895. and *Mason's vindic. of the church*, 1728, fol. 436. (b) *Sacher. trial*, fol. 113; &c.

(or more properly, to recognize) *him* (a) King, who was *Solomon's* son and undoubted heir. But here the ten rebellious tribes, under pretence of grievances in *Solomon's* reign, (as the revolutionists had before done in the reign of *David*) presume to remonstrate against them, and to insist upon terms with their lawful King (as if liberty and property were things that a King only could have no pretence to!) which he, thro' a judicial infatuation (for the punishment of the sins of *Solomon*, as had been (b) foretold by the Lord) answering impolitickly, gave occasion to those tribes to revolt; as will be shewn hereafter. However, the (c) loyal tribes of *Judah* and *Benjamin* (which, because their possessions were intermix'd, are sometimes reckon'd as one) continu'd to be faithful, and bear true allegiance to their King's son.

But nevertheless, lest their example should be of any use to the advocates for hereditary right, Mr. *Whiston* (whose byass is turn'd the other way) insinuates, that 'his father's favour, his mother's interest, and his own behaviour, some or all, procur'd him the general good-will of the two tribes; who went to *Shechem*, and there, in a

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(a) 1 Kings xii. 1. and 2 Chron. x. 1. (b) 1 Kings xi. 12.

(c) The main body of the tribe of *Benjamin* adher'd to *Rehoboam*, as appears 1 Kings xii. 23. and 2 Chron. xi. 1, &c. but probably some part of them, bordering upon the revolted tribes, might fall off with them to *Jeroboam*; which might give ground for that saying, that *there was none* (that is, no entire tribe) *that followed the house of David, but the tribe of Judah only*, 1 Kings xii. 20.

‘solemn assembly made him their King (a)’. Now, tho’ the drift of all this is apparently to support the claim of popular conventions in making Kings, yet I must take the liberty to demand, from what other motives than that of true loyalty, and a due regard to his birth-right, the two tribes could reasonably be induced to adhere to their King’s son and heir, when the other ten rebell’d against him? what scripture-evidence to prove, that his father’s favour, his mother’s interest, and his own behaviour, should not be as much regarded in *Israel* as *Judah*? did his father ever express any extraordinary favour for him? or had his mother any particular interest after his father’s death, to prevail with the two tribes, but not with the ten? if so, we may expect to find the chapter and verse! As to his own behaviour, ’tis plain, that was so very impolitick, as well as unpopular, that it could not possibly procure him any good will: but, instead thereof, if the two tribes had been *given to change*, like the rest, and not of truly loyal principles, they would most probably have voted the throne vacant, and placed another therein, by their own pretended authority, as the other ten did. But they, not regarding the rebellious practices of the rest, nor thinking greater numbers any argument in matters of right and duty, proceeded by themselves to recognize the natural right of their lawful King’s son (even tho’ they could promise themselves nothing from

(a) *Whist*, Script. polit. p. 34.

from his own declaration to them, but the most arbitrary tyranny,) as all the other tribes were ready too to have done, if they had not been acted by principles of human politicks, rather than those of religion and loyalty; and how much the publick good was effected thereby, will be seen in its proper place.

In the mean time, I shall proceed upon the succession of those Kings, who reign'd, according to the original law of hereditary right and proximity of blood, over the loyal tribes of *Judah* and *Benjamin*: who having been a *race of Kings* (as is confess'd) by *divine* (a) *appointment*, we may observe, that the preheminance of the primogeniture is admitted to be a divine right; (for 'tis plain, none of these following Kings had any other evidence of God's designation, than that of their birth, or hereditary right, tho' one of this author's friends sticks not to call it *blasphemy* (b) to say so!

But, before I come to the particulars, I shall take notice here, once for all, of a piece of criticism, fitter indeed to be expos'd, than seriously answer'd. Mr. *Whiston* (forgetful of the *impartiality* he pretends to in his *title page*,) when no other colours can be found to cast a blot upon this doctrine of hereditary right, takes upon him to *suppose*, (or presume rather) that wherever we meet with the *mother's name*, it is an argument, that such successor was not the *eldest son* and heir
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(a) *Bradbury's son of Tabael*, 1708; (b) *Dr. Kenner's serm.*
25 Sept. 1715, p. 112

by descent. It ‘seems to me (*says he*) an obscure indication, that he was not the first-born son; tho’ I cannot say it is at all (*a*) certain’. However, he has endeavour’d, by this fallacy alone, to disparage almost the whole line of Kings, as well in *Judab*, as in *Israel*: but with how little justice or reason, I leave to the reader to judge from this one remark, that Mr. *Whiston* has unfortunately split upon a rock, at his very first launching out. For even *Rehoboam* himself, the first of all those in the kingdom of *Judab*, has his *mother’s name* recorded with him (and that too twice in one (*b*) chapter, which is more than we usually meet with in the rest): and yet Mr. *Whiston* himself owns, that he ‘succeeded *Solomon*, as it were of course; that is, no one else seems to have stood his competitor, he probably being the eldest, if not the only son (*c*)’. Which plainly demonstrates the absurdity of that his own peculiar observation! and therefore I shall take no further notice of it.

The hereditary succession of Abijah. § XLIII. As *Solomon* was succeeded by *Rehoboam* his son and heir, so was *Rehoboam* succeeded by *Abijah* (or *Abijam*) his son and (*d*) heir. For, tho’, ’tis true, we read, that *Rehoboam* had three sons by his former wives (*e*), and consequently suppose, that *Abijah* was not the eldest at the time that his father made him chief, to be ruler over his brethren; and

(*b*) Script. pol. p. 45. (*b*) 1 Kin. xiv. 21, 31. and 2 Chron. xii. 13. (*c*) Script. polit. p. 34. (*d*) 1 Kin. xiv. 31. and 2 Chron. xii. 16. (*e*) 2 Chron. xi. 19.

and *thought* also to make him (a) King, (which is indeed an evidence of a partial favour for him, during their lives;) yet it does by no means follow, that *Abijah* was not the eldest survivor at the time of his father's death, and his own succession to the throne: on the contrary, it no where appears, that they, or any one of them was living at that time. For if there had been any elder surviving, it is not to be doubted, but we should have heard something of his pretension; of which as there is not the least hint upon record, we may safely conclude, that they were all dead before their father, and that *Abijah* was his heir and lawful successor, by due course of inheritance: and the rather, for that we have a precedent for it in the same holy writings; wherein we find, that *Adonijah* had once had three elder brethren (b) too, one of whom, for ought that appears to the contrary, might have survived his father: and yet, because there is no mention of him, or his pretensions, but *Adonijah* is the next who puts in his claim to the inheritance, 'tis therefore reasonably presum'd, that all the elder were dead, tho' that is not recorded; and *Adonijah* is universally esteem'd to have been the eldest surviving son of *David*, at that demise of the crown. Thus it is justly argu'd, that since we read, that *Amnon* was murder'd, and *Absalom* slain in battle, we may reasonably presume, that *Daniel*, or *Chileab*, as he is elsewhere called, died a natu-

ral

(a) 2 *Chron.* xi. 22. (b) 2 *Sam.* iii. 2, 3. and 1 *Chron.* iii. 1, 2.

‘ ral death before his father: for there appears
 ‘ no reason, why *Adonijab* should speak as he does,
 ‘ (1 *Kings* ii. 15.) but his priority of birth, or, in
 ‘ the modern language, his hereditary right, as
 ‘ eldest branch of the royal (*a*) family’. For as,
 in that case, *Adonijab* asserted his own immediate
 right, before the mother of *Solomon* (as before is
 at large set forth,) so, in this, *Abijab* asserts his
 to the whole inheritance, in as strong terms as is
 possible, even to the face of him who had usurp’d
 the greatest part thereof, and before all his army
 (which I shall have occasion to mention hereafter,
 in the case of *Jeroboam*, and to which I shall there-
 fore refer my reader from this place.) And be-
 sides, there is not the least appearance of any
 other pretender, claiming by any prior right,
 but *Abijab* did *peaceably succeed* *Rehoboam*, *with-*
out any opposition (as *Mr. Whiston* (*b*) confes-
 ses;) which is the very argument that prevails
 with him to admit *Rehoboam* to have been the
 next heir, *because*, says he, *no one else seems to*
have stood his competitor; which, if it be a good
 argument in one case, is surely as good in ano-
 ther. Nay, further, there seems to be something
 worth our notice, in the very phrase, which is
 objected. For it is not said, that *Rehoboam* made,
 or resolved to make, but only that *he thought*
 (or had some thoughts, as we say,) *to make him*
King: nor does *Abijab*’s succeeding to the crown
 afterwards prove in the least, that he obtain’d
 it

(*a*) *J. Archer*’s serm. at *Tunbridge- Wells*, Aug. 8, 1714, p. 6.

(*b*) *Script. polit.* p. 34.

it only in consequence of that thought, but, for ought that can be prov'd to the contrary, as his right by survivorship. Much less can we argue (as Mr. *Whiston* does) because his father *made him ruler among his brethren*, in his own lifetime, that therefore he broke through the *right* of (a) *primogeniture*; for I know no law, that hinders a sovereign prince, from constituting his own inferior magistrates, without regard to age or family, tho' he may not do so, in appointing his successors in the throne.

But will it not put *Abijah's* hereditary right out of all dispute, if we observe, in the royal pedigree recorded by St. *Matthew*, that our *blessed Saviour's* title to the sceptre of the *Jews*, is deriv'd through *Abijah*, (as well as the rest of that royal line, herein set forth)? For if *Christ's* being the *Messiah* depends upon his being the son of *David* and *King of the Jews*, (as without question it does) then how can we make a doubt of the right of *Abijah*, (or any of the rest in that pedigree) without raising a strong objection against that of our blessed Saviour himself also?

§ XLIV. *Abijah* being thus proved a Asa.
lawful King, pass we on to *Asa*, his son Jehosaphat,
 (b) and heir, who succeeded him; and Jehoram
 who washimself succeeded by *Jehosaphat* and Ahaziah.
 his (c) son and heir; and *Jehosaphat* by *Jehoram*
 his (d) son and heir whose right of succession to the kingdom is particularly recorded,

B b

because

(a) Script. polit. p. 34. (b) 1 Kings xv. 8. and 2 Chron. xiv. 1. (c) 1 Kings xv. 24. and 2 Chron. xvii. 1. (d) 1 Kings xxii. 50.

(a) because he was the first-born; and Jehoram by Abaziah his (b) son and heir, without the least interruption: for, tho' we read, that he was then the youngest son of Jehoram, yet it follows, that he came not to the crown, till the band of men that came with the Arabians to the camp, had slain all the (c) eldest; so that he was the eldest son surviving, and consequently heir at law: which is a manifest indication, that the ordinary rule of succession was hereditary according to primogeniture.

Nevertheless here Mr. *Whiston* gives it another turn, in favour of the popular scheme, tho' one would think, nothing can be more express to the contrary. He says, 'the inhabitants of Jerusalem made Abaziah King, — being depriv'd of any other choice among the sons of Jehoram': and proceeds to make this observation from it, 'here we see who they were, that usually made or recogniz'd Kings in Judah; even the people of the land, or, in this particular case, where there was no choice in the royal family, the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the capital city (d) alone'. But, with Mr. *Whiston's* good leave, the giving us the reason of the youngest son's succeeding his father (because all the elder were dead) plainly intimates, that he could not have been capable of it, if any of the elder had been left alive: and notwithstanding what he infers from the inhabitants of Jerusalem making or recognizing Kings, all that they

(a) 2 Chron. xxi. 3. (b) 2 Kings viii. 24. (c) 2 Chron. xxii. 1. (d) Scrip. polit. p. 42.

they did, or could do, was no more than is done, in our own hereditary kingdom, upon every demise of the crown ; where the privy counsellors and the magistrates of the city of *London*, together with such others of the nobility, gentry, and inhabitants, as are at hand, make a solemn *proclamation* and *declaration* of the natural *right* of the *next heir* ; not thereby *making* him *King*, but recognizing, that he had the *right inherent in him*, by the *laws of God and nature*, and the *fundamental laws of the land* ; tho' our *scripture politician* does not distinguish, between making and recognizing of *Kings* ! Nay, that very phrase, which *Mr. Whiston* takes his objection from, *the people's making him king*, is honestly explain'd, even by *Grotius* himself (who was so far from being an enemy to the just rights of the people, that some of them quote him with as much assurance as the gospel it self ;) who interprets this action of the people, to be no more than barely their *placing him in the throne* (as they did also afterwards *Joash* his son) *which was his right* (*viz.* by birth,) *whether the people had given their vote or suffrage or (a) not.*

§ XLV. HITHERTO the succession had *Joash*. been regular and uninterrupted, in the kingdom of *Judah*. But no sooner was *Abaziah* dead, than his mother *Athaliah* (the daughter of the wicked *Abab*, the son of *Omri*, King of *Israel*) usurped the hereditary throne, and endeavour'd

B b 2

to

(a) *Grot.* in 2 *Chron.* xxii. 1. In folio locarunt, — nam regnum jure ipsi debebatur, sine ullis populi suffragiis,

to make herself a thorough settlement, by *destroying all the seed (a) royal*, except one who was happily hid from her: for (as a reverend and pious prelate well observed) ‘they that fear to lose their
 ‘ usurped possessions, or to feel the revenge of
 ‘ their treason and rebellion, never think them-
 ‘ selves secured, or their usurpation settled, un-
 ‘ til their unjust titles be sealed in the blood of
 ‘ the right owner, and their own wicked lives
 ‘ secured in the unmerited death of their innocent
 ‘ (b) adversaries’.

And now, what was wanting to make *Athaliah* a *lawful sovereign*, that can be pleaded by any other usurper? ’tis plain, she wanted nothing but the hereditary right: for she had full and uninterrupted possession of all the power in the government, upwards of *six (c) years*, and the providence (as some call it) of success, and the people’s submission, and no other pretender in view, to interrupt her: and yet when she least dream’d of it, *Joash*, the right heir by birth (who had been miraculously preserv’d indeed by providence) was unexpectedly produc’d, and restor’d, and the usurper justly destroy’d; and then (notwithstanding their forc’d submission to her during her possession of the power) *all the people of the land rejoiced, and the city was quiet, after that they had slain Athaliah (the usurper) with the (d) sword.*

Here

(a) 2 Kings xi. 1, 2. and 2 Chron. xxii. 10, 11: (b) Bp. Griff. Williams’s seven treatises, 1661, fol. 21. (c) 2 Kings xi. 3, 4. and 2 Chron. xxii. 12.—xxiii. 1. (d) 2 Kings xi. 20. and 2 Chron. xxiii. 21.

Here I beg leave to consider some of the arguments of a late author of great name, who affirms, ‘ that all sovereign princes, who are
‘ settled in their thrones, are placed there by God,
‘ and invested with his authority, and therefore
‘ must be obey’d, by all subjects, as the *mi-*
‘ *nisters of God*, without enquiring into their le-
‘ gal right and title to the (a) throne: — that
‘ the scripture has given us no directions in this
‘ case, but to submit, and pay all the obedience
‘ of subjects to the present powers; it makes no
‘ distinction, that ever I could find, between right-
‘ ful Kings and usurpers, between Kings whom
‘ we must, and whom we must not obey: but
‘ the general rule is, *let every soul be subject to the*
‘ *higher powers, for all power is of (b) God,*’ &c. To
this I might fairly offer the cases of *David* and
Absalom, *Joash* and *Athaliah*, as a full and clear
confutation: but I chuse rather to lay before my
reader the judgment of a divine, as learned, as
honest, as unbiass’d, and (without the common
odium of comparisons,) every way as worthy of
credit as this author; and that is his own self: who
assures us, that ‘ the most prosperous rebel is not
‘ the higher power, while our natural prince, to
‘ whom we owe obedience and subjection, is in
‘ being: and therefore, tho’ such men may get
‘ the power into their hands by God’s permission,
yet

(a) Dr. *W. Sherlock’s* case of allegiance, 1691, p. 10. (b) *Ibid.*
p. 18.

‘ yet not by God’s ordinance; and he who resists
 ‘ them does not resist the ordinance of God, but
 ‘ the usurpations of (a) men.—*Athaliah* reign-
 ‘ ed, and had the whole power of government in
 ‘ her hands; but yet, this did not make her a
 ‘ sovereign and irresistible prince, because *Joash*,
 ‘ the son of *Abaziah*, the right heir of the crown,
 ‘ was yet alive: and therefore, in the seventh
 ‘ year, *Jehoiada* the priest set *Joash* upon the throne,
 ‘ and slew *Athaliah*, and was guilty of no treason
 ‘ or rebellion in doing so; which shews, that no
 ‘ usurpation can extinguish the right and title of
 ‘ a natural prince. Such usurpers, though they
 ‘ have the possession of the supream power, yet
 ‘ they have no right to it: and tho’ God, for wise
 ‘ reasons, may sometimes permit such usurpations,
 ‘ yet, while his providence secures the persons of
 ‘ such depos’d and banish’d princes from violence,
 ‘ he secures their titles (b) too’. After all this,
 with what veracity this author could affirm, that
the scripture makes no distinction, that ever he could
find,

(a) *Dr. W. Sherlock’s case of resistance*, 1684, p. 128. (b) *Ibid.*
 p. 131, 132. And here I shall subjoin the opinion of a noted
 lawyer, who having cited the cases of *Absalom’s* and *Athaliah’s*
 usurpations, and their untimely deaths, as mere traytors and rebels,
 (to confirm his principle, that an usurper can never gain any inter-
 est in the crown, to the prejudice of the rightful king or his heirs,) assures us, that *as this was God’s law among the Jews, so it was*
the ancient law of England, under the Britons, and continued so un-
der the Saxons and Normans; as he proves by divers precedents,
 in confutation of that vulgar notion, that treason may be com-
 mitted against a King de facto, &c. *Frynne’s plea for the peers*, 1658,
 p. 486.

find, I leave to the reader's reflection! especially when he might have found a plain distinction, as in the case of *Abfalom* (a) before mention'd; so also in this very place of scripture, where the Holy Ghost (who must be allow'd to be the best herald) never once gives the title of queen to *Athaliab*, tho' she was so long in peaceable possession, but appropriates the royal title to the rightful King, tho' out of possession, and in obscurity; calling *Joash* (b) King no less than five several times, even before his restoration: whereby 'tis manifest, the Holy Ghost grounded his title upon his proximity of blood only: and yet when the usurper saw the King standing in his place in the temple, she could have the assurance, to pervert the proper meaning of words, crying out *treason! treason* (c)! (or, as it is in the *Septuagint*, a *plot!* a *plot!*) tho' in truth, she herself was the great *traytor*; and those *plotters* (as she called them) the most loyal subjects and worthy patriots. For, it is truly observ'd, by a divine before quoted, that ' after God had once settled the succession of
 ' the

(a) Pag. 146. (b) 2 Kings xi. 5, 7, 8, 11. and 2 Chron:

xxiii. 3, 5, 7, 10. (c) 2 Kings xi. 14. and 2 Chron. xxiii. 13.

This puts me in mind of a just observation of the great Lord Bacon (Nov. Organ. l. i. in his works lately publish'd, vol. 1, fol. 277, 278.) that the giving wrong names to things (which he terms *Idola fori*,) is one of the principal causes that *sciences are so often disturbed, and the understanding of men so much perplexed*. And so doubtless, in matters of conscience and morality, the dressing up an uncreditable character, in the habit of reverence and dignity, is very apt to draw a false *Idea* upon the mind, and disorder the practice of the generality.

‘ the crown of *Israel*, in King *David*’s family, and
 ‘ particularly on King *Solomon*’s issue, by primo-
 ‘ geniture, then it was high treason for any to put
 ‘ by the lawful heir and successor, altho’ the said
 ‘ heir was an idolater, and never so bad, as
 ‘ to either faith or (a) manners’. For the better
 proof whereof, he quotes that interrogation of
Elibu to *Job*; *shall even he that hateth right (b) go-*
vern? &c. Where the point of interrogation is
 altogether affirmative, and implies, that he that
 hateth right, shall and ought, however, to govern
 when he has a lawful title so to do; and may not
 be excluded or depos’d under that pretence of his
 want of grace. Nay, and ’tis declar’d even by
 the kirk of *Scotland*, and their friends in *England*, in
 their *confession of faith*, ‘ that no difference in reli-
 ‘ gion, or even infidelity, does take away the right
 ‘ of the King’ (c).

This

(a) *Fenner*’s prerog. of primog. p. 29. (b) *Job* xxxiv. 17.
 (c) Chap. 23. Whence the principle of deposing or excluding law-
 ful Kings from their just rights, for difference in religion, had its
 original, I shall leave to the *Jesuits* and *Puritans*, to agree between
 themselves: but since their appearing in the world, there has been
 great uneasiness given to sovereign princes on that account; the *Je-*
suits using all their artifices against protestant princes, and the *Puritans*
 the like against *popish*. But to be somewhat more particular; ’tis
 well known, that in the infancy of our reformation, a scheme
 was laid to defeat the lawful heir of King *Edward VI.* because she
 was a Papist: but, at the same time, *Elizabeth* the younger
 sister (tho’ a Protestant) was to be excluded, as well as *Q. Mary*,
 to make way for lady *Jane Grey*, a distant relation; and at last
 the principal manager of that design was discover’d to be a Papist
 himself!

This case may afford us just ground to observe, that ‘ God loves to shew himself, and in an eminent manner to take part with right and justice against those mighty oppressors of the earth, who, like an overflowing flood, would bear down all before (a) them ’. And in what a manner that is, may be learnt from that gracious declaration, *I will have mercy upon the house of Judah, and I will save*

C c

them

himself. The many plots of the *Jesuits* against our *Q. Elizabeth* to remove her from her throne, as well as their open rebellions, against *K. Henry IV. of France*, to keep him out of his, are easily to be discovered in the well-pon’d histories of their respective reigns. No sooner was *Q. Elizabeth* dead, but the *Jesuits* were as diligent to defeat *K. James I.* of his undoubted right of succession, by the help of their infamous *Deleman* (alias *Parsons*) and other tools; which the reader may find a large account of in the *preface to Mason’s vindication of our church lately printed*: and when that design was happily render’d ineffectual, the next wicked plot was to have blown him out of his throne again by gun-powder! On the other hand, the puritan party were as busy all around us, in their rebellions and usurpation in *Scotland, France, Holland and Bohemia*, (all chiefly under the pretence of religion,) tho’ they were, with much ado, kept under here during those two reigns. But when *K. Charles I.* inherited the throne, it was his unhappy fate to be pursu’d to death, by the united pack of *Jesuits* and *Fanaticks*, tho’ with the different cry of *popery* on the one hand, and *heresy* on the other; but on both sides on the same pretence of a difference in religion! However, in all these various revolutions, the church of *England* (properly so call’d) was so far from being actuated by such *Jesuitico-puritanical* principles, that (as *Dr. Sherlock* truly said) in his *serm. 29. May, 1685, p. 31, 32.*) it has *suffered with its prince, but never yet rebell’d against him; being loyal upon firm and steady principles, and without reserve*; whereas, ‘ there can be no security of those men’s loyalty, whose religion, in any case, teaches them to rebell.’ (a) *Tillofs. serm. 16. Apr. 1690, p. 29.*

them by the Lord their God; and will not save them by bow, nor by sword, nor by battel, by horses, nor by (a) horsemen: that is to say, 'when there is no servant ' to draw a bow, no subject to manage a sword, ' no army to fight a battel; when there is no ' visible appearance of any force, then is God's ' hour to shew (b) mercy'; so that the cause of ' truth and righteoufness ought never to be given up as desperate.

And here we have likewise a clear light to distinguish the publick good from all specious pretences. For we cannot doubt, but *Athaliah* would (as other usurpers usually do) endeavour to blind the people's eyes with plausible professions and declarations, how much the publick good would be advanc'd by her filling the throne, and particularly, how much it would be better for them to have a person of her age and experience, than *a child to be their prince, and a babe to rule over (c) them.* But however, the publick good and tranquillity could not be truly attain'd, till the next natural-born heir (tho' a tender infant) was restor'd to his right. And it is remarkable, that, when command was given to kill the usurper and her adherents, none were slain with her, but only *Mattan, the priest of (d) Baal.* From whence we may judge of the constant and inseparable correspondence, there is between usurpation and false (or immoral) worship; whereas no sooner was

(a) *Hef. i. 7.* (b) *Allingt. serm. 1653, p. 92.* (c) *Isa. iii. 4.* (d) *2 Kings xi. 18. and 2 Chron. xxiii. 17.*

was the right heir restor'd, but the true religion was also restor'd, and protected by him.

Before I leave this case, it may be proper to take particular notice of the conduct of *Jehoiada* the high-priest; because from the part that he bore, in the deposition of *Athaliah*, and the restoration of *Joash*, some pretence has been taken (by certain weak, or factious Papists) to favour the Pope's having a power to depose princes: but with how little reason will easily appear. For it has been already shewn, that *Athaliah* was not a

(a) Queen, but a meer usurper; and therefore, to argue from her case, to that of a lawful prince, is absurd and ridiculous. Besides, it is plain, that what *Jehoiada* did, was not by virtue of any ecclesiastical authority: for he was not only (in right of his wife) the *Prochein Amie* (as the lawyers call it) or next of kin to the royal infant, but, by the special providence of God (which is most conspicuous in the protection and preservation of lawful princes) was also become the guardian and protector of his sacred (b) person; nor did he do any thing, till he had first strengthen'd himself, by

C c 2

gain-

(a) Mr. *Whiston* makes no scruple to call her Queen *Athaliah*, (script. polit. p. 97, 103.) tho contrary to the scripture: and some people affect to call every thing a King or Queen, that, right or wrong, gets a crown upon its head. I know, it was a maxim with Dr. *Sherlock*, that 'we must give the title of King to such a prince, when we live in the country where he is owned for King; because it is a piece of good manners': (case of alleg. p. 17.) But that is not Mr. *Whiston's* case; or if it had, I do not think it very good manners, to the king at least, to make a complement of the royal titles to a known usurper. (b)

2 Kings xi. 4. and 2 Chron. xxii. 11, 12.

gaining to his party such of the *captains*, of the *Levites*, and the *fathers* of (a) *Israel*, as he thought fit, for his assistance. Neither did he any more, than what every private subject lawfully might and ought to do: and for this he produc'd a very good warrant from the word of God: *Behold* (says he) *the king's son shall reign, as the Lord hath said of the sons of* (b) *David*; which is admitted to have been a *divine* (c) *entail*, as likewise that 'there can be no prescription against a divine (d) right.' From which alone (if we had nothing else to the same purpose) we may perceive, that it was the want of this divine hereditary right, which made *Athaliab* an usurper; and not that of the *choice* of the (e) *people*, as Mr. *Whiston* insinuates. Nor indeed can we reasonably suppose, that she had not the choice of the people (or at least something that often passes for their consent,) since she was able to maintain herself in the throne so many years, and the king had no sanctuary left but the temple of the Lord: however, as that was a place of the greatest security to the lord's vicegerent, so the high priest was the only person qualify'd to have the care of him there; and consequently the only one who could restore him to his longing subjects. In short, so far is this case from serving the Pope's (f) turn, or making good his pretensions, that (as

some

(a) 2 *Kings* xi. 4. and 2 *Chron.* xxiii, 1, 2. (b) — 3. and 2 *Sam.* vii. 12: 1 *Kings* xi. 4 — ix. 5. 2 *Chron.* vi. 10, 16. — vii. 18.
 (c) *Sherl.* case of alleg. p. 35. (d) *Rye's* treat. against the Nonjur. vol. i. p. 55. (e) *Script. polit.* p. 43: (f) f the Papists will

some moderate Papists themselves confess) it
 ' proveth nothing, but that it is lawful for a state
 ' or commonwealth to depose an usurper, and
 ' restore the true heir to his right; and not that
 ' he had any authority to depose any lawful prince,
 ' were he otherwise never so exorbitant in life,
 ' manners and belief, or cruel in his (a) govern-
 ' ment'.

§ XLVI. BY this restoration of *Joash* was *Amaziah*-
 the hereditary succession turn'd again into its right
 course: but, after he had *reigned forty years*, some
 of his own rebellious *servants made a conspiracy, and*
slew (b) him. However, those traitors and parricides
 were not audacious enough to justify that
 regicide, much less to attempt the exclusion of
 the right heir from his inheritance: for *Amaziah*
 his (c) son immediately *reigned in his stead*; and did
 not forget to do justice upon those who had murder'd
 the king his (d) father.

§ XLVII. BUT as he succeeded his *Uzziah*-
 father in the throne, so did he in his tragical
 fate: for he was also *slain* by certain (e) conspi-
 rators. But *then all the people of Judah took Uz-*
 ziah,

will needs have a good precedent in this case for any thing, I beg
 leave to recommend it as such for the marriage of the clergy: for
 'tis plain, that *Jehoshabeath*, who secur'd the person of her royal
 nephew, was *the wife of Jehoiada the priest*, 2 *Chron.* xxii. 11.

(a) *Warmingt. moder. def. of the oath of alleg.* 1612, p. 13.
 (b) 2 *Kings* xii. 20. and 2 *Chron.* xxiv. 25. (c) 2 *Kings* xii. 21.
 and 2 *Chron.* xxiv. 27. (d) 2 *Kings* xiv. 5. and 2 *Chron.* xxv. 3.
 (e) 2 *Kings* xiv. 19. and 2 *Chron.* xxv. 27.

ziah, (or *Azariah*, as he is elsewhere call'd) and made him king in the room of his father (a) *Amaziah*.

Here our impartial scripture-politician (who catches at every occasion to disparage the right of proximity of blood) triumphs at the expression of the people's making *Azariah* king, &c. 'It is here very plain, (*says he*) that it was not any indefeasible right of primogeniture, but the unanimous choice or recognition of the people, that made him (b) King'. For which, nevertheless, he has no other warrant, but the vulgar phrase in our translation: and that is not to be understood of the people's giving a right of government to the king; but only that they put him in actual possession of the regal power, to whom it belong'd by right of primogeniture (as I have observ'd (c) above,) and paid their homage and allegiance to him accordingly. But I wonder, that this zealous asserter of the power of the people did not here also take notice of a considerable stretch of it, which (tho' not express'd in the sacred text) appears by the chronology. For, by comparison of the places here cited, we may find, that *Amaziah's* murder happen'd fifteen years after the death of *Jehoash*, son of *Jehoahaz* King of (d) *Israel*; which *Jehoash* was succeeded by *Jeroboam* his (e) son: so that *Uziah*, of right, became King of *Judah* fifteen years after this *Jeroboam's* accession to the throne

(a) 2 *Kings* xiv. 21. and 2 *Chron.* xxvi. 1. (b) *Whist.* script. polit. p. 45. (c) Page 197. (d) 2 *Kings* xiv. 17. and 2 *Chron.* xxv. 25. (e) 2 *Kings* xiii. 13, ——— xiv. 16.

throne of *Israel*; whereas, in fact, we are told, that he did not *begin to reign* till *the twenty and seventh year of (a) Jeroboam*; from whence we may perceive, that the right heir of *Judab* was kept out of his throne about twelve years. During which time, some people are pleas'd to tell us, that ' the states of *Judab* (their King being de-
' stroy'd) seiz'd the government, and turned them-
' selves into a (b) commonwealth': but indeed the Holy Ghost has not given us any light into that dark transaction, neither can I any where discover any body of people among the *Jews*, vested with such authority, as to enable them to take upon themselves the exercise of the supreme power; and much less in disinherison of their rightful King. Besides, tho' *Amaziab* himself was de-
' stroy'd, yet his throne could not be vacant: for he left a son, this *Uzziab*, tho' a tender infant, in whose name at least, and by whose authority, the sovereignty ought to have been administer'd from the time of his father's death, without any *interregnum*; which is inconsistent with the being of an hereditary kingdom. ' However, it is not
' improbable, that those conspirators, who slew
' his father, might (according to the usual poli-
' cy of traytors) seek to secure themselves from
' the punishment due for their offence, by their
' voluntary incurment of a more criminous guilt:
' only thus much I am assur'd of, that if this were
' the

(a) 2 Kings xv. 1. (b) Dr. Fran. Carswell's aff. serm. at Abington, 6 Aug. 1689, p. 4.

‘ the first institution of a *polarchy* (as this author
 ‘ here seems to think it was,) the devil was the au-
 ‘ thor of it; for the foundation of it was laid in
 ‘ rebellion, murder, usurpation, which were never
 ‘ any of God’s (a) works’. And ’tis plain from
 the text, that whoever the instruments were in that
 usurpation, the people did at length recover
 their liberty, when their rightful sovereign was
 restor’d to his throne; as ours here in *England*
 also did, after another of the same length of
 time.

Before I proceed to the next case, I must stop
 to consider the force of their arguments, who would
 make this *Uzziab*’s case as precedent for the Pope
 or people’s right to depose their Kings. ’Tis
 true, he was an undoubted lawful King: and the
 scripture informs us, that when he *went into the*
temple of the Lord to burn incense — the priests with-
stood him, saying, It appertaineth not unto thee,
Uzziah, to burn incense unto the Lord, but to the
priests, the sons of Aaron, that are consecrated to burn
incense; go out of the sanctuary, for thou hast tres-
pass’d, neither shall it be for thine honour unto the Lord
 (b) *God*. But, if we consider, that the regal and
 sacerdotal powers were distinct and independent on
 each other, and that King *Uzziab*’s invading
 and intruding himself into the high-priest’s
 office, was death by the law of (c) *God*; surely
 we shall find reason to think, that the behaviour
 of

(a) *Dr. Mich, Hudson of governm.* 1647, p. 90. (b) *2 Chron.*
 xxvi. 16, &c. (c) *Exod.* xxx. 7. and *Numb.* xviii. 7.

of the priests was very dutiful, to expostulate with him (as they did) concerning his great offence, and the danger of it, in order only to prevent their Sovereign from committing a deadly sin : for they did not presume to offer him any violence, but left him to the chastisement of God Almighty (whom they knew to be, as we also do every day acknowledge him, *the only Ruler of princes*) who hereupon punish'd his presumption with the plague of *leprosy*. Then indeed, we read that *they thrust him out* : but we are told, at the same time, that *himself hasted also to go out, because the Lord had smitten him* ; which plainly shews, that there was, even then, no violence offer'd him. He had incur'd the penalty of death : but as there was no human tribunal to authorize the execution of it upon their king ; therefore Almighty God, the *King of Kings*, took him into his own hands, and humbled his proud *heart*, which was thus *lifted up to his destruction*, by that loathsome disease under which he died. And yet we are told with some assurance, that *Uzziab*, ' between being thrust ' or affrighted out of his kingdom, run away. and ' left it ; — *and that* hereupon the States of *Judab* ' convened, and, their King having thus left them, ' for the present juncture they set *Jotham*, the ' King's son, over the King's house, to administer ' the government, — and finding him an excel- ' lent prince, in a short time after, they advanc'd ' him to the throne, during the life of his (a) ' father '. Thus can men of quick invention

D d

make

(a) Dr. *Car/w.* as before, p. 5.

make even the word of God itself, like a nose of wax, to suit any mask they think fit to put on, according to their own fancy and disposition! But tho' such open perversion of the holy scripture is unpardonable in any one, it is still more abominable in clergymen, (who are solemnly set apart to *be faithful dispensers of the word of God, in the name of the holy trinity!*) and especially from the pulpit, thus to blaspheme. For, in the case before us, there is no colour of scripture for such a suppos'd abdication of the kingdom, or *convention of the states*, much less of deposing the king, as this author suggests; but quite the contrary: For, being a *leper unto the day of his death*, he was thereby incapable of any business, and obliged to *dwell (a) alone*; and therefore, *Jotham his son was over the King's house, judging the people of the (b) land*, tho' not as King, but as the King's vicerent only, during his father's life. Which, by the way, affords us a very good remark, what is to be done, in case of a King's being a lunatick, an idiot, or under any other personal incapacity to answer the ends of government: *viz.* that the next in blood, that is capable, ought to govern; tho' not in his own name, but in the name of the King, and by his authority; as *Jotham* did, during his father's leprosy, without affecting to take upon himself the title of King.

§ XLVIII. BUT

(a) *Lewis.* xiii. 46.(b) *2 Chron.* xxvi. 21.

§ XLVIII. BUT, after the natural death of *Uzziab*, and not before, we read that *Jotham*, (a) his son, reigned in his stead. And he was succeeded by *Abaz*, (b) his son and heir: and he by *Hezekiab*, (c) his son and heir: and he by *Manasseh*, (d) his son and heir: and he by *Amon*, (e) his son and heir. Against whose respective successions, in virtue of their hereditary right, I find no objection attempted to be made, except that of Mr. *Whiston's*, concerning their mother's (f) name (before sufficiently expos'd); under colour whereof alone, he has ventur'd to disparage most of them, contrary to scripture, reason, and (for ought I can yet see) common sense! But in the case of *Manasseh*, I own, he makes a very pertinent and useful observation. For indeed, 'it will here deserve our attention, that during the time of *Manasseh's* captivity at *Babylon*, the nation did not (vote the throne vacant, and) set up another king; but owned him for their King all the while, notwithstanding such his absence and imprisonment; and when he was brought again to (g) *Jerusalem*, he thereby was brought again (that is restor'd) to his kingdom also, without any new difficulty (h)'. To which I shall take leave

Jotham,
Abaz,
Hezekiah,
Manasseh,
Amon.

D d 2

to

(a) 2 Kings xv. 7. and 2 Chron. xxvi. 23: (b) 2 Kings xv. 38. and 2 Chron. xxvii. 9. (c) 2 Kings xvi. 20. and 2 Chron. xxviii. 27. (d) 2 Kings xx. 21. and 2 Chron. xxxii. 33. (e) 2 Kings xxi. 18. and 2 Chron. xxxiii. 20. (f) *Whist.* script polit. p. 45, 46. (g) 2 Chron. xxxiii. 13. (h) *Script.* polit p. 46.

to add another to the same purpose: and that is, that, after *Nebuchadnezzar's* having been in a state of madness (or, as it is call'd in the scripture, *driven from men, to dwell with the beasts of the field*) for *seven* years; no sooner did his *reason* return to him, but *his counsellors and his lords sought unto him, and he was established in* (that is, restor'd to) *his (a) kingdom*; the line of succession having not been broke, nor the people discharg'd from their allegiance on that account. And it is farther remarkable, that *the Lord*, in whose *hand the hearts of Kings are*, and, who *turneth them whithersoever he (b) will*, was pleas'd to change both these princes, from wicked and cruel ones, to become truly penitent and gracious.

But I must also observe, that these two cases do flatly contradict another remark of our *scripture politician*, where, speaking of the duty of subjects to their sovereigns, he accounts them bound to ‘ bear patiently the hardships they endure under their lawful Kings, till it pleases God, by their death, or otherwise, to deliver them from oppression under them. I say, by their death or otherwise ‘ *says he* : for we may observe, that any other method of providence, which removes such a tyrant or oppressor from the government over us, does also deliver us from our obligation to obedience to him; there being, in all the bible, I think, no obedience ever required to any other prince or power, than that which actually ‘ has

(a) *Dan. iv. 32, 36.*(b) *Prov. xxi. 1.*

‘ has dominion over men (a)’. And so says another, that ‘ our allegiance was no longer obligatory, than whilst the throne was filled by the person it was due (b) to ’ : both which, with other’s of the like strain, are set exactly to the tune of *Anth. Ashcam*, and almost in the very same words ; who boldly affirm’d, that ‘ we are bound to own princes, so long as it pleases God to give them the power to command us : and when we see others possess of their powers, we may then say, that the King of Kings hath chang’d our (c) vice-roys ’ ; meaning that *Oliver* was then to be God’s vicegerent, and not King *Charles* ! But here, I would inquire of Mr. *Whiston*, whether he does not look upon *Manasseh* and *Nebuchadnezzar* to have been otherwise removed by providence, from the government over their respective subjects, before they were finally removed by death ? And, if so, whether, during such other removal, their subjects were deliver’d from their obligation of obedience to them ? And whether, upon such supposed deliverance, any other object of allegiance, was apply’d unto, and plac’d in the vacant throne ? Sure I am, the learned Dr. *Sherlock* was once very positive, that *tho’ the tree was cut down, yet while the stump of the roots was left in the earth, the kingdom should be sure to the natural prince* ; as he plainly prov’d from the (d) bible : yea, and Mr.

Whiston

(a) *Script. pol.* p. 58. (b) *N. Marsh. def. of constit.* p. 111.

(c) *Ashc. seaf. disc.* (to reconcile men to the revolution in 1648) reprinted 1689, in 4to, p. 45. (d) *Sherl. case of resist.* p. 132.

Whiston himself has own'd as much, in the case of *Manasseh* before cited.

§ XLIX. AMON having succeeded his father *Manasseh*, as aforesaid, did not enjoy his throne above *two years*, before certain of his trayterous *servants conspir'd against him, and slew him in his own (a) house*: and yet the right of succession was not thereby defeated. For *the people of the land* (well sensible both of the heinousness of that treason and regicide, and of their indispensable duty in such a case) *slew all them that had conspired against King Amon*; and *the people of the land made* (or rather recogniz'd) *Josiah his son King in his (b) stead*. And he being then but a child, of *eight years (c) old*, his case affords us this useful observation, that the *people*, even in those troublesome times, never thought of breaking through the law of God and nature, under any pretence of the publick good, but readily admitted the next natural heir, tho' a tender infant, and moreover the son of a wicked and idolatrous father, to his hereditary throne, according to their natural allegiance. For which their loyalty, they were sufficiently rewarded by God Almighty: who made that infant such a blessing to his people, that *like unto him was there no King before him, that turned to the Lord with all his heart, and with all his soul, and with all his might, according to all the law of Moses, neither after him arose there any like (d) him*; and

(a) 2 Kings xxi. 23. and 2 Chron. xxxiii. 24. (b) 2 Kings xxi. 24. and 2 Chron. xxxiii. 25. (c) 2 Kings xxii. 1. and 2 Chron. xxxiv. 1. (d) 2 Kings xxiii. 25.

and his reign was prolong'd, for the publick good indeed, to *one and thirty (a) years*. So that these loyal *Jews* wisely preserv'd their loyalty and allegiance for the publick good; whereas they who renounce their natural allegiance, under the colour of the publick good, very often find themselves disappointed, and instead thereof are the cause of their country's ruin!

§ L. ONE instance whereof (tho' every reader may easily recollect others) follows immediately upon the death of this good *Josiah*. For the *people of the land* took *Jehoahaz, the son of Josiah, and anointed him, and made him King in his father's (b) stead*: by the comparison of whose age, with that of his brother (c) *Eliakim*, we shall find *Eliakim* to have been 'the elder brother to *Jehoahaz*, 'and consequently the right heir to the crown: 'but he being injuriously refused, the younger 'was set up; and it succeeded (d) accordingly'. However, this is the less strange, if we consider either the natural result of popular conventions (which generally begin in irregularity, and end in confusion), or the condition of their affairs at that time. For, as, in *Josiah's* days, there were great wars betwixt the Kings of *Egypt* and *Affyria*, (the two constant enemies, and rival neighbours of the *Jews*), so, being in fast friendship with the latter, he was of course liable to be evil-treated by the

*Interruption
of the successions
the cause of
ruin.*

(a) 2 *Kings* xxii. 1. and 2 *Chron.* xxxiv. 1. (b) 2 *Kings* xxiii. 30. and 2 *Chron.* xxxvi. 1. (c) 2 *Kings* xxiii. 31, 36 and 2 *Chron.* xxxvi. 2, 5. (d) *Mayer* in loco.

the former. And of this he was so sensible, that no sooner did the *Egyptian* draw his sword against the *Assyrian*, than *Josiab* made head against him; in which quarrel he was (a) slain. After whose death (the *Assyrian* being still their ally) they, for the publick good (as probably, in those circumstances, it might appear to them) venturing to break through all laws and rights, in a case of necessity, and forgetting the old maxim, *nihil utile, nisi quod sit honestum*, prefer'd the younger brother (who was of their faction, and so the more fit for their turn) before the elder. But, alas! such were the miseries, instead of benefits, ensuing upon that fatal revolution, that, that very breach in the constitution, not only administer'd sufficient cause of dissentions among themselves, but also gave the *Egyptian* a good handle for a fresh invasion; which he taking hold of, depos'd the usurper, and restor'd the right heir to his father's throne. Where 'it is observable, concerning the
' *Israelites*, that, when they went about to secure
' themselves by subtile devices and contrivances
' of their own, making leagues and confederations
' with the King of *Egypt*, and other neighbour
' princes, so often they were foiled and
' baffled, and overcome by their enemies: but
' when they put their trust in *God*, and committed
' themselves to his protection, he preserv'd
' and deliver'd them from the greatest (b)
' dangers'. Thus here we read, *that* Pharaoh
Nechoh

(a) 2 *Kings* xxiii. 29. and 2 *Chron.* xxxv. 20, &c. (b) *Stillingfl.* serm. Nov. 13, 1678, p. 30.

Nechoh made Eliakim, *the son of Josiah, King, in the room of Josiah his (a) father* : which is the more remarkable, (in favour of the primogeniture) because, tho' *Jeboabaz* had been some time in possession of the throne, by the voice of the people, yet, neither is there the least record of any of his acts, nor even so much as the bare mention of him as King ; but his pretended reign stands, as it were, in a *parenthesis*, and his elder brother, the King *de jure*, is recorded King immediately from their father's death.

Thus was the hereditary succession regularly asserted, and maintain'd against all opponents, in the kingdom of *Judab*, according to the divine right of primogeniture : till *Nebuchadnezzar*, coming up, put the kingdom under a tribute, and afterwards, returning, carry'd all together into captivity to *(b) Babylon*.

'Tis true indeed, it pleas'd God to restore these two loyal tribes to their own country again : but as they were even then under a kind of vassalage to the neighbouring potentates, and therefore not capable of enjoying the rights of a free and independent government, I shall take no further notice of them here.

§ LI. AND now, having gone through the succession of the several Kings of *Judab*, I beg leave to appeal to every unprejudic'd reader, whether I have not made it clear to a demon-

Hereditary right the ordinary rule of succession among God's people.

E e

stration,

(a) 2 Kings xxiii. 34.
xxxvi. 6, &c.

(b) — xxv. 12, &c. and 2 Chron.

stration, that the ordinary rule of succeeding to the throne, among God's people, was by right of birth, in an hereditary course of descent, according to primogeniture and proximity of blood, without regard to the choice of the people, or to the personal virtue, goodness and desert of the prince: and that whenever any interruption of that hereditary right was attempted, it was always condemn'd as rebellion and usurpation; unless where God Almighty, for reasons best known to himself, thought fit to interpose and exert his divine prerogative, not by dark and doubtful events, but by an express revelation, as it is shewn in the case of (a) *Solomon*. I cannot therefore but, with great concern, reflect upon the strong prejudices of such men, as confidently affirm, that 'the indefeasibleness of hereditary right is by no means agreeable to the mind of God in the (b) scriptures! — has not the least countenance afforded it in the word of (c) God! — where (they pretend) it appears, that God Almighty has ever been very solicitous, that the several nations of the world should be well govern'd; but not so that any particular families should govern (d) them'! &c. whereas the contrary is evident, in divers places of holy scripture, where the crown of *Judah* was entail'd, by God himself, upon the particular family of *David*, and his heirs (by *Solomon*)

(a) Pag. 153. (b) *Lozel's* serm. 15 Nov. 1715, p. 22. (c) *J. Archer's* serm. 8 Aug. 1714, p. 13. (d) *Whist. script. politicæ*. p. iii.

lomon) for ever, even to him and to his sons, by a covenant of (a) salt.

§ LII. AND, as I have shewn, *And passive obedience, their indispensible duty.* how sacred and inviolable the persons and authority of the *Jewish* Kings were during the time of that monarchy, it cannot be impertinent, briefly to consider what obligations the *Jews* were still under, to be subject to the lawful higher powers of that country into which they were carry'd captive. ' Now the prophet ' *Jeremiah* had given an express command to ' them, *seek the peace of the city, whither I have ' caused you to be carry'd away captives, and pray ' unto the Lord for it; for in the peace thereof shall ' ye have (b) peace:* which made it a necessary ' duty to be subject to those powers, under whose ' government they liv'd. And accordingly we ' find, that *Mordecai* discover'd the treason of *Big- ' thana and Teresh, two of the King's chamberlains, ' the keepers of the door, who sought to lay hand on ' the King (c) Ahasuerus.* And how numerous ' and powerful the *Jews* were at this time, and ' what great disturbance they could have given ' to the empire, appears evidently from the book ' of *Esther.* King *Ahasuerus*, upon the sug- ' gestions of *Haman*, had granted a decree, for ' the destruction of the whole people of the *Jews.*

E e 2

— This

(a) 2 *Sam.* vii. 12, 19. 1 *Kings* ii. 4.—viii. 25.—xi. 13, 34, 36, 38.—xv. 4. 2 *Kings* viii. 19. 1 *Chron.* xvii. 17. 2 *Chron.* vi. 16.—xiii. 4.—xxi. 7.—xxiii. 3. (b) *Jerem.* xxix. 7. N.B. Those were the rightful higher powers in that country, (c) *Esth.* vi. 2.

‘ — This decree could never be revers’d again :
 ‘ — and therefore, when *Esther* had found favour
 ‘ with the King, all that could be done for the
 ‘ *Jews* was to grant another decree for them to
 ‘ defend themselves ; which accordingly was done,
 ‘ and the effect of it was this, that *the Jews that*
 ‘ *were in Shushan* — *slew three hundred men* ; —
 ‘ *but the other Jews that were in the King’s provinces*
 ‘ — *slew of their foes seventy and five thousand,*
 ‘ *and had rest from their (a) enemies.* Without this
 ‘ decree, *Mordecai* did not think it lawful to re-
 ‘ sist, (which yet was a case of as great extremi-
 ‘ ty and barbarous cruelty as could ever happen,)
 ‘ which made him put *Esther* upon so hazardous
 ‘ an attempt, as to venture into the King’s pre-
 ‘ sence without being call’d ; which was death by
 ‘ their law, unless the King should graciously *hold*
 ‘ *out the golden scepter* to (b) them : and yet, when
 ‘ they had obtain’d this decree, they were able to
 ‘ defend themselves, and to destroy their enemies ;
 ‘ which is as famous an example of passive obe-
 ‘ dience, as can be met with in any (c) history.

§ LIII. HAVING thus done with
 the Kings of *Judah*, properly so call’d,
 I must desire my reader to turn back
 with me to the fatal breach, which
 was made among the peculiar people of God, im-
 mediately after the death of *Solomon* : when ten of
 the twelve tribes, instead of acknowledging the
 natural right of *Reboboam*, his son and heir, took
 upon

(a) *Esth.* ix. 15, 16, 17. (b) — iv. 11. (c) *Sherl. case*
 of resist. p. 39, &c.

upon themselves the liberty, totally to withdraw their allegiance due to him by birth, and to set up a government of their own, under the conduct of *Jeroboam*, distinct from, and independent upon, the house of *David*, as before (a) is briefly hinted at. But by the way, 'tis very remarkable, that even these revolters did not once think of degenerating so far from the common rule of all nations in those days, as to change the form of monarchy into a commonwealth, tho' they did presume to set up an idol of their own, with the full power and title of King of *Israel*: and it will not seem strange to any sensible person, that in a government so founded, he will meet with little or nothing but tumult, resistance, murder, and usurpation.

§ L.IV. 'Tis true, there is a colour of a divine right in the establishment thereof. For we read, that when *the Lord was angry with Solomon, because his heart was turned — from that which the Lord commanded, he said unto him, I will surely rend the kingdom from thee, and will give it to thy servant; — howbeit I will not rend away all the kingdom, but will give one (b) tribe to thy son, for David my servant's sake, and for Jerufalem's sake which I have (c) chosen*: and again, to *Jeroboam* himself, by the mouth of *Abijah* the prophet, *behold, I will rend the kingdom out of the hand of Solomon, and will give ten tribes to thee, — and I will take thee*

The grounds of that revolution examin'd.

(a) Pag. 179. (b) See this explain'd, in page 179. (c) 1 Kings xi. 9, &c.

thee, and thou shalt reign according to all that thy soul desireth, and shalt be King over Israel (a), &c. which Mr. *Whiston* (without considering the circumstances of the case) ventures to call *his (b) commission from God*; and upon which grounds alone, a certain preacher, as rashly affirms, that *Jeroboam* had more of a divine right to the government than *Saul (c)* had'. Yet, nevertheless, upon better examination, these authors may discover, that *Jeroboam* never had a *commission* for what he did; and that his advancement to the throne was far short of a divine right. For,

First, The words here cited do not convey any authority at all, but are only a prophetic declaration of what should happen to the house of *Solomon* for his sins; so that they no way concern that action, but only the event: 'and precedent predictions of future events are so far from carrying the nature of precepts, to warrant the actions of those persons whom God in his providence permits to be instruments of bringing those events to pass, that sometimes they seem rather to put on the condition of caveats to give them warning, that they presume not to interpose themselves as God's coadjutors, in his own undertakings, unless they have their commission from him, which when they do, it commonly succeeds with them (d) accordingly'.
Secondly, We do not find, that the prophet, who de-

(a) 1 Kings xi. 31, &c. (b) *Whist.* script. polit. p. 32.

(c) T. *Bradbury's* serm. 5 Nov. 1711, p. 12. (d) *Chr. Harvey's* Right rebel, 1661, p. 83, 84.

deliver'd this message to *Jeroboam*, did either then or at any other time anoint him, as (a) *Saul*, (b) *David*, and others were, when they were design'd to the regal character ; nor did he give him a commission, or any other evidence, or token of God's actually making him a King. *Thirdly*, This promise (if such it may be esteem'd) to *Jeroboam*, was at best but conditional, *if thou wilt hearken unto all that I command thee, and wilt walk in my ways, and do that is right in my sight, to keep my statutes and my commandments, as David my servant (c) did* : which condition none ever took less care to perform than he did on his part ; so that he could not found any divine right upon such conditional expressions, whatever they were. But *Fourthly*, the words, in a fair construction, cannot be extended any further than to a bare permission, or the giving way to *Jeroboam's* aspiring ambition, in order to make use of him as the instrument to execute God's decreed punishment upon the house of *Solomon* ; as may be understood by comparing them with others of the like import in the holy scriptures. For, as I (d) have intimated, in the case of *Abfalom*, God's message to *David* was, in much the same terms, *behold, I will raise up evil against thee out of thine own house, and I will take thy wives before thine eyes, and give them unto thy neighbour, and he shall lie with thy wives in the sight of this (e) sun* ; which was accordingly fulfill'd by his own son (f) *Abfalom* :

(a) 1 Sam. x. 1. (b) —xvi. 12, 13. (c) 1 Kings xi. 38. (d) Page 131. (e) 2 Sam. xii. 11. (f) —xvi. 22.

salom: so was the message to *Jeroboam*, *behold I will bring evil upon the house of Jeroboam, and will cut off from Jeroboam him that pisseth against the wall, &c.* — *moreover the Lord shall raise him up a King over Israel, who shall cut off the house of (a) Jeroboam*; which was exactly accomplish'd by *Baasha*, who *conspired against his master Nadab, the son of Jeroboam, and slew him, and smote all the house of Jeroboam* — *according unto the saying of the (b) Lord*: and yet the like message was sent afterwards even to *Baasha* himself, *behold, I will take away the posterity of Baasha, and the posterity of his house, and will make thy house like the house of (c) Jeroboam, even for his being like the house of Jeroboam, and because he kill'd (c) him, (meaning Nadab!)* which was also fulfill'd by *Zimri, who conspir'd against his master Elab, the son of Baasha, and smote him, and — slew all the house of Baasha* — *according to the word of the (e) Lord*: all which seem to have imported full as much of a divine authority and commission, as there was in the case of *Jeroboam*; and yet, he must have an unwarrantable assurance (like that of *Calvin*, who, from those words of the prophet *Nathan to David* before-cited, inferr'd, that *the incest of Absalom (f) was the work of God!*) if any one shall pretend to say, that either *Absalom, Baasha, or Zimri* had a divine commission to authorize

(a) 1 Kings xiv. 10, &c. (b) — xv. 27, &c. (c) — xvi. 3.
 (d) — vers. 7. (e) — vers. 9. (f) *Calv. instit. l. i. c. 18.*
 cited in the essay for a new translat. of the bible, 1727, edit. 2,
 p. 182.

thorize their respective actions, or that they were any better than traitors, rebels and usurpers. For *Fifthly*, it has been observ'd by very good criticks, that the translations of the bible do 'often make use of expressions, which bring in God saying, that he will — do actions which are incompatible with his attribute of (a) holiness': as particularly, in that judgment denounc'd against *David*; where, instead of rendering them as they are before-cited, we are told the more proper (and 'tis certainly the less exceptionable) reading should be, *I will suffer an affliction to rise against thee out of thine own house, and I will suffer thy wives to be taken, &c.* because 'the verbs here used, signify only a permission of the things spoken of, and not an action: and the word which is translated *evil*, signifies an affliction, or misfortune, here and in many other places of (b) scripture'; of which they give us a great many clear and unquestionable examples: agreeably to which if we understand the case of *Jeroboam*, (as 'tis plain we must that of *Absalom* and others before-mention'd,) it will easily make it appear, that there was no more authority for this revolution under *Jeroboam*, than there was for any of the rest. But, be that as it will, 'tis certain, *Sixthly*, that *Jeroboam* himself, and those vain men the children of (c) Belial, his adherents, had no regard to the divine prediction, or promise (whatever it was,) nor to the will of the

F f Lord,

(a) Essay for a new translat. of the bible, p. 125. (b) *Ibid.* p. 128. (c) 2 *Chron.* xiii. 7.

Lord, but only to their own mutinous will and ambitious desires, neither had they patience to wait (as I have shewn (a) *David* did,) till it should please God both to give them a commission, and to open a way for the regular execution of it: but *the people*, without any directions from God, sent and called (b) *Jeroboam* out of *Egypt*, and of their own heads made him King over all (c) *Israel*; and therefore is their action disclaim'd as an usurpation, and they are condemn'd by the Lord, for having set up Kings but not by him, made princes and he knew it (d) not! yea, they are branded by the Holy Ghost with this odious character, that so *Israel* rebelled against the house of *David* unto this (e) day; and thus the voice of the people is prov'd not to have been the voice of God, but this revolution prov'd a rebellion, and consequently not to be drawn into a precedent: for (as it is well observ'd) ‘ where men have, without a commission, executed even the unalterable will of God, they have not been justify'd in so (f) doing ’; and particularly in the case before us, ‘ tho’ God, in his wise and just providence, — did overrule this man’s ambition, to bring his own designs to pass, in the punishing of *Israel*, by the rent of ten tribes from the rest, yet this was no more excuse to his irregular lust after dominion, than the *Jews* might have alledg’d, for bringing about what God had before decreed ‘ in

(a) Pag. 125, 126. (b) 1 *Kings* xii. 3. and 2 *Chron.* x. 3.
 (c) 1 *Kings* xii. 20. (d) *Hof.* viii. 4. (e) 1 *Kings* xii. 19.
 and 2 *Chron.* x. 19. (f) *Dr. Rye’s* treat. against the *Nonjur.*
 vol. ii, p. 634.

‘ in the sufferings of his beloved son, the saviour
 ‘ of the world ; they nevertheless, by *wicked (a)*
 ‘ *hands did crucify and slay him* ; and so might *Je-*
 ‘ *roboam*, nevertheless, wickedly follow the temp-
 ‘ tations of his own ambition or *(b)* revenge’.

Seventhly, we may observe, that these ten tribes,
 which thus set up *Jeroboam*, were the very same
 people who had before set up *Absalom* first, and
 then *Sheba*, even against *David*, the man after
 God’s own heart ; and that too upon the very
 same motives, and in much the same words :
we have no part in David, (said Sheba) neither have
we inheritance in the son of Jesse ; every man to
his tents, O (c) Israel ! and so the people under
 the conduct of *Jeroboam* said, *what portion have*
we in David ? neither have we inheritance in the son
of Jesse ; to your tents, O Israel ; now see to thine
own house, (d) David ! And as these words were
 spoken by a man of *(e)* Belial, in the former case, so
 they who spake them are call’d *the children of (f)*
Belial, in the latter ; and indeed it is hardly to be
 imagin’d, that *Belial* should dictate the one, and
 God the other ; much less that God would write
 after *Belial*, and that too in the same words ! and
 moreover, as rebellions when repeated against God’s
 vicegerents, become thereby the more heinous re-
 bellions against God himself, ’tis but just to suppose,
 that these tribes having thus rebelliously set up *Ab-*
salom, Sheba and *Jeroboam*, were at last given up to

F f 2

fall

(a) *Acts* ii. 23.

(b) *B. Camfield’s* serm. 10 *Febr.* 1684, p. 12.

(c) *2 Sam.* xx. 1.

(d) *1 Kings* xii: 16. and *2 Chron.* x. 16.

(e) *2 Sam.* xx. 1.

(f) *2 Chron.* xiii. 7.

fall by their own devices. *Eighthly*, if we consider the occasion that was taken for this revolt, we shall find it to have been without any just grounds, for 'tis plain, the *Jews*, in *Solomon's* reign, had been the happiest people, in all respects, of any people in the world, if they had but been judges of their own true happiness: and yet we find these ten tribes, with *Jeroboam* at their head, complaining of great grievances, which they pretended to have borne under him, and peremptorily demanding a redress at *Rehoboam's* hands, as the condition (forsooth!) upon which they would be content still to pay that allegiance to which they were bound by the laws both of God and nature. *Thy father* (said they) *made our yoke grievous: now therefore make thou the grievous service of thy father, and his heavy yoke which be put upon us, lighter, and we will serve (a) thee*

(*) 1 Kings xii 4. and 2 Chron. x. 4, ' When we look into
 ' history, and find this to have been generally the state of the most
 ' mild and gracious princes, it prompts us to reflect——upon
 ' the condition of deprav'd human nature; and to consider, whether
 ' the cause of more rebellions and convulsions of government has
 ' arisen from the mal-administration of princes, or from the pe-
 ' tulancy and unreasonableness of the people? [*Moses, David and*
Solomon are here instanc'd; none of which could please them!]
 ' —— After the meekest and justest, the most pious and victo-
 ' rious, the most peaceable, richest, and wisest, whom eise of
 ' mortal race should we name! But God did once vouchsafe to
 ' take the government into his own hands, and to be King him-
 ' self: —— but they grew weary of his *Theocrasie*, and —— re-
 ' jected God too from being their King! and would chuse for them-
 ' selves! and of all they chose not one prov'd good.—— On
 ' the other hand, where they are rul'd with a strait rein, and even
 ' tyrannically, they commonly speak best of those princes, and
 adore

thee; which a certain gifted preacher before quoted presumes to call a *claim of (a) right!* But the impolitick *King answered the people (b) roughly*, according to what his prerogative authoriz'd him to have done, rather than what was either his interest or inclination to do: and thus *the cause* is said to have been *from the (c) Lord*, inasmuch as he had before decreed to rent those ten tribes from the house of *Solomon*, to which this infatuated prince unadvisedly contributed a plausible occasion; tho' the calumny, tumult, resistance, and other evil means used in this revolt, cannot, without blasphemy, be ascrib'd to God as the author. 'Tis true, ' an extraordinary concurrence of all ' favourable accidents, and particularly the disposing of all men's minds one way ', may be said to be *the Lord's doing*: but then 'tis own'd ' how dangerous and deceitful an argument this ' from providence will ever seem to be'; and therefore, that it is to be *touch'd with (d) caution!* for ' since God may order and dispose what he ' does not approve, and use the wickedness of men ' while he forbids it, the design of the first ' cause

adorn their memories.——— *K. Charles I.* courted the Fanaticks ' establish'd them in *Scotland*, indulg'd them in *England*, and even ' made himself a sacrifice to them; yet they hate his memory! ' *Q. Elizabeth* prosecuted them with the utmost rigor; made severe laws against them, and put them in full execution; she ' reckon'd them as her worst enemies, even worse than the *Jesuits* themselves, and to have been instrumental in the *Spanish* ' invasion! —— and yet they pretend to reverence her memory! ' *Ec. Cassandra*, No. i, 1704, p. 30, &c.

(a) *T. Bradbury's* serm. 14 Mar. 1708. (b) 1 Kings xii. 23; and 2 Chron. x. 13. (c) 1 Kings xii. 15. and 2 Chron. x. 15. (d) *Dr. Burnet's* serm. 23 Dec. 1688, p. 9.

‘ cause does not excuse the malignity of the (a)
 ‘ second’. Ninthly, *Jeroboam* himself was so far
 from justifying himself by any pretence of God’s
 authority, that his whole conduct shews, that he
 durst not trust to the divine providence to establish
 him in what, ’tis plain, he was only permitted to
 possess himself of: yea, he was so far from in-
 sisting on a divine right to that kingdom, that
 he fairly owns *Reboboam* still to be *their lord* the
 King, and himself no better than a rebel and
 usurper; as will be prov’d in the ensuing section.
 But, *Lastly*, to bring this whole controversy to
 a short issue; if *Jeroboam* had no more than a bare
 permission, for what he did, he can never be
 justify’d, much less ought he to be imitated in his
 ungrateful (b) and treasonable revolt from the son
 and heir of his master and benefactor: or, if
 those passages before cited must be construed (con-
 trary to all rule and reason) to signify an actual
 and immediate conveyance of that kingdom to
 him from God Almighty, then his case is, in that
 respect also, so particular, as not to be a proper
 precedent in our days; because ‘ no man, since
 ‘ *Christ*’s advent, ever had, or can have *the like*
 ‘ warrant, in the days of the (c) gospel’. In
 short (as the author last quoted says) ‘ we Chri-
 ‘ stians may pertinently urge, in this case of
 ‘ treason and rebellion, what *Christ* alledg’d in
 ‘ that of offences, *woe to the world because of*
 ‘ offences; for offences will come, but woe to them
 ‘ by

(a) *Dr. South’s serm. on 1 Kings* xiii. 33, 34. p. 1. (b) *1 Kings*
 xi. 28. (c) *Fenner’s prerog. of primog.* p. 35.

‘ by whom the offence (a) cometh: so here woe to
 ‘ the world, because of treasons and rebellions;
 ‘ for treasons and rebellions will happen, as long
 ‘ as youth are not duly catechized, and men are
 ‘ not better and more loyally principled; but
 ‘ woe to those men by whom seditions, treasons,
 ‘ and rebellions do come; for the divine *Nemesis*
 ‘ will undoubtedly pursue and overtake them, ei-
 ‘ ther in this world, or in that to (b) come’.

§ LV. FOR the proof of which, *Their miserable*
 let us now take a view of the state *state describ'd*
 of these ten tribes under these Kings *in general.*
 of their own chusing; that we may judge how
 much their condition was mended by the change.
 And here we shall find, that instead of the peace,
 plenty, honour, and all happiness that is usually
 enjoy'd by dutiful subjects under a succession of
 hereditary princes; when the *King is the son of (c)*
nobles, and every succeeding heir can truly say,
I am the son of ancient (d) Kings; when he who
 ascends the throne as his undoubted right, ‘ by
 ‘ the appointment of God and nature, can main-
 ‘ tain his dignity, without those base and ignoble
 ‘ arts, without those ambitious shifts and contri-
 ‘ vances, which are the only support of those that
 ‘ have no right, and as little (e) merit’: (instead
 of such a state of happiness, I say, we shall
 find, that) whereas the grievances they had com-
 plain'd of in *Solomon's* reign, and were more
 afraid

(a) *St. Matth.* xviii. 7. (b) *Fenner's prerog. of primog.* p. 36, 37. (c) *Eccles.* x. 17. (d) *Isai.* xix. 11. (e) *W. God-
 man's serm. at Cambr.* 24 May, 1660, p. 27.

afraid of under his son *Rehoboam*, were but imaginary (for neither of those Kings appears in scripture to have been a tyrant or oppressor;) no sooner had they in their worldly wisdom, assum'd the liberty, finally to withdraw their due allegiance, to their rightful sovereign, and set up another in his throne, but they found themselves every way miserably deluded; their strength broken, their trade lost, their riches wasted, their honour turn'd into contempt, their peace into a continual state of war and bloodshed, their religion into an abomination, and in short all the happiness that men are capable of in this life, chang'd into its quite contrary, till they became at length a prey to their neighbours (who before had been forc'd to court them,) and were buried in obscurity to the world's end. And indeed it is no wonder, since, ‘ a general dissoluteness of manners, an im-
 ‘ prudent boldness in the practice of iniquity, a
 ‘ neglect and contempt of all the duties of reli-
 ‘ gion, the loosening the joints of government by
 ‘ treasons and conspiracies, divided interests
 ‘ and dissentions among the people, confusions
 ‘ and divisions in the church, are as infallible
 ‘ symptoms of a dying state, of the dissolution
 ‘ of a commonwealth, and the funeral of a king-
 ‘ dom, as if a flaming sword had hung over it,
 ‘ or a voice from heaven had revealed its doom:
 ‘ — and how near we ourselves resemble them.
 ‘ (*says this learned author,*) I leave you to (a)
 ‘ judge!

§ LVI.

(a) Dr. *Jane's* serm. 11 Apr. 1679, p. 10.

§ LVI. BUT as *Jeroboam* him- And in particu-
lar under Jero-
boam and his
son Nadab.
self was the most considerable of all
that sat upon the throne of *Israel*,

after that revolution, and the person also whose popularity was a principal cause of it, let us examine their condition a little more particularly under him, as it is largely set forth in the sacred records, among the acts of *Jeroboam*. In the very beginning of this revolt, we find so little of the spirit of God accompanying them, that when their King *Rehoboam* sent *Adoram* (one of his principal officers) with a commission to expostulate with them, in order to prevent (if possible) the fatal consequences, they were so far from recollecting themselves, and returning to their duty, that, without regard to his person or commission, they stoned him with stones that he (a) died; as if they had been the children of him who was a murderer from the (b) beginning, rather than children of *Israel*!

And no sooner was *Jeroboam* in possession of the supreme power, but his first study was how to settle himself in it, and to prevent the people from recovering their senses, and therewithal their true allegiance: he knew right well that religion and loyalty are inseparable companions, and that the true religion is so far from being a friend to unjust titles and acquisitions, that it teaches the indispensable necessity of restitution; and therefore, he takes upon him to re-

G g

forma

(a) 1 *Kings* xii. 18. and 2 *Chron.* x. 18.
xviii. 44.

(b) *St. John*

form it according to his own mind His first step was to grant the people a toleration or indulgence, so that they might no longer be oblig'd to that unity and uniformity of worship, which God himself had establish'd, and expressly requir'd of them, in the temple at (a) *Jerusalem*; for ' the ' Lord, to prevent divisions, had provided so far ' for uniformity in his worship, that he required a ' single unity; and that it might be but in one ' manner, he let it be but in one (b) place': but *Jeroboam* tells them, *it is too much for you to go up to (c) Jerusalem!* However, because he would not be suspected of being a man of less piety, but only would pass for one less bigotted to the strictness of rites and ceremonies, and more careful of their ease than ordinary, he took care to make a shew of religion (such it as was!) and as they had provided themselves of an idol for a King, so he furnish'd them with idols for their Gods; which he plac'd at proper distances, *the one in Beth-el, and the other in (d) Dan*; so that now they were so happy as to have two conventicles for one cathedral, and those at their own doors too, whereas that was more remote! And here, (said he) *behold thy Gods, O Israel, which brought thee up out of the land of (e) Egypt!* But would it not tempt us to imagine, that these people must have become meer ideots when they became rebels, (the one as a judgment upon them for the other,)

(a) *Exod.* xxiii. 17. — xxxiv. 21. *Deut.* xvi. 16. and 2 *Chron.* ii. 1. (b) *Dr. All-str.* serm. vol. i, fol. 232. (c) 1 *Kings* xii. 28. (d) — vers. 29. (e) 1 *Kings* xii. 28.

other,) since they could be persuaded to such a ridiculous worship! they knew these new *Gods* of theirs were indeed but *calves*, tho' *golden ones*! that they were *made* by *Jeroboam* himself, or by his direction! and that, when they offer'd their *oxen* upon those altars, ' the God and the sacrifice were ' out of the same (a) herd'! And yet so monstrously stupid were they, that *the people* (that is, the *great multitude*) *went to worship before* (b) them! which confirms an observation of a learned divine, that ' there is nothing so absurd, but may be obtruded ' upon the vulgar, under the pretence (c) of religion '.

'Tis true, it may be said, they had a precedent for it, in the *altar* which *Aaron* (thro' an inexcusable weakness) had been prevail'd with, by the great importunity of the mutinous people, to *build before his molten calf* in the wilderness: but, if they had consider'd, how *hot the wrath of the Lord waxed against the people* for that act, and what an *atonement* (d) it cost them, be-

G g 2

fore

(a) Dr. South's serm. 1668, upon 1 Kings xiii. 33, 34, p. 39. Where he supposes *Jeroboam* to have 'made such an edict' as this; ' I *Jeroboam*, considering the great distance of the temple, and the ' charges that poor people are put to in going thither, as also the ' intolerable burden of paying the first-fruit and tythes to the priest, ' have consider'd of a way that may be more easy, and less burthen. ' some to the people, as also more comfortable to the priests them- ' selves: and therefore strictly enjoyn, that none henceforth pre- ' sume to repair to the temple at *Jerusalem*; especially since God ' is not tyed to any place or form of worship; as also because ' the devotion of men is apt to be clogged by such ceremonies', &c. (b) 1 Kings xii. 30. and 2 Chron. xiii. 8. (c) Dr. South's serm. as before, p. 42. (d) Exod. xxxii. and Deut. ix.

fore they could be acquitted of that great sin, it would have been but small encouragement to an imitation of it. However, this shews us, how the frailties and infirmities of good men are oftentimes sought out, to justify or excuse the impieties and immoralities of wicked ones; tho' 'tis certain, that ten thousand precedents are not sufficient to legitimate one act which is either unlawful in itself, or expressly prohibited by the law of God; but in actions which are evil, the imitation is commonly worse than the example: for 'tis a good rule, that

‘ no example of any person
 ‘ whatever is to be followed, unless it be conformable to the precepts of religion: by this
 ‘ rule we are to judge of the actions of others,
 ‘ as well as our own; and one reason, no doubt,
 ‘ why the failings of holy men are so frequently
 ‘ related in scripture, is to warn us, not to imitate the best of men in all things, but only in
 ‘ such as we are convinc'd they ought to have (a)
 ‘ done’.

But besides, how great a sin soever that of *Aaron* was in itself, yet still he being the true high-priest, the people's adhering to him (tho' in an error) may be much more easily excus'd, than those in the case of *Jeroboam* can be justify'd; because here was notorious schism added to the false worship. For *Jeroboam* did not only separate himself and his people from the true worship of

(a) Obligat. of acting according to conscience, &c. A farewell serm. 22 Jan. 1715, p. 18.

of God in the temple, and from the only true high-priest, but he set up a mock-priesthood against the one, as he had set up a mock-worship against the other: he *made priests of the lowest of the people, which were not of the sons of (a) Levi,* (and therefore utterly incapable of that (b) office;) — *whosoever would, he consecrated (c) him;* — yea, *whosoever came to consecrate himself with a young bullock and seven rams, the same might be a (d) priest;* which gave occasion to a celebrated preacher to intimate, that Jeroboam was an independent, as Korah was a (e) presbyterian!

All this might possibly be much applauded by the fawning addressers of this impostor, as high proofs of his *moderation*, and pious care of his people, to prevent their being *priest ridden!* and to ease their tender consciences from *impositions* and ordinances for which they could see no ground in *reason!* But the Holy Ghost gives it the true character, that it *became sin unto the house of Jeroboam, even to cut it off, and to destroy it from off the face of the (f) earth:* and, lest it should be thought only to relate to himself and his proper race, we find a brand of indelible infamy afterwards fasten'd upon *Jeroboam*, that he *sinned, and made Israel to (g) sin!* For as ‘princes, — who
‘ being

(a) 1 Kings xii. 31. (b) Exod. xxviii. and xxix. Numb. iii. 2nd iv. and Deut. x. 8. — and xxi. 5. (c) 1 Kings xvi. 33. (d) 2 Chron. xiii. 9. (e) Miles Barne's serm. 10 July, 1684, p. 7. (f) 1 Kings xii. 30. — xiii. 34. — x.v. 16, (g) — xv. 30, 34 — xvi 19, 26. — xxii. 52. 2 Kings iii. 3. — x. 29, 31. — xiii. 2, 11. — xiv. 24. — xv. 9, 18, 24, 28. — xxiii. 15,

‘ being themselves vitious, — (turning piety in-
 ‘ to policy, and religion into reason of state,) not
 ‘ only infect the people by the contagion of an
 ‘ impious example, but are willing the people
 ‘ should be as bad as (a) themselves’: so ’tis
 obvious to every one’s observation, that the ape-
 like multitude are proud to become like their
 leaders, and think it but a due respect to the court-
 mode, to imitate them in their follies and vices,
 yea, even in their most detestable sins and mon-
 strous deformities !

Thus *Jeroboam* himself, taking upon him to
 invade the priest’s office, by *burning* (b) *incense*,
 could not long want others among his party for-
 ward enough to intrude themselves into the same :
 their King’s countenance and encouragement was
 more apt to spur them on to it, than God’s pro-
 hibitions were to slacken them : and when they
 had got the face of a church (how monstrous so-
 ever,) the people readily came into it ; nor were
 they discourag’d even when a prophet came to
 denounce God’s judgments against them, and
 prov’d his mission by a (c) miracle. And thus,
 when this false worship was set up, (tho’ by a re-
 bel and usurper) it must undoubtedly be look’d
 upon as the religion by law establish’d ; and who-
 ever refus’d to join in it, misrepresented as enemies
 to their country ! Whereas, in truth, those who
 did join with them, in such their separation and
 false worship, did notoriously *follow a multitude to*
 do

(a) *Dr. Gauden’s serm.* 28. *Febr.* 1659, p. 74. (b) *1 Kings*
 xii. 33,—xiii. 1. (c) —*vers.* 4, &c.

do (a) evil; contrary to God's express command, whereby we are taught, that it is not the number of the parties or other advocates, but the truth and justice of the cause, that is to be regarded: for 'truth is the same, and changeth not, ' whether they be few or many that profess it; ' and our religion stands not in a multitude of ' pretenders, but in a holy doctrine, and a holy ' practice, which all ought to follow, even when ' the most *do (b) not*'. Besides, if *Dr. Rye's* observation be true, (as without doubt it is,) that ' when prayers and praises are offer'd up to God ' by a clergyman, as the mouth of the congrega- ' tion, if he be an open heretic or schismatic, ' — his congregation sin by joining in commu- ' nion with him; and when persons sin in the ' very act of offering up their prayers, the prayers ' — must undoubtedly be an *(c) abomination*': then doubtless the sacrifices offer'd up by *Jero-boam's* mock-priests, who were not only hereticks and

(a) *Exod. xxiii. 2.* (b) *Dr. Clagett's* ans^r. to several captious queries, 1688, p. 16. And the reader may find divers other remarkable proofs to the same point, collected from *Tillofson, Stillingfleet, Blackall, &c.* in the notes upon *Mason's* vindicat. of the Ch. of *Engl.* 1728, fol. 141, 229, 510, 511, 621, &c. (c) *Dr. Rye's* treat. against the *Nonjur.* vol. ii, p. 216, 217. who, in an other place, speaks of prayers, thus ' our prayers would really ' dishonour God, if there were a falshood in them, and we knew ' it to be a falshood; or if we pray'd against plain right, in ex- ' press terms, or against a prince whom we believed to be right- ' ful: for the former prayers wou'd shew, that we thought we ' could deceive God, and the latter that we thought God would fa- ' vour injustice!' *ibid.* p. 395, 396.

and schismaticks, but open idolaters too, must needs have been an abomination to the Lord.

This the priests of the Lord, and the *Levites*, and all such others as fear'd God, were truly sensible of; as appears by their leaving their possessions, withdrawing from the communion of the schismaticks, and reconciling themselves to the true church and their rightful sovereign. For *the priests and the Levites, that were in all Israel, resorted to him (their King) out of all their coasts: for the Levites left their suburbs, and their possession, and came to Judah and Jerusalem: — and, after them, out of all the tribes of Israel, such as set their hearts to seek the Lord God of Israel came to Jerusalem to sacrifice unto the Lord God of their fathers; so they strengthened the kingdom of Judah, and made Rehoboam, the son of Solomon, strong: and this was the reason, for Jeroboam and his sons had (by pretended state-acts, depriv'd and) cast them off from executing the priest's office unto the Lord, and ordained him priests for the high places, and for the devils, and for the calves which he had (a) made!* which was a formal act of schism, and that 'the
' most dangerous condition in the world; for it
' is to be out of the way to heaven, and in the
' high road to (b) hell!

Thus

(a) 2 *Chron.* xi 13, &c. And how our orthodox bishops and clergy and their flocks acted, under the like trials, in times of popery and schism, may be seen at large in the preface to the late edition of *Mason*, before-quoted, fol. xxiv, lxix, &c. (b) Dr. *Rye's* treat. against the *Nonjur.* vol. i, p. 1, 2.

Thus sin is usually seconded with sin: and as *Jeroboam* had committed the sin of rebellion to gratify his own ambition, his ungodly policy led him of course to commit that of schism, in hopes thereby the better to secure himself in his usurpation; for ‘ those sins of schism and rebellion ‘ are never better defended than by one (a) another’. And, as the natural consequence thereof, his own private views oblig’d him to persecute the true priests and *Levites* and their adherents, as enemies to his title and proceedings; and would not suffer him to discover any repentance (if he had still had the grace to repent,) when a man of God came out of Judah, expressly to proclaim the word of the Lord against him: but the same prophane hand, with which he was offering burnt incense, was presently stretch’d forth from the altar, with a direction to his followers to lay hold on the (b) prophet, in order to punish him for his message, if the Lord, who sent him, had not miraculously rescued him from the tyrant, and manifested the truth of his own word. Then indeed he could speak him fair, offering him refreshment and a reward for restoring his wither’d hand: but so little are the Lord’s people to have to do with rebels and schismaticks, that he utterly refus’d to accept of any favours from him, and plainly told him, *if thou wilt give me half thine house, I will not go in with thee, neither will I eat bread nor*

H h drink

(a) *L. Milb. legacy to the church, 1722, vol. i, p. 23.* (b) *1 Kings xiii. 1, &c.*

drink water in this place; for so was it charged me by the word of the (a) Lord.

And that they were no less disappointed of their proposed happiness in civil affairs, than they were in religious, may be fairly concluded from these following observations. *First*, that 'tis the usual method of divine providence, in punishing irregular princes or people, to make use of the greatest tyrants and most hardened sinners, to be firebrands of his wrath, that by means of their cruel and merciless oppression, his people might the sooner be reduced to a sense of their duty: thus, he suffer'd certain of the very worst of the heathen nations to remain among them, in the land of promise, as thorns in their sides, *that through them he might prove Israel, whether they would keep the way of the (b) Lord*; thus *David*, for his sins, was punished by his most unnatural, ungrateful and rebellious son *(c) Absalom*; thus the idolatrous house of *Abab* was destroy'd and rooted out by *Jehu*, an *(d)* idolater, and *Hazael* a monster of a *(e)* man; and thus the idolatry of *Solomon* was punish'd by *Jeroboam*; whose idolatrous wickedness was notorious even to a proverb. But, *secondly*, we may observe, as before, what a zealous stickler he had been for the people's liberty, and the redress of grievances, under their natural sovereign, thereby the more to insinuate himself into their favour, as a great patriot and asserter of the

(a) 1 Kings xiii. 6, &c. (b) Judg. ii. 3, 22. (c) See page 181, &c. (d) 1 Kings xix. 15, &c. 2 Kings x. 29. (e) ——— viii. 12.

the publick good: and yet, no sooner was his own turn serv'd, and the whole power in his hands, but we find him *building* (a) cities, and places of strength to fortify himself with garriſons and magazines; which could not be done without heavy taxes, and large ſupplies of men and money; and which would not have been requir'd, if the whole kingdom had been united, as before, under its own proper head. ' Thus what-
 ' ever the pretences are, how fair and popular
 ' ſoever, in the oppoſition men make to authority,
 ' ambition and private diſcontents are the true be-
 ' ginners of them: but theſe muſt be covered
 ' over with the deepeſt diſſimulation, with moſt
 ' vehement proteſtations to the contrary; nothing
 ' muſt be talk'd of, but a mighty zeal for re-
 ' ligion and the publick intereſt:—— But, if
 ' fair pretences, and glorious titles will ſerve to
 ' cheat the people into their own miſeries, and
 ' the ſad effects of rebellion, they ſhall never want
 ' thoſe who will enſlave them for the ſake of li-
 ' berty, undo them for the publick good, and
 ' deſtroy them with deſigns of reformation. For
 ' nothing is more popular than rebellion in the
 ' beginning, nothing leſs in the iſſue of it: and
 ' the only true reaſon that it is ever ſo, is from
 ' the want of wiſdom and judgment in the ge-
 ' nerality of mankind, who ſeldom ſee to the
 ' end of things, and hardly diſtinguiſh between
 ' the names and nature of them, till their own

H h 2

' dear-

(a) 1 Kings xii. 25.

‘ dear-bought experience hath taught them the
‘ difference (a) ’.

This was fully verify’d in the case now before us : for whatever fair speeches and declarations *Jeroboam* made publickly to the people, he said in his heart, now shall the kingdom return to the house of David : if this people go up to do sacrifice in the house of the Lord at Jerusalem, then shall the heart of this people turn again unto their Lord, even unto Rehoboam, King of Judah, and they shall kill me, and go again to Rehoboam, King of (b) Judah. Where, by the way, we may discover, not only the true grounds of this usurper’s politicks, but also how conscious he was of his unwarrantable revolt ; so that he could not but in his own heart acknowledge the

(a) *Stillingsf.* serm. 30 Jan. 1668, p. 14, 15. ’Tis wisely remark’d by Sir Philip Warwick (in his memoirs, p: 51, 52.) that when *ship-money* was laid upon the whole kingdom, in the reign of King Charles I. according to a solemn judgment pronounc’d in favour of it, the whole sum amounted not to 20000 *l.* a month; which ‘ fell very short of what the future charges amounted unto, in maintaining a rebellion against his Majesty, upon pretence of these grievances: ——— and they that made this so grievous, soon after thought it not amiss, because it was to maintain their own sedition, to lay ten times more upon every subject than he paid before’. *Ibid.* p. 63. Another tells us of the *Dutch*, that ‘ having fought with the King of Spain about two things, religion and taxes, they have so far prevail’d in respect of both, that they have gotten all the religions in *Christendom*, and pay the greatest taxes in the world’. Dr. *Edw. Pelling’s* serm. 30 Jan. 1681, p. 24. And, in general, it is the common observation of travellers abroad, that they seldom read liberty writ over the gate; but entering the city, they find slavery within; so little are people sensible of that wherein true liberty consists till they have lost it!

(b) 1 Kings xii. 26, 27.

the right of *Rehoboam*, (that he was *their Lord* still, notwithstanding himself was in possession of the kingdom of *Israel*, with the full consent of the people thereof,) and the capital punishment which himself deserv'd, and might justly expect, to be *kill'd*, for his rebellion and usurpation! A plain evidence this, that *Rehoboam* had not lost his title to the ten tribes by that revolution! that possession, and the *people's* consent or *recognition*, is no *sufficient title to the throne*, in such hereditary countries, especially (as *Mr. Whiston* suggests,) *in barr to (a) primogeniture!* and in short, that the people themselves are commonly disappointed, when they presume to break through natural rights, and the fundamental laws of succession, (as well in kingdoms as families) upon such fallacious grounds as the supposed *personal virtue, goodness, and desert* of their favourite! For as the worthless *bramble* is observ'd to be the most (*b*) aspiring, so 'tis certainly the most apt to scratch and tear those who come into its power. 'Wherefore it's but a seasonable caution, that men beware of giving into principles which tend to shut *God* out from the government of the world: for suppose subjects, taking the sword and the cause into their own hands, should lay about them so successfully, as to free themselves from under the *scourge*, he will certainly change it into the chastisement of the *scorpion*; and the

' little

(a) *Whist. script. polit. p. 30.*
p. 89.

(b) See *Jotham's* parable, in

‘ little finger of providence will be thicker upon
 ‘ them, than the loins of the very prince of
 ‘ whom they complain. Many of you, I know,
 ‘ must be sensible, that I could give a very de-
 ‘ plorable evidence of this truth, by tracing from
 ‘ point to point the conduct of providence
 ‘ towards (a) ourselves’ : — but the nature of
 the case is so evident as not to need particular
 proofs. For ‘ an usurper brings along with him
 ‘ a necessity of renouncing all humanity, and
 ‘ religion too: he must hate all those whom he
 ‘ hath injured, and must punish whatsoever his
 ‘ own guilty fears present, as if they were ma-
 ‘ nifest crimes: he must tolerate all manner of
 ‘ disorder and confusion in the worship of heaven,
 ‘ for the sake of those which himself hath brought
 ‘ upon the affairs of earth: he must give up the
 ‘ word of God to mercenary tongues and unhal-
 ‘ low’d hands, to be tenter’d, and set upon the rack
 ‘ till, with the heathen oracles of old, it can
 ‘ φιλιππίζει, cant something in the favour of his
 ‘ pretensions. And who can be so vain, as even
 ‘ to dream of property or liberty under such a
 ‘ state? who can hope for the enjoyment of a
 ‘ rightful possession, whilst the government itself
 ‘ is but a splendid (b) robbery’? But, now to
 go on.

Tho’ the Lord did not think fit to suffer King
Rehoboam to reduce these revolted *Israelites* to his
 obe-

(a) Mr. D’Oyly’s serm. at Bath, 17 Sept. 1710, p. 25. (b)
 Nat. Alsop’s serm. at Leicester, 23 Mar. 1681, p. 13, 14.

obedience, yet he gave them into the hands of *Abijah*, his son and heir, who, with an *army of four hundred thousand*, (in a most exemplary manner) defeated *Jeroboam's* army of *eight hundred (a) thousand*, killing *five hundred thousand* of them on the spot: which, being the most complete and remarkable victory that we read of in the whole bible, was surely something more than a bare *(b) deliverance*, (as *Mr. Whiston* calls it;) for it was a most wonderful and signal appearance of providence, (if he will allow that providence ever appears on the right side!) in favour of hereditary right, against possession by popular election. And this, *Mr. Whiston* could not but have clearly distinguish'd, if he had perus'd it *impartially* (as he pretends;) for the text is not, that *God deliver'd Judah out of the hand of Israel*, but *God delivered Israel into the hand of Judah*: neither did the usurper die without some remarkable judgment from God; for the text says, *the Lord struck (c) him*.

Here I must beg my reader's patience, whilst I give him an abstract of this chapter, which contains so solemn an appeal to, and signal interposition and appearance of the Lord himself, in favour of the right heir of the house of *David*.

When the battle was set in array, *Abijah* stood up, and addressing himself to the usurper *Jeroboam*, and to all his army, said, *Ought ye not to know, that the Lord God of Israel gave the kingdom*
over

(a) 2 *Chron.* xiii. 3, 17. (b) *Whist. script. politic.* p 36. (c) 2 *Chron.* xiii. 20.

over Israel to David for ever, even to him and to his sons by a covenant of (a) salt? yet Jeroboam — is risen up, and hath rebelled against his Lord! and there are gathered unto him vain men, the children of Belial! and have strengthened themselves against Rehoboam, the son of Solomon, when Rehoboam was young (b) and tender-hearted, and could not withstand them! And now ye think to withstand the kingdom of the Lord in the hand of the sons of David: and ye be a great multitude, and there are with you golden calves, which Jeroboam made you for Gods! Have ye not cast out the priests of the Lord — and have made you priests after the manner of the nations? — But as for us, the Lord is our God, and we have not forsaken him; and the priests which minister unto the Lord, are the sons of Aaron, — for we keep the charge of the Lord our God, but ye have forsaken him! And behold, God himself is with us for our captain, and his priests with sounding trumpets, to cry alarm against you! O children of Israel, fight ye not against the Lord God of your fathers, for ye shall not (c) prosper!

In which speech, 'tis observable, that *Abijah* insists positively, that the Lord had given the kingdom of *Israel* to *David* and to his heirs for ever, in due course of succession; and that such his divine hereditary right thereto, was by a covenant (or ordinance, or institution) never to be alter'd

(a) That is, by a perpetual, sacred and inviolable covenant; for salt drives away corruption, and therefore is the emblem of durability. (b) This must be understood of his want of capacity, rather than of age. (c) 2 *Chron.* xiii 3, &c.

alter'd, that is to say, indefeasible: he charges *Jeroboam* with rebellion against his Lord, and withstanding the kingdom of the Lord in the hand of the sons of *David*; and final'y assures them, that in fighting against him, they *fought against the Lord God*, and therefore should not prosper. All which would have been very improper and impertinent for him to have mention'd, especially in so solemn and publick an appeal (and *Jeroboam*, or his party, might easily have objected it to him, as such) if the hereditary right to the throne had not been notoriously known and allow'd to be indefeasible, or if *Abijah* himself had not been the right heir of the house of *David*, as I have (a) prov'd him to have been.

I might likewise have observ'd, how he upbraids the usurper with casting out the priests of the Lord under pretence of his lay-deprivations, and intruding others into their offices by state-acts, and imposing a new state-religion upon the multitude, &c. But I shall wave the further consideration of these particulars, at present.

However, this speech of his had no effect upon the audience. For *Jeroboam* (who trusted not in God, but in his own strength and policy, as usurpers usually do) *caused an ambushment to come about behind them — And when Judah looked back, behold, the battle was before and behind; and they cried unto the Lord, And — God smote Jeroboam and all Israel, before Abijah and Judah, — and*

I i

God

God delivered them into their hand:—neither did Jeroboam recover strength again in the days of Abijah; and the Lord struck him, and he (a) died.

Thus have we seen this kingdom of *Israel*, tho' much larger in territories, and fuller of people, than that of *Judah*, reduc'd to a very low and weak condition, at that time, by reason of their revolt, and as the natural consequence of their being rebels with relation to their King, schismatics to the church, and apostates to God! In which miserable state they subsisted, under nineteen Kings (so called,) of nine several families; most of which came to violent ends, and not one of them was tolerably furnish'd with *personal virtue, goodness or desert*, (tho' severally set up by the people themselves) but all of them, to a man, branded with this character, that they *sinned and made Israel to sin!* whom I shall now proceed to give my reader a more particular view of.

Jeroboam held the throne *two and twenty (b) years*, tho' he cannot with any propriety be said to have had a settlement in it, when there was a right heir asserting his pretension to it: however, after his death, *Nadab his son reigned in his (c) stead*; the beginning of whose reign was contemporary with *the second year of Aza King of (d) Judah*. But he was scarce warm in the throne, when

§ LVII.

(b) 2 *Chron.* xiii. 13, &c. (b) 1 *Kings* xiv. 20. (c) *Ibid.*
(d) — *xv.* 25.

§ LVII. BAASHA *conspired against* Baasha and Elah.
him, and smote him, — and reigned in his

(a) *stead*: which he did out of his own wicked ambition only, without any commission, tho' he thereby became the instrument of *destroying all the house of Jeroboam, according unto the saying of the* (b) *Lord*. — His mounting the throne was in the *third year of Afa*; and there was war between them all their (c) *days*: yet, after *twenty and four years* he died, and Elah his son reigned in his *stead, in the twenty and sixth year of* (d) *Afa*. But it was not long before he was dispatch'd the same way as Nadab had been by his father: for

§ LVIII. ZIMRI (*captain of half his chariots*) *conspired against him, — and* Zimri.
killed him, in the twenty and seventh year of Afa, King of Judah, and reigned in his (e) *stead*; — and *destroyed all the house of Baasha, according to the word of the* (f) *Lord*: and yet Zimri, having had no commission to execute the judgment denounc'd against the house of *Baasha*, was so far from being justify'd, that it became a proverbial saying, by way of interrogation, implying a strong negative, *had Zimri peace who slew his* (g) *master*? No! he had no peace, but was soon rewarded according to his desert: for,

§ LIX. No sooner was it known, Omri, Ahab, Ahaziah, and Jehoram.
 that he had assum'd the sovereignty,
 but *all Israel made Omri, the captain*

I i 2

(a) 1 Kings xiv. 27, &c. (b) — vers. 29. and xiv. 10, &c. (c) — xv. 32, 33. (d) — xvi. 6, 8. (e) — vers. 9, 10, 15. (f) — vers. 2, &c. (g) Kings ix. 31.

of the host, King over (a) Israel; and besieg'd Zimri in Tirzah; where, after a reign of seven days, he burnt the King's house over him with fire, and (b) died, to avoid falling into the hands of his enemies. And here Mr. Whiston himself calls Zimri an usurper; but only so 'because he had no consent 'of the body of the (c) people'! As if the body of the people of Israel had sufficient authority to make Omri a King, any more than Zimri was one! which I challenge him to shew good grounds for in the word of God. But whereas he says, 'the sacred history does not ever suppose such 'titles as this of Omri's to be invalid, that I can 'find throughout the whole (d) bible'; I would recommend to his more serious consideration that text before quoted, so Israel rebelled against the house of David unto this (e) day. It is not enough for him to come off with that explanation, as he does, in the case of Baasha, where he says, 'I mean, where no law of God had interposed, 'and where therefore the election of the people was 'ever esteem'd, so far as I can find, a sufficient title to the (f) crown'. For that phrase, unto this day, will extend to Omri as well as to Baasha, and to both of these, as properly as to Jeroboam himself: for all these rebell'd against the house of David, by their heading the revolted tribes. The bible says, they rebelled, and lets us know wherein it consisted; not in any defect of the people's

(a) 1 Kings xvi. 16. (b) —vers. 17, 18. (c) Whist. script. polit. p. 38. (d) Ibid. (e) 1 Kings xii. 19. and 2 Chron x. 19. (f) Whist. script. polit. p. 35.

people's choice or consent, but in their opposition to the right heir of *David*: nay, the sacred history assures us, that both *Jeroboam* and *Omri* were the people's own choice, and Mr. *Whiston* affirms the same of *Baasha* (a) too; and yet they are all charg'd with rebellion against the house of *David*, as much as *Zimri* is, which one would think is more than a bare supposal, that such titles are invalid. If not, I would gladly know what Mr. *Whiston* means by calling *Baasha's* title (b) irregular? Surely, there must then be some standing rule which it did not square with: but he had the people's voice, and his title 'seems to be fully 'acknowledg'd for a good one by God (c) himself', (according to Mr. *Whiston's* construction of the text (d) refer'd to;) therefore it can be nothing but the want of the hereditary right that could make such a title irregular. As this is clearly my own notion of it, I cannot but impute it to the irresistible force of truth, that it has dropp'd from his pen. For, if either the election of the people was a sufficient title in general, or it had been fully acknowledg'd for a good one by God himself in that particular case, no man of learning or religion would have presum'd to call it irregular: but since the sufficiency of the popular title is but a groundless fancy, and that particular text cannot fairly amount to any more than God's permission only, (as I have already (e) demonstrated it cannot,) the difficulty is unravell'd

(a) *Whist. script. polit.* p. 35. (b) *Ibid.* (c) *Ibid.*
 (d) 1 *Kings* xvi. 1, 2. (e) *Pag.* 216.

ravell'd, so that Mr. *Whiston* might call such titles irregular, without any absurdity.

But, to return to *Omri*; so precarious a thing is a title founded on the voice of the people, that, no sooner was *Zimri* destroy'd, but *then were the people of Israel divided into two parts; half—followed Tibni, — to make him King* (tho' all Israel had made *Omri* King but a few days before) and half followed *Omri*. Upon which division (for the publick good to be sure!) there inevitably ensu'd a civil war: but the people that followed *Omri* prevail'd; — so *Tibni* died, and *Omri* reigned, in the thirty and one year of (a) *Asa*.

And now, by this conquest, together with his original title of the people's choice, *Omri* might seem to have what they call a providential settlement in the throne, which he held twelve years, and was succeeded, at his death, by *Abab*, his son in the thirty and eight year of (b) *Asa*: and *Abab*, after a reign of twenty and two years, dying in battle, was succeeded by *Abaziah*, his son, in the seventeenth year of *Jehosaphat*, King of (c) *Judah*; which *Abaziah*, dying soon after, was succeeded by his brother *Jehoram*, in the eighteenth year of *Jehosaphat*, King of *Judah*, and reigned twelve d) years.

(a) 1 Kings xvi. 21, &c. (b) — 28, 29. These chronological notices may be of some use, to inform the less learned reader which of the Kings of *Judah* these were severally cotemporary with: but if any will be critical, and make remarks upon the chronology as not exact, let him know, the fault is not mine; I have quoted my authority for it, and as such shall submit it to the proper censors. (c) 1 Kings xvi. 29. — xxii. 40, 51. (d) 2 Kings i. 17.—iii. 1.

years. And the reason of his succession is particularly recorded, *because Ahaziah had no (a) son*; so that *Jehoram* was then his natural heir: which is a further proof of the generally receiv'd notion of the right of proximity of blood, according to the law of *(b) inheritance*; inasmuch as we may learn from hence, that whatever family was in the throne, still the succession was look'd upon by all the adherents as due to him that was next of kin of that line. But however, so far was that providential right (as they call it,) or the prescription of eight and forty years possession, from securing the establishment of the house of *Omri*, that *Jehu*, by express commission from God, destroy'd that whole house and kindred; as will be prov'd in the following section.

But, before I leave this, it is to be observ'd of that very populous kingdom of *Israel*, (which in *Feroboam's* time had afforded an army of *eight hundred thousand* fighting men at once, and therefore may be reasonably suppos'd to contain several millions of souls in the whole,) that they were so far alienated from God, notwithstanding all their wonted zeal for circumcision and other *Mosaical* ordinances, that, even in *Ahab's* time, not much more than half a century after their revolt, ' what through the indigence of the clergy, who, ' being of the meanest of the people, were thrust ' into the priest's office, as such who would make ' undue compliances for *a piece of silver, or a*
' morse!

(a) 2 Kings i. 17.

(b) Numb. xxvii. 11.

248 *The* SHORT HISTORY of

‘ morsel of (a) bread; what through the covetous-
 ‘ ness of the laity, who had consciences large
 ‘ enough to swallow all such riches or honours
 ‘ as were the rewards of a time-serving profes-
 ‘ sion, they ran in almost all of them so uncon-
 ‘ trollably into the worship of *Baal*, that fashi-
 ‘ onable and lucrative idolatry, — that there
 ‘ were but *seven thousand left*, that had *not bowed*
 ‘ *their knees to (b) Baal*’; and those too so scatter’d
 and dispers’d, that they did not know one ano-
 ther; much less had they any opportunities of
 correspondence or publick worship. Thus were
 the multitude wholly *influenc’d by the court-religion*;
 which ‘ they thought (as too commonly it hap-
 ‘ pens) the readiest way to get preferment and
 ‘ become rich by: and they preferr’d this to all
 ‘ other (c) considerations’, not excepting even
 those of schism and idolatry; whereas the truth
 was with those few, who, like *Elijah*, were per-
 secuted *into the (d) wilderness*: ‘ but men that are
 ‘ sincere in any religion, do hate and abhor such
 ‘ hypocritical dissemblers, and despise and spue
 ‘ them out, for their nauseous lukewarmness; and
 ‘ as men indeed of no religion or conscience,
 ‘ but for what serves to their present (e) ends’.

Agreeable to which was the conduct of *Elisba*
 the prophet towards *Jehoram*, when he went down
 together with *Jehosaphat*, to enquire of the Lord
 by

(a) 1 Sam. ii. 36. (b) *Stubb's* serm. 4 Octo. 1702, p. 7,
 in 4to. (c) *J. Walker's* serm. 23 Apr. 1710. p. 3. (d)
 1 Kings xix. (e) *Stillingfl.* serm. 13 Novem. 1687, p. 29.

by him. *What have I to do with thee (said Elisha)? Get thee to the Prophets of thy father, and to the prophets of thy mother —* (meaning the false prophets, who hardned him in his schism, and countenanc'd him in his idolatry; declaring to him, *As the Lord of hosts liveth, before whom I stand, surely, were it not that I regard the presence of Jehosaphat, the King of Judah, I would not look toward thee, nor see (a) thee.* So much was the respect, which the prophet paid to a lawful and orthodox prince, different from his behaviour to a schismatick and usurper!

Another remarkable occurrence happens here also within the same period of time; which has occasion'd various mistaken constructions. *Naaman, the King of Syria's General and great favourite, was a (b) leper; and, having heard of the miracles done by Elisha, came to that prophet, who effected his cure. Upon which Naaman makes a solemn declaration before Elisha, saying, Behold, now I know, that there is no God in all the earth but in Israel; — thy servant will henceforth offer neither burnt offering nor sacrifice unto other Gods, but unto the Lord: in this thing the Lord pardon thy servant, that when my master goeth into the house of Rimmon to worship there, and he leaneth on my hand, and I bow myself in the house of Rimmon; when I bow down myself in the house of Rimmon, the Lord pardon thy servant in this thing. And he said unto him, go in (b) peace.*

K k

Which

(a) 2 Kings iii. 11, &c.
vers. 15. &c.

(b) — v. 1.

(c) —

Which words have inclin'd many people to think, that they may justify their compliance with (or at least their presence at) superstitious or immoral worship by this example: whereas, if they were translated with respect to the time past, and not to the time to come, (as several learned men acknowledge the original will well bear,) the difficulty would be remov'd, the objection answer'd, and all reconcil'd to a consistency with the attributes of God, as well as to that purity and simplicity which is requir'd of us in divine worship. Thus (we are told) *Luther's German bible*, printed at *Weimars*, with notes, hath well render'd it, *In this thing the Lord pardon thy servant, that when my master went into the house of Rimmon to worship there, and he leaned on my hand, I bowed myself in the house of Rimmon; the Lord pardon thy servant in this thing, that I bowed myself in the house of Rimmon, (a) &c.* In which version the penitent is only made to beg God's pardon for his former sin, and not a dispensation for repeating it: the former of which the prophet might well give him an assurance of, but not of the latter; neither indeed would the latter have been so consistent with the convert's own foregoing declaration as the former is.

Jehu, Jehoahaz,
Joash, Jeroboam,
Zachariah.

§ LX. BUT now let us proceed to *Jebu*, who slew *Jehoram*, and all that remained of the house of (b) Ahab :

(a) Essay for a new translat. of the bible, 1727, p. 215.
(b) 2 Kings ix. 24. — x. 11.

Ahab; according to the word of the Lord by the prophet (a) *Elijab*. But here it is to be observ'd, that *Jebu* was made *King* himself before he attempted this upon his master: not by the voice of the people (for they were never consulted) but by a prophet of the Lord; who calling him apart from his company, *anointed* him, and gave him an express commission and command, to *smite the house of* (b) *Ahab*: in virtue of which *Jebu* thought himself sufficiently authoriz'd (as undoubtedly he was) to take it upon him, without so much as asking the people for their consent afterwards. And yet this very person, so immediately rais'd up by God, was himself a notorious (c) idolater: so that I would gladly know, what a modern divine meant, when he said, ' God ' would not suffer idolatrous princes to rule over ' his people; and why should (d) we? ' Especially, when he affirms, in the same page, that ' a divine example is — set down for our imi- ' tation, and therefore not to imitate it, would ' be (e) sin '. It plainly appears, in many examples, that *God did suffer*, and in this particularly, that he did actually raise up an *idolatrous prince to rule over his people!* What inference this author would draw from such a *divine example*, I leave to himself to declare: 'tis enough for me to conclude, that dominion is not founded in grace, but in nature. However, *Jebu* having executed his

K k 2

com-

(a) 1 Kings xxi. 21. 22. (b) 2 Kings ix. 1, &c. (c) — x. 29, 31. (d) *Blakeway's* serm. in *Nov.* 1715, p. 5. (e) *Ibid.*

commission to the full, he had a promise from the Lord, that his children of the fourth generation should sit on the throne of (a) Israel. Thus, after he had reigned twenty and eight years, he was succeeded by Jeboabaz his son, in the three and twentieth year of Joash, King of (b) Judah: and he, after seventeen years, by Joash his son, in the thirty and seventh year of Joash, King of (c) Judah, and he, after sixteen years, by Jeroboam his son, in the fifteenth year of Amaziah, King of (d) Judah: and he, after forty and one years, by Zachariab, his son, in the thirty and eighth year of Azariah, (or Uzziab) King of (e) Judah, in whom the line of Jehu ended.

§ LXI. FOR, no sooner was the Shallum. promised term expir'd, but Shallum conspired against Zachariab, when he had reign'd but six months; and smote him before the people, and slew him and reigned in his stead, in the nine and thirtieth year of the same (f) Uzziab.

Menahem,
Pekaniah. § LXII. BUT, when he had play'd the King a full month, he was paid in his own coin by Menahem, who smote him, and slew him, and reigned in his stead ten (g) years: and when he died Pekebiab his son reigned in his stead, in the fiftieth year of the same King of (h) Judah.

§ LXIII.

(a) 2 Kings x. 30. (b) — vers. 35, 36. — xiii. 1.
 (c) — vers. 1, 9, 10. (d) — vers. 10, 13. —
 xiv. 16, 23. (e) — vers. 23, 29. — xv. 8. (f) —
 vers. 8, 10, 13. (g) — vers. 13, 14, 17. (h) —
 vers. 22, 23.

§ LXIII. BUT, as his father had ^{Pekah.} got the throne by violence, so did he also lose it, after *two years* possession: for *Pekah*, one of his captains, *conspired against him, and smote him, — and reigned in his room, in the two and fiftieth year of the same King of (a) Judah.*

§ LXIV. NOR had he himself any bet- ^{Hoshea.} ter fate, tho' he kept the possession *twenty years*: for *Hoshea* made the like *conspiracy against him, and smote him, and slew him, and reigned in his stead, in the twelfth year of Ahaz, King of (b) Judah.*

From all which we may gather this general observation, ‘ that he that has once dar’d to violate
 ‘ the majesty of Kings, hath seldom found all the
 ‘ hands that he could join together, sufficient to
 ‘ uphold an usurped throne; and hath taught
 ‘ others to bear no more respect to himself than
 ‘ he hath shewed; and given them, besides, a
 ‘ pretence to dispossess him for unjustly invading
 ‘ another’s right: which being once taken away,
 ‘ and power become the rule of justice, there
 ‘ have often risen up a sort of men pretending
 ‘ to it, who never failed to give one another their
 ‘ deserved (c) punishment’. Neither are the petty shifts and mean artifices less remarkable, which these several usurpers were forc’d to make use of in their respective difficulties: sometimes giving vast sums of money to a powerful neighbour, to *guaranty* their ill-gotten possessions,
 or

(a) 2 Kings xv. 23, 25, 27. (b) — vers. 27, 30. — xvii. 1. (c) *Gostwyke’s* serm. 26 July, 1685, p. 17.

or (as our translation renders it) *to confirm the kingdom in their (a) hand!* Sometimes dearly buying a little present peace of one, and at the same time basely endeavouring to make contrary alliances, to enable them to break (b) it! And whatever their end was in the disposal of it, still the money was (c) exacted of the deluded people, to their impoverishment; for these quack-methods were so far from curing the wound, that they both made it deeper and increas'd the smart: their neighbours became still stronger and more imposing, while they themselves grew daily weaker and less able either to gratify or deny whatever they demanded; till at last *Shalmanezzer*, King of *Affyria*, like an insatiable gulph, exhausted all at once, carrying away *Hosbea* and all his people into captivity, and overflowing the country with an inundation of foreigners, who *knew not the God of the (d) land!*

Thus have I gone through the whole history of the Kings of *Judab* and *Israel* with due care and impartiality, ending with their respective captivity: out of which (as is before observ'd) the former did return, tho' not as a proper and independent kingdom; but the latter were totally lost, infomuch that all we now hear of in any part of the world, are descended from the loyal tribe of *Judab*. And now, to sum up the whole again, I beg leave to remind the reader, that tho' the succession of those in *Israel*, was not regular,

(a) 2 *Kings* xv. 19. (b) — xvii. 3, 4. (c) — xv. 20. (d) — xvii, 6, 24, &c. — xviii. 9, &c.

gular, as that of the Kings of *Judah* was, yet, even there, the law of inheritances was still so much regarded, that whoever obtain'd the crown, and left it in peace, was always succeeded by his son, or other next heir, according to the law of nature, as he will perceive by the particulars before set forth: and that, of all the several revolutions among them, there is not one justified, except that of *Jebu* only; nor that any otherwise than because he had an express warrant from the Lord, for what he did, and was himself a King before he made any attempt upon his master. But, as for the rest, tho' God Almighty doth oftentimes raise up (or rather permit) certain rebels to be his instruments of wrath to punish irregular princes (as it is his sole prerogative to do, he not being bound to those laws which he prescribeth to others); yet, unless they have an express warrant from him, as *Jebu* had, they are but rebels still. And therefore, it follows, (as an author before quoted well observes) that 'it is
' treason for any subjects, upon the specious pre-
' tence of executing God's decree and vengeance,
' to raise war, make sedition, to depose and kill
' their lawful prince (a) !

§ LXV. AND now (though I am not oblig'd to it by my present undertaking) I shall just cast my eye abroad in the world: wherein, that the same regard was had to this hereditary descent, by proximity of blood,

*Some hints
from other
nations.*

(a) *Jenner's* prerog. of primogen. p. 35.

blood, even universally among the nations also, we may gather, from these few evidences following.

When *Abimelech*, King of *Gerar*, desired *Abraham* to enter into a covenant with him, *swear unto me* (says he,)— *that thou wilt not deal falsely with me, nor with my son, nor with my son's (a) son.*—

The kingdom of *Pharaoh* in *Egypt*, which Mr. *Whiston* supposes not to be any way discoverable in (b) scripture, was certainly hereditary, as we find, we read, that *the Lord smote all the first-born—from the first-born of Pharaoh, that sat on his (c) throne, &c.* or (as it is in some translations) *that was to sit on his throne*: and again, where it is said, in the person of *Pharaoh*, *I am the son of antient (d) Kings*. To which we may add, what is well observ'd by our judicious countryman, to put the matter out of all controversy. ‘ The crown royal
 ‘ (says he) always passed by descent, and not by
 ‘ election: which (besides consent of authors) the
 ‘ scriptures also prove. For, whereas *Joseph*
 ‘ bought *all the land of Egypt for Pharaoh*, if the
 ‘ crown had passed by election, then should *Pha-*
 ‘ *raoh's* children hereby either have been en-
 ‘ thrall'd among the rest of the people, to the
 ‘ next successor, or enjoying their father's land,
 ‘ tho' not his estate (or royal dignity,) have been
 ‘ more mighty than the King, as landlords of all
 ‘ *Egypt*, and the King himself their (e) tenant’.

When

(a) *Genes.* xxi. 23. (b) *Whist.* script. polit. p. 14. (c)
Exod. xii. 29. (d) *Isa.* xix. 11. (e) *Raleigh's* hist. fol. 200.

When *Nabash*, the King of the children of Ammon, died, Hanun his son reigned in his (a) stead.

In the answer, which the King of Tyre return'd to Solomon's message, he tells him, he has sent him workmen of Hiram his (b) father; which shews that he was his father's heir in that kingdom.

When the King of Moab sacrificed his eldest son, it is written, that he took his eldest son that should have reigned in his (c) stead, or (as *Josephus* expresses it) who ought in right to succeed him in the (d) kingdom; 'where the eldest son seems to be in course supposed the (e) successor'.

By *Belshazzar's* inheriting his father (f) *Nebuchadnezzar's* kingdom, we may perceive it was the rule in that country also: which is further confirm'd by that of the prophet *Jeremy*, all nations shall serve him, and his son, and his son's (b) son.

From which hints (and several others in the holy scriptures), we may conclude the general extent of the law of hereditary succession: but, as that may be more amply made appear from other authors, this may suffice here.

L 1

APPEN-

(a) 2 Sam. x. 1. and 1 Chron. xix. 1. (b) 2 Chron. ii. 13. (c) 2 Kings iii. 27. (d) Antiq. Jud. l. ix. c. i. (e) *Whist.* script. polit. p. 37. But it was the King of Edom's son, and not his own, whom he thus sacrificed: as seems clear from the prophet, (*Amos* ii. 1.) who calls him the King of Edom, because he had that kingdom in his view in right of primogeniture; as the learned Archbishop *Usher* observes, in his sermon in the Isle of Wight, 1648, p. 10, in 4to. (f) *Dan.* v. 2. (g) *Jerem.* xxvii. 7.



APPENDIX.


 S to the *Cæsars* (or *Roman* emperors) that is, the *higher powers*, to whom our blessed Saviour and his Apostles, have taught us to *submit* our selves, their particular titles are not to be ascertain'd from the holy scriptures: but as it is very proper to know somewhat thereof, for the better understanding the nature and extent of that duty of subjection, the following extract has been made, with all due brevity, from authors of undoubted credit.

But, to obviate all objections, as if (according to the foregoing history,) in order to entitle these *Roman* emperors to the obedience of their subjects, for conscience sake, I ought first to prove every one of them to have had a strict hereditary right to the throne, I find it necessary to premise, that, tho' *conquest*, in itself, is 'but a false gloss, put 'on the worst and blackest of crimes, injustice, 'robbery, and cruelty (*a*)', and therefore can give no prince any better title to a crown, than an highway-man has to any purse he can catch: yet, 'tis agreed, by all casuists, that power, how-
soever

(*a*) Bp. Burnet's serm. 31 Decem. 1706.

soever unlawfully obtain'd, may be legitimated, and commence authority, either by exprefs revelation from God Almighty, as that of *Saul*, *David*, and *Solomon* did, or by the utter extinction and failure of all those who have a prior right, like that of *Abaziab* (a) abovementioned, or else by the submission, and disclaimer of them to whom the crown of right belongs: in any of which cases, 'tis agreed, the possessor becomes authoriz'd, and entitled to the allegiance of his subjects, by what means soever he became possess of the power; because he then requires nothing of them, but what is in their own power, and they are at liberty to pay him, without doing wrong to any third person: for that is the great objection against submission to powers *de facto*, so long as there are any others claiming, *de jure*.

Now, to apply this to the case before us. It is not deny'd, but that, when our Saviour appeared in the flesh, *the sceptre was departed from Judah*; and the *Jews* were become subjects to the *Romans*, by the dedition or submission of (b)

L 1 2

Hircanus :

(a) Pag. 186. (b) Bishop *Burnet* (preaching on our Saviour's command, *to render to Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's*;) observes, that ' about an hundred years before this time, ' two brothers, of the posterity of the *Maccabees*, quarrelled about ' the kingdom: and the younger brother, *Aristobulus*, being too ' hard for his elder brother, *Hircanus*, he, —— claimed the ' protection of the *Romans*. —— Upon that *Pompey* came, and ' took *Jerusalem*: but, instead of restoring *Hircanus*, which

in

Hircanus: but the controversy is, whether the emperors then reigning (to whom the subjection was commanded in the gospel) were lawful emperors? or whether the subjection was due to them as to the powers for the time in being, without any respect had to the legality or illegality of their titles?

This being the question, we must observe, that *Augustus* was upon the throne when our Saviour was born: and therefore we must enquire into his title, as well as those of *Tiberius*, *Caligula*, *Claudius* and *Nero*; who are all that come within the compass of this controversy. And all these were
lawful

‘ in justice he ought to have done, he—reduced *Judæa* unto
‘ the form of a province. From that time the *Romans*——
‘ treated the nation as subject to them’. (Bp. *Burn.* serm. 29
May, 1710, p. 3, 4.) And he repeats it again, ‘ certainly *Pom-*
‘ *pey* ought to have restored *Hircanus* to his right, according
‘ to the alliance that the *Romans* had made with his ancestors’.
But as he has stated the case, it appears, that the *Romans* had the
Jews in subjection by right of conquest, and that in ‘ a war
‘ begun upon just and lawful grounds: and (as he himself had
‘ affirmed on another occasion,) it is the uncontroverted opinion
‘ of all lawyers, that the success of a just war gives a lawful
‘ title to that which is acquired in the progress of it’. (Past. let-
ter, 1689, p. 20.) And had he taken notice, that *Hircanus* was
‘ a quiet indolent man, who——had no ambition for reigning’.
(*Prid. connect.* vol. ii. par. ii. b. vi.) he could not have wonder’d
at *Pompey*’s not restoring him. However, it seems, the right
of primogeniture, even in Bishop *Burnet*’s opinion, was so
sacred, that *in justice* it ought not to have been defeated: and it
is certain, that *the dissention*, occasion’d by the interruption
thereof, ‘ was the cause of the *Jews* loss of sovereignty and
‘ liberty, which the *Romans* never before of themselves at-
‘ tempted’. *Howell*’s hist. bib. vol. ii, p. 284, edit. 2, in 8vo.

lawful emperors ; as in the following extract will be made appear.

For (not to insist here upon the manner of acquiring it, which indeed was by resistance and rebellion, as all other popular states and commonwealths began) the supreme power was vested in the senate of *Rome*, as representatives of the people ; and that, without any claim or pretension kept up by their Kings, or any other competition to the contrary : so that they were then possessors of the government, in the same manner as our neighbours, the *Dutch*, have been, ever since the Kings of *Spain* dropp'd their claim of sovereignty over them. I say, the supreme power was thus in the *senate*, without any competition, when *Julius Cæsar*, having overcome *Pompey*, made himself absolute master of the liberties of *Rome* : but the *senate*, and people, who before had it in their own hands, having immediately made him a compliment thereof for his life, that act of theirs gave him a good right and authority to what he had before in his power ; so that he was undoubtedly their lawful sovereign from thenceforwards, without any competition, so long as he liv'd, and was obey'd by them as such. Nor was that all : for he was received with the greatest joy imaginable, and invested with such honours and power, as they had never before conferr'd on any. In short, they made him *all that was great*, and never thought they had enough to bestow upon him ; till he, beginning to exercise the power they had given him, was assassinated,

nated, in the senate-house, under pretence of the publick good, and restoring the *liberty of the subject*; and that too, by a sett of conspirators, who were all under the greatest personal obligations to him.

But ‘publick good, reformation of abuses, and ‘zeal for religion, are ever pretended, and as ‘constantly invaded, in the course of such proceedings, till at last, the well-meaning, that for ‘the sake of these were drawn in to assist, find ‘themselves cheated out of them all (a)’. Thus the people, soon finding themselves disappointed of the advantages which the conspirators had flatter’d them withal, began to mutiny, and burn their houses (as they deserv’d); which gave *Octavius Augustus* a fair opportunity to ingratiate himself with the *Senate* and people, by pursuing the regicides to death. After which, and his victory over his competitors, he so wrought upon the *Senate*, that they besought him earnestly to take the empire upon himself alone. Whereby all the authority of the *Senate* and people being freely and voluntarily transferr’d and confirm’d to *Augustus*, by their own act, the imperial power thenceforwards became a legal constitution, and was indeed thoroughly settled and establish’d in him; as is acknowledged, by bishop *Stillingfleet* (b), as well as by all other writers. Besides, so forward were they, in investing him with the
supreme

(a) Bp. *Chandler*. serm. 30 *Jan.* 1717, p. 27.
reaf. of new separat. 1689, p. 39.

(b) Un-

supreme power, that as the same learned author observes from *Dio*, they offer'd to bind their allegiance to him by oaths: which, however, he wisely refus'd, for this reason; ' he considered ' well, that if they gave their free consent, they ' would do what they promis'd without swearing, ' and if they did not, all the oaths in the world ' would not make (a) them'.

Thus was he confessedly a lawful sovereign, in obedience to whose *decree*, *Joseph* and *Mary* (then big with child) went up to *Jerusalem*, to be *taxed* (b); and in whose time our blessed Saviour chose to appear in the flesh.

Augustus dying, *Tiberius* (whom he had adopted, and made his partner in the empire) was left with the power in his hand, and without any rival, (no *Pretender* appearing to put in a claim against him): so that the *Romans*, of all degrees, *crowded*, to shew their forwardness to subject themselves to (b) him. And, after many earnest entreaties on the one part, and feign'd refusals on the other, he was at length, as it were *compell'd*, or forced, with some seeming reluctance, to take the government upon him, as a man does a burthen upon his shoulders, meerly to oblige the (d) people.

Thus was this *Emperor* in the throne, during all the time of our *Saviour's* preaching. And, as he had all the right that was then requir'd, accord-

(a) *Unreas. of new separat.* 1689, p. 40. (b) *St. Luke* iii. 1. (c) *Tacit. ann.* l. i. *Romæ ruere in servitium consulēs, patres, equites.* (d) *Quasi coactus. Sueton.* p. 24.

according to the (a) constitution of that empire: so was that right confirm'd to him by our Saviour himself, who was the *natural born King of the* (b) Jews, and whose pedigree is deriv'd in a direct line of hereditary descent, from *Abraham*, by *St. Matthew* (c), and from *Adam* by *St. Luke* (d). For, when the question was put to him, concerning the *payment of tribute to Cæsar* (e), he did not only determine it in favour of *Cæsar*, as a duty (f) to him; but likewise, to make it still more exemplary, he wrought a miracle to pay the same for himself: and when the people would have

(a) Great pains is taken, to draw a parallel between the constitution of the *Roman* empire, and that of other kingdoms, where the succession is undoubtedly hereditary; and thereupon to insinuate, that the Emperor here treated of was no better than a meer usurper, *the right heir* being then *known*: (Bp. Burnet. post. lett. 1689. p. 10.) Whereas 'tis certain, there was then no such pretender as a *right heir*; as the reader may be fully convinc'd, by Dr. *Hickes*, in his *Jovian*, 1683, p. 5, &c. (b) *St. Matt.* ii. 2. (c) — chap. i. (d) *St. Luke* iii. (e) *St. Matt.* xxii. 17, &c. and *St. Mark* xii. 13, &c. (f) His answer was only in general, *render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's*; which was not properly a determination, what was *Cæsar's*: but only a command to *restore every man his own*: for as the question was put to him with a premeditated design to take advantage against him from his own words, so was his answer guarded with caution to avoid the snare. But, to say, that because *the Roman coin was then current among them*, *Cæsar's image and superscription* upon it was, of itself, a sufficient proof of his being entitl'd to their allegiance, (as some people argue upon occasion,) is as absurd, as to infer *Oliver's* right to our allegiance, from his *breeches-money*, which was current here among us for some time, even (I believe) after our rightful sovereign's restoration!

have taken him *by force to make him a King, he departed into a mountain himself (a) alone*. Nor did he only thus waive his claim, and submit himself to *Cæsar*, but he declar'd also, that his *kingdom was not of this world: If my kingdom were of this world (said he,) then would my servants fight (b)*; expressing thereby the great duty indispensibly incumbent upon all subjects, in general, to assist and fight for their natural sovereign, whenever his service requires it. So far was he from authorizing, what *Mr. Whiston* dreams of, *the duty of subjects to leave their King (c) unassisted*, when invaded! For what a late divine said of *Englishmen*, is equally true, of all subjects, that they are all 'born subjects to their lawful prince: 'and tho' they have never taken any oath of 'allegiance to him, they are as much liable, — 'as if they had been under the obligation of 'a thousand solemn oaths and promises (d)'. And that 'the subjects or servants of all lawful 'princes are obliged, by the very nature of 'government, and the agreement of all mankind, to endeavour, by the force of arms, if 'otherwise they cannot, to rescue and defend 'their sovereigns, from any injuries offered them 'by any of their enemies (e)'.
 But as, in this particular case, our blessed Saviour did not make any claim of his right: so

M m

neither

(a) *St. John* vi. 15. (b) — xviii. 36. (c) *Whist. script. polit. dedic. p. iv.* (d) *Milbourne's serm. 30 Jan. 1707, p. 5.* (e) — 30 *Jan. 1715, p. 3.*

neither would he suffer his followers to resist the civil power which himself had authoriz'd, tho', at that very instant, it was imploy'd on a most wicked design (even no less than the death of the Saviour of the world,) but sharply reprov'd *Peter's* unwarrantable zeal; declaring that *all they that take* (assume, or usurp) *the sword, shall perish with the (a) sword*. And, to shew that it was not for want of sufficient power to defend himself, he adds, *Thinkest thou that I cannot now pray to my father, and he shall presently give me more than twelve legions of (b) angels?* that is, a force more than enough to have routed both the *Jews* and *Romans*: but (as *St. Peter* himself afterwards declares,) our blessed Saviour *suffered for an example to us, that we should follow his steps; who did no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth; who, when he was reviled, reviled not again, when he suffered, he threatned not, but committed himself to him that judgeth (c) righteously*. All which the inspired apostle applies to our *suffering wrongfully and patiently*; as part of our portion or *(d) calling*: and tis plain, the *fulfilling* the work of our redemption could not be the sole consideration of *Christ's* not resisting, because that would have been no *example* to us, who cannot possibly *follow his steps* in that respect.

This consideration alone, one would think, might be sufficient to *stop the mouths of gainsayers,*
and

(a) *St. Matt.* xxvi. 52. (b) — *vers.* 53. (c) *1 Pet.*
ii. 21, &c. (d) — *vers.* 18, &c.

and to condemn the senseless and wicked comments of those modern interpreters, who falsely pretend, that the *followers* of this divine *example* in the primitive ages, did *patiently suffer*, only for want of power to resist, and not *for conscience sake!* (which a late learned person truly calls *an intolerable reproach to (a. Christianity ;)* and who industriously insinuate, that, under the general words, whereby our obedience is injoin'd, there are certain *exceptions imply'd*, of cases of *necessity*, of which the people themselves, or any mutinous party of them, are to be the judges, when they lawfully may (yea, and are in duty bound to) resist authority, for the security of religion, or what any prevailing party (*b*) is pleas'd to call so. But, whoever they be, that propagate *principles, that encourage rebellion and treasonable practices*, ' with which
 ' too many corrupt and spurious *Protestants* have
 ' declared themselves to be infected, to the great
 ' scandal of our holy religion,——they are not
 ' *Protestants* in imbibing them; nay, they are *Pa-*
 ' *pists* in so doing, for 'tis very well known, they
 ' at least originally received them from their (*c*)
 ' books'. 'Tis certain, ' never cause of religion

M m 2

' was

(*a*) *Stillingfl.* serm. 7 Mar. 1678, p. 50. Who there also, speaking of the propagators of such fallacious notions, says, ' we
 ' are sure, whose disciples soever they pretend to be, they are
 ' none of *Christ's*'! *ibid.* p. 52. (*b*) Thus the heathen
Bulgarians took arms against their King, *because he was converted*
to the Christian religion; (as *Zonaras* tells us, tom. iii.) and so
 may the wildest offspring of heresy do upon the same specious
 pretence of conscience and religion. (*c*) *Dr. Fexeler's* disc.
 of offences, 1683, p. 11, 19.

‘ was of so great concern, as the preserving the
 ‘ head and author of (a) it ’ ; and therefore the
 conduct of our blessed Saviour, in his own case,
 ‘ doth so expressly discharge all bustling and fight-
 ‘ ing, on the pretence of religion, that we must
 ‘ either set up for another gospel, or utterly re-
 ‘ ject what is so formally condemned by the au-
 ‘ thor of this we profess to (b) believe ’ : for
 whether *St. Peter* be consider’d as a *Bishop* or a
Presbyter, at that time, ‘ this command, to *put*
 ‘ *up his sword*, equally concerns him in all capa-
 ‘ cities ; and ought to secure sovereign princes
 ‘ from the unjust usurpations and treacherous con-
 ‘ spiracies both of *Geneva* and (c) *Rome* ’. But
 I shall close this point with a just conclusion of
 a great man now living, drawn from this very
 case, that ‘ if neither the malice of the *Jews*, nor
 ‘ the innocence of our Lord ; if neither the truth
 ‘ of our religion, persecuted in its founder, nor
 ‘ the apparent marks of malice and envy, of vio-
 ‘ lence and oppression, which appeared in the
 ‘ whole course of their prosecution of him, were
 ‘ sufficient to warrant *St. Peter* to draw the sword
 ‘ in his defence, against that legal authority by
 ‘ which they acted ; we must conclude, that nei-
 ‘ ther will any of these pretences suffice to justify
 ‘ any other *Christians*, in the like circumstances
 ‘ now : but if it shall please God, at any time, to
 ‘ permit the lawful powers to be against us, and
 ‘ make them that hate us to rule over us, we
 must

(a) *Dr. Burn. serm. 6 Dec. 1674, p. 41.*(b) *Ibid.*(c) *Dr. Sherl. case of resist. p. 63.*

‘ must follow the example of our blessed Master,
 ‘ and submit patiently to their authority; and
 ‘ not, with this warm apostle, *take the sword* against
 ‘ those, to whom God has committed the power
 ‘ of the sword (a)’. And this he very properly
 calls the *true Christian doctrine of submission* (or, in
 other words, passive obedience and non-resistance)
to the civil magistrate. For, this our blessed Sa-
 viour himself taught us, when he patiently sub-
 mitted himself to die by the judgment of *Pilate*
 (who acted by the lawful emperor’s commission,)
 acknowledging, that *his power was given him from*
above (b). ‘ The blessed apostles followed their
 Master’s steps, in this as in all other things, and
 ‘ counted it their glory to be conformable to
 ‘ him in his sufferings. — And, as long as
 ‘ Christianity continu’d pure and unallay’d, this
 ‘ doctrine gave proofs of its reality, by the un-
 ‘ exemplated patience and sufferings of the *Christi-*
 ‘ *ans*, in a succession of three ages, and ten (c)
 ‘ persecutions’! Out of due regard to them
 therefore, we might have expected softer terms
 than those of a *slavish principle!* a *bloody doctrine!*
the doctrine of the bow-string! &c. which have been
 borrow’d from the infamous *life of Julian the*
apostate, by certain persons, who would persuade
 us,

(a) Bp. Wake’s serm. 30 Jan. 1707, p. 11, in 8vo. (b)
 St. John xix. 11. (c) Dr. Burnet’s serm. 6 Decem. 1674,
 p. 41, &c. edit. 1710, in 8vo. where ’tis observ’d, that, in one
 of these persecutions, and in the province of *Egypt* alone, there
 were no fewer than 8 or 9,000,000 of *martyrs*; and yet *no tu-*
were rais’d against all this tyranny and injustice.

us, that this doctrine ‘ is inconsistent with the law
 ‘ of reason, with the law of nature, and with the
 ‘ practice of all ages and countries, — first in-
 ‘ tended to support arbitrary and despotick power ;
 ‘ — tending to enslave a free nation, to foment
 ‘ divisions and parties’, &c. But ‘ indeed in an
 ‘ age, when some are bold enough, (because
 ‘ with impunity they dare) to attack our Saviour’s
 ‘ divinity, what respect do we think they can pay
 ‘ to his (a) doctrine ’? However, notwithstanding
 all the scoffs and railings of *Rabshakeb*, ‘ there
 ‘ are three ways of proving and confirming the
 ‘ doctrine of non-resistance, or subjection to so-
 ‘ vereign princes ; 1. By the testimonies of the
 ‘ holy scriptures ; 2. By the doctrine and practice
 ‘ of the primitive *Christians* ; 3. By the fundamen-
 ‘ tal constitutions of that particular government
 ‘ under which we (b) live ’. So that *Dr. Burnet*
 might truly make this reflection, that, ‘ among
 ‘ all the heresies this age has spawn’d, there is
 ‘ not one more contrary to the whole design of
 ‘ religion, and more destructive of mankind,
 ‘ than that bloody opinion of defending religion
 ‘ by arms, and forcible resistance upon the colour
 ‘ of preserving religion : the wisdom of this po-
 ‘ licy is *earthly, sensual and devilish* ; favouring
 ‘ of a carnal, unmortify’d and impatient mind,
 ‘ that cannot bear the cross, nor trust the pro-
 ‘ vidence of (c) God’.

That

(a) Justice done to the sacred text, &c. A serm. 12 May, 1717, by G. C. A. M. p. 20. (b) *Dr. Sherl.* case of resist. p. 2. (c) Pref. to vind. of the church and state of *Scotland*, 1673.

That the *Jews* paid submission to the *Roman* emperor, as a duty to their lawful soveraign, we may gather from the rage or fury wherewith they profecuted our Saviour as an *enemy* to *Cæsar*. When they brought him before *Pilate*, they accused him with *perverting the nation, and forbidding to give tribute to* (a) *Cæsar*! When *Pilate* shew'd an inclination to release him, they cry'd out, *If thou let this man go thou art not Cæsar's* (b) *friend*! And again, when he said unto them, *shall I crucify your King?* the *chief priests* answer'd, *we have no King but* (c) *Cæsar*; thereby expressly affirming, that *Cæsar* was their lawful soveraign, without any competitor.

Such was the right of *Tiberius*, by whose authority our blessed Saviour was put to death. But I can't leave it without this remark, relating to the resistance of that authority, that, as *Peter* (from whom the Pope pretends to claim his supremacy) was the person resisting, so the person wounded and miraculously heal'd again, was call'd (d) *Malchus* (which in the original signifies a *King*;) not without a mystery, to shew us the *unlawfulness* of that unchristian doctrine of killing and deposing lawful kings, so much contended for by some of the *worst of papists*, and from them taken up by the *worst of those who call themselves* (e) *Protestants*!

After

(a) *St. Luke* xxiii. 2. (b) *St. John* xix. 12. (c) —
 vers. 15. (d) *St. Luke* xxii. 51. and *St. John* xviii. 10.

(e) See a large catalogue of the like principles, adopted by the *Puritans*,

After *Tiberius's* death, *Caligula* (who was the people's darling for his father's sake) by the joint consent of the senate and people, was declar'd emperor, and the whole sovereign power (a) lodg'd in his hands : but, being in a short time slain by some of the disappointed people, he was succeeded by a riotous anarchy (as is common in all elective kingdoms,) till *Claudius* was found out, and rais'd to the throne, by common consent. And he, having adopted *Nero*, his succession was easily accomplish'd after *Claudius's* death.

During all which successions, there is not indeed the least footstep of a lineal hereditary descent in the *Roman* empire, but the succession to the imperial throne was elective, casual, uncertain, and arbitrary : and whosoever obtain'd the sovereign power by the consent of the senate and people, was the undoubted lawful sovereign, according to the constitution of the *Roman* empire. Because (as I said before) there was, after that, no such thing as a competition for the throne, nor any pre-

tender
ritans, out of the writings of *Jesuits*, and other known *Papists*, in *Dr. Hickes's* serm. 30 *Jan.* 1681, p. 17, &c. And whoever is curious to observe the harmony (both in principle and practice,) between those two parties, notwithstanding their pretended opposition, may find ample proof of it in *Archbishop Bancroft's* book, entitled *Dangerous positions and proceedings* (several times reprinted;) *Mr. Dav. Owen's Herod and Pilate* reconciled, &c. 1610. *Dr. Heylin's* history of the *Presbyterians*, 1672. *Mr. Hen. Foulis's* hist. of the plots, &c. of our pretended *Saints*, 1674. *Mr. Ware's foxes and firebrands*, 1682. *Mr. Tho. Long's* hist. of the same conspiracies, 1684. and many more.

(a) *Sueton.* p. 14.

tender to a better title : and, I believe, 'tis agreed on all sides, that possession howsoever obtain'd, must be presum'd to be rightful, until a better title (a) appears. So that, in a word, I shall make no doubt of all the above-named emperors being lawfully possess'd of the sovereign power, at least, till I am inform'd who were better intitled thereto, and whether such better title was kept up, and asserted, in opposition to the possessor ; that is (as we commonly express 't now-a-days, whether there were princes *de jure*, pretending to, or claiming the throne, against those who were only, *de facto*, in possession of it.

The learned Mr. *Locke* (whose principles have the authority of a gospel with some of our adversaries,) lays it down as a certain rule, that *there is no usurpation, but where one is got into the possession of what another has right (b) to*. From whence we must infer, that, tho' possession, in itself alone, is no bar to a real and proper right, when asserted and prov'd, but the unjust possessor is bound in law and conscience to make restitution to the right owner : yet, when no body

N n is

(a) A late ingenious writer illustrates this by a very familiar example. ' Suppose (says he) I should rob you of your hat. ' This does not give me a right against you : but it gives me ' such a right to it, that if another should rob me of that hat, ' it would be robbery in him ; and, tho' he should prove, at ' his tryal, that I had robb'd you of that hat, it would be no ' justification of him, because he could shew no right that he ' had to it '. (*Leslie's*) rehearsal. vol. i. n. 66. (b) *Locke's* two treatif. of governm. b. ii. ch. xvii. of *usurpation*, p. 8. 41

is injur'd, (as it is to be taken for granted, where no *pretender* asserts any right,) possession supposes a right; and as such is to be regarded, as well in relation to government, as to private property. And, this being the case, I cannot see any conclusions to be fairly drawn, (however artfully they have been attempted,) from *St. Paul's* behaviour towards the civil magistrate, in favour of the darling doctrine of resistance; nor any inconsistency between the apostle's practice and his precept: unless his appeal from an inferior magistrate, (who was *willing to do the Jews a pleasure*, by giving him up to their mercy,) to *Cæsar* (a) himself, who was the undisputed supreme, can with any good sense be call'd a resistance of the *higher powers* to whom he had commanded *every soul to be subject for conscience* (b) sake!

Divers other fallacies might here be pertinently expos'd, amongst our modern expositions (or perversions) of this apostolical precept: but, to avoid being more tedious, I shall only recommend the following observations to the memory of every ingenuous reader. When we consider the qualities of that *Cæsar*, to whom *St. Paul* so strictly injoin'd a *subjection* under pain of *damnation*, and to whom he *appeal'd*, as the *dernier resort*, in his own case, we may be sure, it was all out of regard to his authority, as being the lawful *higher power*, or supreme governour, and as such the *minister of God*; and not with respect to his *personal*

(a) *Acts* xxv. 11.(b) *Rom* xiii.

nal virtue, goodness and desert: for Nero (in whose reign this happen'd, as Chronologers generally agree) was not only a Heathen, and violent persecutor of the true religion, but even a monster in morality; so that, as his dominion cannot truly be said to have been founded in grace, neither can his want of grace to answer (what some people affect to call) the end of this institution, be said to amount to a forfeiture of his right to his subjects obedience, without openly flying in the face of the inspir'd apostle! And again, when we meet with others gravely, and dogmatically, pronouncing, that 'when St. Paul writ to the Christians of Rome, ' he is express in this, that they should not trouble themselves with inquiries into titles, but ' should take things as they found (a) them', &c. we ought to remember, that he is more express in this, that we are to render to all their dues: tribute to whom tribute is due, custom to whom custom (b), &c. according to that of our blessed Saviour himself, render unto Cæsar the things which are (c) Cæsar's, &c. But how shall we know what things are Cæsar's due, unless we are satisfy'd of his title to them? And in case of a controversy about such

N n 2

title,

(a) Bp. Burnet's past. lett. 1689, p. 12. And 'tis remarkable among many other self-contradictions, that this same author, afterwards insinuated, that St. Paul's doctrine against *resistance* was meant only to the *Jews*; tho' here he owns it written to the *Christians of Rome*. As if St. Paul had been mistaken in the direction of his epistle! Or a *Christian* prelate had a dispensation to *speak* notorious untruths, in favour of *occasional conformity*! (b) *Rom.* xiii. 7. (c) *St. Matt.* xxii. 21.

title, how shall we know which of the competitors to pay *tribute*, and swear allegiance to, if we are *not to trouble ourselves with inquiries*, in order to satisfy our consciences (as such solemn acts require,) which has the best right to them? For, ‘ if they ‘ claim that which is not *theirs*, — we are not ‘ bound to pay or *render* that, since it is not at ‘ all (a) *theirs*’. Surely, such *weather-cock-divinity* (as one (b) merrily calls it) was not known in the apostle’s days, unless it be understood among those *things*, which, he says, were *taught by deceivers for filthy lucre’s* (c) *sake*!

But how St. *Paul* would have behav’d himself towards an usurper, (properly so call’d) if there had been such a one in power in his days, we are left to guess, from the word by which the Holy Ghost inspir’d him to distinguish *the higher powers*, to whom he commanded us to *be subject*. For αἱ ΕΞΟΥΣΙΑΙ, (which he there, and every where else, makes choice of, for that purpose) being deriv’d from ἐξουσία, *licet*, (which signifies to be *lawful*,) does always, and only denote *lawful power*, or (d) *authority*: whereas ΔΥΝΑΜΕΙΣ, from

(a) Bp. *Burn.* serm. 29 *May*, 1710, p. 4. (b) S. *Johnson.*

(c) *Tit.* i. 10, 11. (d) For the truth of this I might vouch Bp. *Ward*, Bp. *Hopkins*, and many more learned men: but the common school-distinction, that ἐξουσία properly signifies the moral faculty, and δύναμις the *natural*, may be sufficient to shew, that the former always supposes a right. And therefore I could wish, that our *English* reader would always distinguish between *authority* and *power*, by the instance of *Oliver*, who had the one, while the other was in King *Charles*, nevertheless for his being in exile, attainted and abjured.

from δύναμις, *possum*, (which signifies to be *able*) would have denoted any kind of *power*, in general, which a man is able to possess himself of, if the apostle's meaning had not been to determine it to the moral faculty only; and certainly, it would be a blasphemous presumption to insinuate, that the *Holy Ghost* (by whose inspiration these precepts were written,) has not made use of a word proper for his own meaning. So that Dr. *Sherlock's* notion, that *where God has placed and settled the power, it is a certain sign to us, that he has given the (a) authority*, is groundless and unwarrantable, and contrary to all the principles of scripture, law, and right reason; unless by *settling* we understand such a settlement, as supposes an extinction or disclaimer of all other pretenders: for, otherwise, *Abfalom, Athaliab, Cromwell* or *Massanello*, must have had that *certain sign of God's authority*; which this author himself durst not venture to allow them, *while there was a natural prince in (b) being*.

Here I might farther pursue the inquiry into what is call'd *Christian liberty*, and shew that the gospel has made no alteration as to the rights of Kings and duty of subjects, nor given any greater encouragement to faction and sedition than the law did: for (to use the words of a learned *Civilian*)
 ‘ the current of the antient fathers is in this point
 ‘ concurrent; insomuch as, among them all, there
 ‘ is

(a) *Sherl.* case of alleg. 1690, p. 15. (b) — case of ressit. 1684, p. 128. See the notes also upon *Mason's vindicat.* of our church, 1728, fol. 235, and 265.

‘ is not one found, not any one, (one is a small number, and yet I say confidently again, there is not any one) who hath let fall so loose a speech, as may be strained to a contrary (a) sense’. But I shall close the whole with this observation, from an eminent divine, that the *Christian* doctrine is so far from warranting the *frivolous evasions and ridiculous distinctions* of those who, *in spite of Christianity, have pleaded for the resistance of authority under the old pretence of zeal for religion and liberty*, ‘ that what God then declared to be displeasing to him, by such remarkable judgments, hath been now more fully manifested, by frequent precepts, and vehement exhortations, by the most weighty arguments, and the constant practice of the first and the best of *Christians*, and by the black character which is set upon those, who, under a pretence of *Christian liberty*, did *despise dominion, and speak evil of (b) dignities*, and follow *Corah* in his rebellion, however they may please themselves with greater light than former ages had in this matter, they are said to be such *for whom is reserved the blackness of darkness for (c) ever*’!

And now, I have faithfully and honestly endeavour’d to discharge my duty, as I promis’d at the beginning of this undertaking: and if any thing herein is of use towards settling the minds of my readers, in matters of so great and universal concern,

(a) Sir J. Hayward’s answ. to Doleman, 1603, p. 47. (b) St. Jude 11, 13. (c) Dr. Stillingfl. serm. 30 Jan. 1668, p. 39.

cern, I have my end; and shall add no more, but this declaration, that I *am as free from prejudice as any man living, and therefore shall readily acknowledge and correct any mistakes or oversights which I may have happen'd to be guilty of in this Short History, upon due notice and conviction, and be thankful for better information; hoping in the mean time, that the candid reader will be as ready to pardon as I am to retract them.*

F I N I S.



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N. B. — *laudatur & alget!*



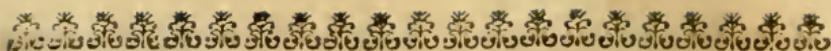
A

LETTER

TO THE

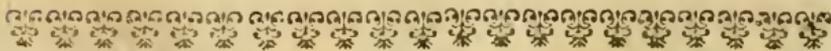
Rev. Mr. *Patrick Cockburn, &c.*





E R R A T A

PAGE 23. l. 28. for *Succession*, read *Succesfs*. p. 99.
l. 22. for *forgo*, read *forego*. p. 100. l. 12. for *forgo*,
read *forego*. p. 127. l. ult. for 38, read 28. p. 189. l. 18.
for *substancia*, read *substantial*. ——— l. 26. for *Do&trine*, read
Do&trines. p. 45. l. 14. *dele* the. p. 134. l. ult. after 55,
add *and* 115.



A N
✓
EXPOSTULATORY
LETTER

T O T H E

Rev. Mr. *Patrick Cockburn,*

*Formerly Curate of St. Dunstan's in the West,
London, afterwards a NONJUROR ; late Mi-
nister of St. Paul's Chapel in Aberdeen, and
now Beneficed in the Diocese of Durham.*

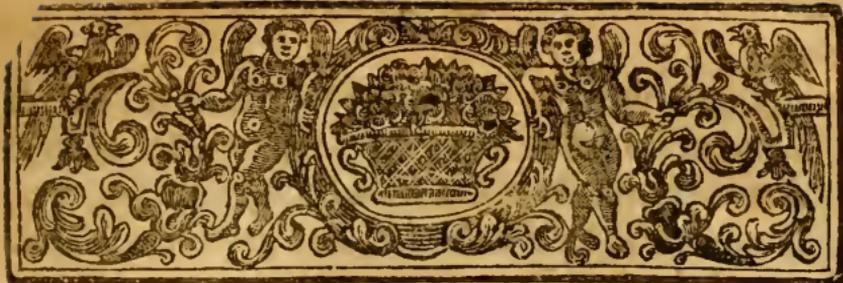
Fairly and Friendly to convince him, That by his having revived the Exploded Doctrines of *Sherlock* and *Higden*, he has not only mistaken *St. Paul's* Injunction to *pray for Kings*, &c. but has also unwarily exposed the late Revolution, and even the present Government itself to a dangerous Controversy.

*As when the Sea breaks o'er its Bounds,
And overflows the level Grounds,
Those Banks and Damms, that like a Skreen
Did keep it out, now keep it in :
So when Tyrannic Usurpation
Invades the Freedom of a Nation,
The Laws o' th' Land, that were intended
To keep it out, are made defend it.*

Hudib. Part II. Can. ii. l. 349, &c.

L O N D O N

Printed, and Sold by the Booksellers. 1740.



A

LETTER

TO

Mr. COCKBURN.

Reverend SIR,



O U R late Performance, which by its Date appears to have been publish'd two or three Years past, was lately put into my Hands, with this Character of it, that *You reckon it unanswerable.* This, with the Opinion I had long entertain'd of your Judgment and Integrity, engag'd me to give it a very serious Perusal: And the Condition, under which I had the Favour of it, obliges me to communicate my Thoughts, *and to make Remarks upon it.*— I mean Your VINDICATION of a Coronation

B

Sermon,

Sermon, which you had preach'd in *St. Paul's Chapel* in *Aberdeen*; in *Answer* to certain *Remarks* made upon it, which, you say, you have *reprinted Verbatim*, and *answer'd Paragraph by (a) Paragraph*.

As this seems to be very fair Dealing with your Reader and Antagonist; so, in the Discharge of my own Engagement, I shall endeavour to deal as fairly with you. And therefore, tho' I shall avoid that Method, which would now be very tedious, I shall be, nevertheless, careful to refer to your own Words, in every Passage that I shall have Occasion to animadvert upon: All which I think most reasonable and decent to address to yourself, as the Person chiefly concern'd; that you may judge, whether I treat you, as I ought, and intend to do, with all due Respect to your Person and Character, tho' the World will judge of the Force of our respective Arguments.

In the first Place, Sir, I think it proper to declare, That I am an utter Stranger to the former *Remarker*: And therefore my Performance, how weak or exceptionable soever, is not to be charg'd to his Account. I take your *Vindication*, as it lies here singly before me; and shall not officiously make myself a Party in the Controversy between your *Sermon* and his *Remarks*; and much less so as to be answerable for the Application made of it on either Side. Your

(a) Preface.

Your avow'd Undertaking here is, to *vindicate the Lawfulness and Duty of praying for our present King and (b) Governor*: And this you profess to have been *your Intention in your Sermon, to prove*, by this Argument, of his 'being vested with a lawful and right-ful (c) Authority.' You say, 'your *Sermon* presses a Duty only to rightful and lawful (d) Authority:' And that *whether the Text is to be understood with this Distinction* (of a Rightful Title) or not, *it no ways affects your Argument in your Sermon, since you there press the Duty to lawful and rightful (e) Authority.*

Now, Sir, had you in this *Vindication* pressed a Duty only to rightful and lawful Authority (as you say you did intend in your *Sermon*) I would not have drawn my Pen, unless perhaps to have return'd you my Thanks, for settling that *Duty* upon its just Foundation. And why did you think there could be any Occasion to strain your Argument farther? For, if *our present King and Governor is vested with a lawful and rightful Authority* (And where is the *Champion* who dares to say the contrary?) then surely, you had no more to do, but to press the Apostle's Injunction upon all his Subjects, to *pray for him, &c.* as such. It was enough for you, to have taken his *lawful and rightful Authority* for granted: But, to strain your Argument

B 2

ment

(b) *Title-page.* (c) *Page 4.* (d) *Ibid.* (e) *Page 10, 11.*

ment farther than there was either Occasion for you to do, or than even the Apostle's Rule in the Text can be fairly understood to warrant, seems, in my humble Opinion, to be spinning out the Thread till it breaks in your Hand, and giving some of your Readers Cause to suspect, that you are conscious of some Defect that wants to be thus fine-draw'd!

Whether the *Remarker* was mistaken in the *Design of your Sermon* or not, it concerns not me to enquire. You say, *It was not your Intention, in your Sermon, to prove* ' That we
' are to pray for all Sorts of Actual (*f*) Go-
' vernors.' But then you say again, ' If the
' general Reasons, there laid down — are
' so just and strong, as to infer and conclude
' even for all actual Governors, then certainly
' they conclude for those who are lawful
' and rightful Governors, as well as actual:
' And for such only, that is, for our right-
' ful and lawful Governors, the Higher Pow-
' ers now over us, did *you* endeavour to per-
' suade *your* Hearers to put up their Prayers,
' as in Duty bound, and not for any Go-
' vernors, be their Title what it (*ff*) will.' Yet, after all, whatever was your *De-
sign or Intention in your Sermon*, you have, in this *Vindication* of it, gone so far out of your Way, as plainly *endeavouring to persuade your Readers, to put up their Prayers, as in*
Duty

Duty bound, for any Governors, be their Title what it will; yea, for all Sorts of actual Governors, whether their Title be rightful and lawful or not! And this, Sir, has induc'd me, as an indifferent Person between you, to enter into a frank and friendly Expostulation with you, as what seems to give the Opponent great Advantage against you; which I shall now proceed to consider more particularly.

And here, in the very *Title-page*, we may perceive, that you have artfully varied the State of the Question. For your *Sermon* propos'd no more than *The Duty and Benefit of praying for our Governors*, in general Terms: But your *Answer to the Remarks* is intitled, *The Lawfulness and Duty of praying for our present King and Governor vindicated*. Thus you endeavour to screen yourself, under the Name and Authority of *our present King and Governor*, whose Right and Title the *Remarker* has not disputed; when your proper Business was only to *vindicate your Sermon*, against the Imputation of Teaching, 'That we ought to pray for all Sorts of actual Governors, whether their Authority be good or (g) not.' So that now, your Doctrine, which tends to legitimate and sanctify all manner of Usurpation, and successful Rebellion, cannot be fairly controverted; but your Reader is to be alarm'd, as if the Title and Authority of *our present*

King and Governor were call'd in Question!

Thus you call the *Remarks* on your *Sermon*, ' A Paper of Objections against praying for our present King and (*b*) Governor: ' And represent them, ' as being suppos'd to contain the Force of the Arguments of such as are dissatisfied with the present Government in this Country, against the Duty recommended in the (*i*) *Sermon*. But, you know, Sir, there is a great Difference between *objecting against praying for him*, and *objecting against the Method you have taken to prove the Lawfulness and Duty of praying for him*. The former may be not only *lawful*, but a necessary *Duty* (as it certainly is, for all those who are *vested with a lawful and rightful Authority*;) and yet the latter may be fairly liable to Objections, where the Method taken to enforce that Duty is incumber'd with precarious Arguments or Insinuations: As, every one knows, a Prince may have an undoubted lawful and rightful Title, and yet even the very best Title may be too weakly or unskilfully defended. — And this Caveat I think very proper to be enter'd here, to guard against that invidious Suggestion, as if every one who dissents from you in this Controversy, must of course be *suppos'd to be dissatisfy'd with the present Government!*

I agree with you, that where your Text
injoins

(*b*) Preface, Page iii.

(*i*) *Ibid.*

(k) enjoins us to *pray for Kings, and all that are in Authority*, the Word *Kings* ‘ stands for the Supreme Magistrate in any Country; the Precept enjoining us to pray for all Magistrates, Supreme or (l) Subordinate:’ As likewise, that ‘ The Doctrine of the Text is general; reaching to all Subjects, under what Form of Government soever they live, and by whatsoever Names the Higher Powers to them are dignify’d or distinguish’d;’ (m) whether *King, Emperor, Sultan, Sophi, Prince, Duke, Lord*, or (if you please) *Protector*! For the Name or Stile of the Supreme Magistrate alters not the Case at all, provided only, that he be *vested with a lawful and rightful Authority*, according to the fundamental Constitution of the Country of which he takes upon him to be the Supreme Magistrate. Yet, considering that you live in a Country, where *the King* is acknowledged (n) to be *the only Supreme Governor,*

(k) 1 *Tim.* ii. 2.

(l) Page 2.

(m) Page 3.

(n) In the 39 *Articles of Religion*, the Church of *England* professes to believe, That the King ‘ hath the chief Power in this Realm of *England*, and other his Dominions; unto whom the chief Government of all Estates of this Realm, whether they be ecclesiastical or civil, in all Causes doth appertain.’ (*Art.* xxxvii.) By the *Oath of Supremacy*, appointed to be taken by all Members of both Houses of Parliament, &c. *the King* is acknowledg’d to be ‘ the only Supreme Governor of this Realm, &c.’ By the *Constitutions and Canons ecclesiastical*, ‘ Whosoever shall impeach any Part of his Regal Supremacy’ &c. is to be excommunicated, *Ipso Facto.* (*Can.* ii.) And the same is evident also in

nor, and where, as you well observe, *all Parts of the Administration and Government* (the Council, Judges and Magistrates, and even the Parliament itself) *act by Commission from him, under him, and depending upon (o) him;* your making Use of the ambiguous Term, *Governors*, rather than that of *Kings*, does not seem, even to me, so *apt and proper*, nor so fairly adapted to the common Conception of your Hearers and Readers; tho' I am not inclin'd to suspect, that you did this *with a Design to mislead* them, as you intimate some others have insinuated you (p) did.

But, if you would fairly acquit yourself of such a *Design in your Sermon*, 'To prove, that we ought to pray for all Sorts of actual Governors, whether their Authority be good or (q) not,' with which the Remarker charges you, Why do you here so strenuously and positively insist upon what plainly amounts to the same Thing, as you do almost in every Page of your *Vindication*?

You say, 'The Reason for such Prayer is not on Account of the Title of *King*,— but on the Account of his being *our* (r) Go-

the great *Statute Book*; where it is declar'd, That 'the *Sole Supreme Government, Command, and Disposition of the Militia, and of all Forces by Sea and Land, and of all Forts and Places of Strength, is, and by the Laws of England ever was, the undoubted Right of his Majesty, and his Royal Predecessors, &c.* (Stat. 13. Car. ii. c. 6. & 13. & 14. Car. ii. c. 3) besides infinite other Authorities to the same Purpose.

(o) Pag. 24. (p) Pag. 3. (q) Pag. 2. (r) *Ibid.* & Pag. 3.

‘ *Governor*.’ But, how does that appear? One would think, that, in a Country where the Chief Magistrate has the Title of *King*, the Reason of praying for him should properly be on Account of his *Authority*, as being *the King*: And where that Title is Hereditary, surely, such Prayers should in right Reason be appropriated to him, who is the undoubted *Rightful King* by the Natural Course of *Inheritance*, tho’ possibly for a Time dispossest of the actual Power to exercise that Authority; and not to any other, who may get the Reins of Government into his Hands, without any Right or Title to be *our Governor*, but only that pretended one of his being *actually in Possession* of the Power over us. But, nevertheless, you tell us, ‘ In this Kingdom the Words ‘ *King* and *Governor* are synonymous Terms, ‘ or expletive the one of the (a) other.’ In this Kingdom, as I said before, *the King is the only Supreme Governor*: But you will not say, Sir, that every one who may possibly become our *actual Governor*, does thereupon of course become *our King*. You cannot but know sufficient Proofs to the contrary: And therefore your Position, that *the Words King and Governor are synonymous Terms, or expletive the one of the other*, is groundless even in Fact. ’Tis true, ‘ In the ‘ Litany and Collects in the Communion-
‘ Ser-

‘ Service, it is, *our King and Governor*; that
 ‘ is, as you interpret it, our King, who is
 ‘ our (b) Governor.’ And well it may be
 so: Because the Principles of the Church of
England (c) are so orthodox, with regard to
 the Rights of Princes, that the Compilers of
 our Liturgy could not decently suppose, that
 any one could become our *Governor* but *the*
King himself, whose sole Right it is acknow-
 ledg’d to be, to *govern* us.

But, in fact, so far is that excellent Office
 from being indifferent, with respect to the
 Right and Title of *our King and Governor*,
 that it plainly supposes (d) an *undoubted Right*
 in

(b) Page 3. (c) Dr. *William King*, late Arch-bishop
 of *Dublin*, gives this true Character of the Church of *Eng-*
land, in respect of her steady Loyalty, That ‘ it is impossi-
 ‘ ble any one of our Communion should be disloyal, without
 ‘ renouncing his Religion.’ (*Letter to Bishop Sheridan, pre-*
fix’d to that Bishop’s Sermon 22. *March* 1684.) And Dr. *Sher-*
lock, speaking of the *Bill of Exclusion*, says, ‘ If ever the
 ‘ Loyalty of the Church of *England* was try’d, it was in
 ‘ that Affair, which she had no other Interest, but a Sense of
 ‘ Duty, to oblige her to: And I know not any one Man,
 ‘ who was firm and stedfast to the Church, but was so to the
 ‘ Succession too; tho’ he underwent the Imputation of being
 ‘ a *Papist*, or *popishly inclin’d*, for it.’ (*Vindication of his Ser-*
mon 29. *May*. 1685. 4^{to}. p. 25.)

(d) Dr. *Comber*, who must be suppos’d to have understood
 our Common Prayer, says, ‘ No Affections nor Passions are too
 ‘ fervent, no Opportunities too often, to call upon God for
 ‘ our Gracious King, who is our *Lawful and Natural Liege*
 ‘ *Lord*, a *just Possessor* of his Crown,’ &c. (*Comp. to the Temp.*
 ‘ 3. Edit. 8^{vo}. 1679. Part i. p. 426.) He paraphraseth the
 Words, *King and Governor*, thus; ‘ *Charles*, by thy Provi-
 ‘ dence, and *his undoubted Right*, our King and Governr;
 ‘ — our *just and rightful King and Governr.*’ (*Comp. to the*
Altar, 3. Edit. 8^{vo}. 1631. p. 42. 46.) On the Petition for all
Chris-

in the Person to be pray'd for; and that Right too to be indefeasible. As for Instance, in our Prayers for our *Sovereign Lord*, where we acknowledge *God to be the only Ruler of Princes*, and *the King to be his Minister*, and *to have his Authority*: And, more particularly, where we own *King Charles II.* to have been *the undoubted Heir* of his martyr'd Father's Crowns, and our *then Gracious Sovereign* (even while he was in Exile and Attainted, and another Person *actually govern'd his Kingdoms*) and return solemn Thanks to God for restoring him, *whose Right it was*, together with his *Royal Brother*, King James, to sit successively in Peace upon the Throne of their Father, and to exercise that *Supreme Authority over us*, one after the other, which of his *Special Grace* he had design'd for (e) them. So that you can't have any Warrant from the Church of *England*, for your Assertion, 'That the very Reason for praying for Kings is, that they are our (f) Governors.' Nor have I yet discover'd, where you will find one for what follows.

Christian Kings, &c. he observes, that 'We must pray for the Safety of other Kings, no farther than is consistent with the Welfare of our *Natural Liege*, for whom we must pray especially.' (*Ibid.* p. 89.) And he paraphraseth the same, thus; — 'Save the Souls, and defend the Persons and Rights of all Christian Magistrates, who, in their several Dominions, have, or ought to have, Supreme Governance,' &c. (*Ibid.* p. 102.)

(e) Offices for the 30th. of January and the 29th. of May.

(f) Page 3.

You

You will here venture to say, ‘ That they
 ‘ who pray for their actual Governors (what-
 ‘ ever Right they have to that Authority)
 ‘ come nearer to the Duty in the Text, and
 ‘ run less Hazard of an Error, than they
 ‘ who refuse it (g).’ But, for my Part,
 I never was inclin’d to *venture, or run Hazards* of any Error, in Relation to solemn Offices. — Since the Injunction in the Text is, ‘ To be a Rule to all succeeding
 ‘ Ages,’ as well as to those first *Converts* to whom the *Apostle* gave it, ‘ to regulate
 ‘ their Behaviour in this Point, as a Matter
 ‘ of great (b) Moment,’ it highly concerns every Christian, not only to *come near to the Duty in the Text*, but even to come up to it. And, since that Duty is to be discharg’d by our *praying for Kings, and all that are in Authority*, how can we acquit ourselves of it as we ought, without duly considering *Who is our King, and Who are in Authority?* Or how can we receive this *Apostolical Injunction*, as the primitive Christians did, ‘ with great
 ‘ Simplicity and Sincerity of (i) Heart,’ if we concern ourselves no farther about the Matter, than by praying, as you would have us, for our *Actual Governors*, for the Time being, without regarding whether they have *Authority* to be so or not? This Sort of *Simplicity* seems, at best, to be but a *praying at a Venture*; and such *Prayers* to be no better

(g) Page 4.

(b) Page 5.

(i) Page 6.

ter than what you call ‘vain Words, and
 ‘an empty (k) Sound;’ like the *Swearing at
 a Venture*, which several excellent Authors,
 (l) as you cannot but know, pronounce to
 be *Perjury*. For, as in the Case of *Swearing*,
 it does not acquit us ‘of the Sin, tho’ the
 Thing sworn shall *happen to be true*, while
 we *doubt* of, or do not *certainly know*, the
 Truth of it; so in the Case of *Praying*, we
 cannot duly discharge our Duty by *Praying*
 for any one, as *our King and Governor*, even
 tho’ he may happen to be so, while we doubt
 of, or do not *certainly know*, the Truth of it.
 How then, Sir, can you *venture to say*, that
 ‘they who pray for their actual Governors
 ‘(whatever Right they have to that Autho-
 ‘rity) come nearer to the Duty in the Text,
 ‘and run less Hazard of an Error, than they
 ‘who refuse it?’

I do not expect you to come off here, as
 some others have done, with a *Jesuitical*
 Evasion, as if you did not, *absolutely and pro-*
perly,

(k) Page 24.

(l) The Author of *The whole Duty of
 Man*, speaking of assertory Oaths, says, — ‘Nay, if I
 ‘swear to the Truth of that whereof I am only doubtful,
 ‘tho’ the Thing should happen to be true, yet it brings
 ‘upon me the Guilt of *Perjury*: For I swear at a Venture,
 ‘and the Thing might, for ought I knew, be as well false
 ‘as true; whereas I ought never to swear any thing, the
 ‘Truth of which I do not *certainly know*.’ (*Whole Duty of
 Man*, §. iv.) And, to the same Effect, the last Archbishop of
Canterbury says, ‘He *forfears* himself, who swears to the
 ‘Truth of any Fact, which at the same Time he either cer-
 ‘tainly knows to be false, or does not *know to be true*.’
 (*Wake’s Disc. concerning Swearing*, 1696. 8vo. p. 15.)

perly, mean their not having some proper Right, but only *whatever Sort of Right such actual Governors may have to that Authority*; whether that of Inheritance in Hereditary, or of Election in Elective Governments, &c. For your Argument is not concern'd in the Nature of that *Authority*, provided they *have a Right* to it, or rather to the Exercise of it (for *Authority* always supposes a *Right*) according to the fundamental Constitution of the Government. But the general Drift of this your whole Discourse sufficiently explains your Meaning of *actual Governors*, as such, whether they have *any Right* to be so or not; which is the Proposition I except against, as both unwarrantable, and of dangerous Consequence to the Cause in Hand. Neither can I see what great *Hazard of an Error they run, who refuse to pray for such actual Governors*, while they *refuse* it not out of mere Disaffection to them, but purely on a conscientious Doubt of their *Authority*, and a Dread of offending against this very Injunction in the Text; as I am fully persuaded of many, and in Charity we ought to believe of all, *who refuse it*.

You are pleas'd to question, whether the Original Words, which we translate *Kings, and all that are in Authority*, do imply a *Rightful Title*: And say, ' There are very ' strong Reasons to persuade us, that such ' nice Distinctions are not so easily to be ' admit-

‘ admitted, in this and the other Precepts on
 ‘ that Subject, in the (m) Gospel.’ Among
 which you recommend to Consideration,
 ‘ 1. That all the Precepts of Subjection,
 ‘ Obedience, and Prayers for the Higher
 ‘ Powers, are deliver’d in general Terms,
 ‘ without any such Distinction, or Insinua-
 ‘ tion of Distinction, as is (n) pretended.’
 But, it so happens, that some of those very
 Texts, which you have here instanced, are
 by the best *Commentators* (and that is an
 Authority to which you pay a regard, on
 some (o) Occasions) as well as by many Cele-
 brated Preachers, expounded *with such a*
Distinction. As *Render to Cæsar &c.* plainly
 supposes a *Right* to what was so to be ren-
 der’d, or restor’d to him; as you yourself have
 afterwards explain’d it, to mean the Things
 which of Right belong to (p) *Cæsar*: And
 the *Higher Powers* are (q), in the Original,
 literally

(m) Page 4.

(n) *Ibid.*

(o) Page 2, 3, 56, 91.

(p) Page 89.

(q) Bishop *Ward*, on *Rom. xiii. 1, 2.* observes, ‘ That
 ‘ the *Greek* Words, which we translate *the Higher Powers*;
 ‘ properly signify *Authorities*; *Civil Authorities*, having *Jus*
 ‘ *Gladii*; the *Authorities* supreme or subordinate, *justly* ob-
 ‘ taining over them. It is not *Δυναμεις* or *Κρατος* which
 ‘ is here us’d (which signify corporal Strength and
 ‘ Power) but *εξουσια*, which the Scripture distinguisheth
 ‘ from both the other.’ (*Serm. 5 November, 1661. 4to. p. 8.*)
 Bishop *Hopkins* observes, ‘ That the Word *εξουσια*, which
 ‘ is here translated *Power*, is not any where us’d in the *New*
 ‘ *Testament*, but only to signify *Authority*, and a *Lawful*
 ‘ *Power*. Yea, — the very Notation of it, from the
 ‘ Verb

literally the *Rightful and Lawful Powers*, or Authorities; besides other Texts of the like Import, which I may perhaps have another Occasion to mention more particularly.

You say, 2. ‘ What could the primitive
 ‘ Christians (to whom these Precepts were
 ‘ first given) infer from such Injunctions, but
 ‘ that they were to pay submission to, and
 ‘ to pray for, those Kings and Governors,
 ‘ under whom they then liv’d, and so on
 ‘ in succeeding (r) Generations?’ But, if
those Kings and Governors, under whom they
then liv’d, were Rightful and Lawful Kings
 and Governors, they had no Reason to think
 or act otherwise. No! You say, ‘ He must
 ‘ be very ignorant in History, who imagines,
 ‘ that all the Nations and Countries, in
 ‘ which the Gospel was preached by the
 ‘ Apostles and their Successors, were all go-
 ‘ vern’d by Rightful and Lawful Kings, in the
 ‘ Sense of these Terms, *Lawful and Right-*
 ‘ *ful*, which some Men (s) contend for.’ So
 far

• Verb *ἐξῆς, licet*, proves the only proper Use of it to be
 ‘ for *Lawful Power*.’ (Serm. 31 January, 1669. 4to. p. 14.)
 Bishop *Atterbury* pronounceth it to be *fixum ratumque*, that the
 Subjection to the *Higher Powers* is due, — ‘ iis qui Legitima
 • Potestate sunt præditi.’ (Conc. ad Cler. Lond. 1709 4to.
 p. 5.) And Bishop *Burnet* says, ‘ This is certain, that Higher
 ‘ Powers, which are ordain’d of God, are *only the Lawful*
 ‘ Powers, not to be apply’d to Usurpers.’ (Serm. 5th Novem-
 ber 1710, 2 Edit. 8vo. p. 10.)

(r) Page 6.

(s) *Ibid.*

far I grant you. But, whatever *Sense of these Terms some Men may contend for*, I shall readily allow all to be *Rightful and Lawful Kings*, who are so according to the fundamental Constitution of their respective Kingdoms. As to what you mention in general, of *ambitious Men, contested Crowns, disputed Rights, different Claims, and the longest Sword deciding the Contest, and securing (a) the Possession*; tis not improbable, that, by such Means, the fundamental Constitution of most Countries may, at one Time or other, have been violated: But, be that as it will, it can be no Proof in this Question, unless you could give an Instance of some particular Kingdoms wherein the Apostle had injoin'd, and the Christian Subjects had accordingly prayed for their *actual Governors*, in Opposition to a more lawful and rightful Claimant

Give me Leave therefore, Sir, to suppose the Case of some Kingdom abroad, (no Matter how far, or where) by the fundamental Constitution of which the Crown ought to descend from Father to Son; and so downwards, according to the strictest Laws of Hereditary Succession, to the next Heir of the Blood Royal: And then again, supposing an Interruption in the Succession there, the next Heir dispossess'd and in Exile, but still claiming, and another in possession, *actually governing,*

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(a) *Ibid.*

governing, and exercising all the Royal Power and Prerogatives, the Question between you and me is, Which of the two Claimants the Christian Subjects in that Kingdom are bound to *pray for*, as their *King*, in Obedience to this Apostolical Injunction? According to your Principle here laid down, it is their *Duty* to pray for him who does *actually govern*, without any Regard to the Right, or Pretensions of him who is dispossef'd. But, now, let us consider with what Arguments and Reasons you endeavour to establish this Doctrine; and what Strength of Authority you have for the Censure you have pass'd upon those of a different Sentiment; where you too unadvisedly undertake to shew, ' That their Opinion in this Particular, *has* no such Foundation in Scripture, Reason, or Law, as they imagine, and is contrary to the Practice of the whole Christian (*b*) Church.'

All that you have said of the primitive Christians *praying for those Kings and Governors under whom they then liv'd*, will be far short of any Proof in this Case, as I have already observ'd, unless you could give an Instance of some particular Kingdom exactly parallel to that here suppos'd: And so is what you have so frequently repeated of the *Cæsars*, and the succeeding Emperors, whom you treat as downright *Usurpers*; tho' the

con-

contrary thereof is Truth, in our now commonly received Acceptation of that ignominious Term; as I shall make out in its proper Place.

But, because those Emperors were submitted to, and *pray'd for*, by the Christian Churches under their respective Dominions, you seem desirous to bring in the Holy Scriptures also as authorizing Prayers for *Usurpers*; where you say, ' With these Things the Christian Religion meddles not: The Gospel was not given to decide the Rights and Claims of (c) Princes.' 'Tis true indeed, *the Gospel was not given* for that End, but has left the several Princes of this World to their respective proper Rights: Yet we ought not to say, *the Christian Religion meddles not with these Things*, unless it were demonstrable, that the Gospel has nothing to do with the standing Rules of Moral Honesty and Justice; and that it is indifferent, in Point of Christianity, whether we take upon us to abet wrong Titles against apparent Right, or run the Hazard of suffering for refusing (d)

C 2

it.

(c) Page 6. (d) Bishop Morley, in his Answer to Father *Cressy*, says, ' May not a Man have an Eye to Religion, in suffering for his Loyalty? Is not Obedience to our Sovereign a Part of our Religion? I am sure it is a Part of our Religion, if it be not a Part of his: And we think him as much a Martyr, that dies in Defence of the Fifth, or any other of the Ten Commandments, as he that dies in Defence of any of the Articles of the Creed. And certainly, if it had not been Religion, or Conscience towards God, that
' made

it. — However, if a Man, for Argument Sake, should affirm, that *the Christian Religion* does *meddle with these Things*, and that *the Gospel* has expressly determin'd all the Precepts for Submission, and Prayers, &c. to relate only to Rightful Princes; and for Proof thereof, should refer you to the same Chapter, where you find Subjects authoriz'd to resist, exclude, and depose their Natural Sovereign, for Difference in Religion, or following the Advice of evil Counsellors, &c. I would be glad to hear how you would disprove him.

You insist much upon 'the Benefits for which Government was establish'd,' as the principal, or sole 'Reason, why we are commanded to pray for Kings, &c.' And you are pleas'd to say, 'This Reason equally holds under all Governors, or all Kings, whatever their Right or Title to the Crown may be: And therefore the Precepts for Subjection and Prayers — may very reasonably be suppos'd to include all actual (e) Governors.' Now, Sir, I always understood *Peace* to be one of the Benefits which People hope to reap under Government; and, as such, the *Apostle*, in the Context, commands

'made us suffer for our Loyalty to our Prince, we might as easily have bought our Security, by quitting our Loyalty, as, you say, several of the wisest of us did, &c.' (Several Treatises, by George, Lord Bishop of Winton, 1683. in 4to. Treat. iv. p. 9, 10.)

mands us to *pray for Kings, &c. that we may lead a quiet and peaceable Life, &c.* But, tis evident, that where the *actual Governor* has not a proper Right, but only a contested and precarious Title, as in the Case here suppos'd, *Peace and Quietness* cannot reasonably be expected, nor consequently be pray'd for, in *Faith*, as all Prayer ought to be. For, tho' *Godliness and Honesty* is what we ourselves must practise; yet, as you well observe, 'our Peace and Quiet does not depend upon ourselves, but upon our Governors, and their vigorous Administration of Justice, in punishing the Evil-doers, and rewarding them that do (*f*) well.' But tis needless to insist, how inconsistent *Peace and Quiet* are with such a State, where the *Actual Governor* is always oblig'd to *Standing Armies* to defend his Possession: And how such Governors, who get and keep Possession, contrary to the Principles of common Right and Justice, are wont to *administer* (what they call) *Justice*, in the Distribution of their *Rewards*, and the Execution of *Punishments*, (*g*) requires no great Depth of Judgment or

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Expe-

(*f*) Page 22.

(*g*) Mr. *J. Allington*, describing the Difference between the Administration of a Rightful King and an Usurper, says, — 'Whilst *David* was at home and in the City, the Citizens would not strengthen his Hands, would not stand to him; for he was fain to fly: But now, when out of the Land, they then begin to consider the feeling and sensible Difference, between an

Experience to understand. 'Tis evident therefore, that *this Reason* does not *equally hold under all Governors*, as you would persuade us it does.

And now farther, to prove, that *the Precepts in Question are not to be understood strictly of Lawful and Rightful Kings*, you argue,
 I. The *Absurdity* of supposing, that, among the many *Changes and Revolutions* in Kingdoms, 'Christians must have refus'd their
 ' Sub-

' Usurper and a Father; between an *Absalom* and a *David*.
 ' And then they find there was as much Difference between
 ' the King and his Usurper, as is between a Husband and an
 ' Adulterer: For, as the one takes a Woman for his Love,
 ' and the other for his Lust, even so do they take Crowns;
 ' the King to promote, the Usurper to make a Prey on it;
 ' the King he loves, the Usurper he lusts; the King studieth
 ' the Advance, Peace, and Improvement of his People, —
 ' but the Usurper he studieth how to advance himself, &c.'
 (*The Desire of Nations*, A Sermon 6 April, 1660. 12mo. p. 33, 34) And another, to the like Effect, says, ' An Usurper
 ' brings along with him a Necessity of renouncing all Hu-
 ' manity, and Religion too. He must hate all those whom
 ' he hath injur'd; and must punish whatsoever his own
 ' guilty Fears present, as if they were manifest Crimes: He
 ' must tolerate all manner of Disorder and Confusion in the
 ' Worship of Heaven, for the Sake of those which himself
 ' hath brought upon the Affairs of Earth: He must give
 ' up the Word of God to mercenary Tongues and unhal-
 ' low'd Hands, to be tenter'd and set upon the Rack, till,
 ' with the Heathen Oracles of old, it can φιλιππιζειν,
 ' cant something in the Favour of his Pretensions. And
 ' who can be so vain, as even to dream of Property or Li-
 ' berty under such a State? Who can hope for the Enjoy-
 ' ment of a rightful Possession, while the Government itself
 ' is but a splendid Robbery? — *Imperium Flagitio acqui-*
 ' *tum nemo unquam bonis Artibus exercuit,*' was an Observation
 of the wise Historian *Tacitus*. (Mr. *Nathaniel Alsop's* Sermon
 at *Leicester Ass.* 23 March, 1681. 4to. p. 13, 14.)

‘ Subjection and Prayers, till they had been
 ‘ fully satisfy’d in the Rightful Title, and
 ‘ Lawful Authority of their Princes; that is,
 ‘ till they had examin’d and judged upon the
 ‘ Rights, Titles, and Claims of the several
 ‘ Pretenders; — which, in many Cases,
 ‘ (you say) not one of a Thousand was capa-
 ‘ ble to (b) do.’ But methinks, Sir, any Man
 of true *Christian Simplicity and Sincerity*,
 would rather conclude it a great *Absurdity*
to suppose the contrary. For when we confi-
 der, that *Actual Governors* have it always in
 their Power, to enforce their own *peremptory*
 Commands by the Dread of temporal Pu-
 nishments, there could not be any Occasion
 at all, for the Apostle to superadd the Oblig-
 ation of *Conscience*, and the Penalty of *Dam-
 nation*, if he had meant no more by it, than
 barely to press *Obedience and Subjection to all*
Actual Governors, right or wrong, for the
 Time being. And what could the new Con-
 verts have thought of such Precepts, so con-
 trary to the Moral Law, if they had under-
 stood them, as you would persuade us, that
 any audacious Rebel or Invader, who had
 incurr’d the Penalty of *Damnation* for *Re-
 sistance* and Usurpation of another’s Right,
 was immediately, by Succession and Settle-
 ment alone, to become the *irresistible Ordi-
 nance of God*, and as such to be *pray’d for and*
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obey’d,

obey'd, not only for Wrath, but also for Conscience Sake? Or how would they have thought this Doctrine reconcileable with that other necessary Duty of Repentance and Restitution; or indeed with the whole System of the Christian Institution? But, after all, the Difficulty of being *satisfy'd in the Rightful Title*, is not so great as you represent it; especially in the Case of an Hereditary Kingdom, as is here suppos'd; where *not one of a Thousand* can be ignorant of the Right of Birth between the two Pretenders, unless it be his own Fault: For it does not require any great *Capacity to examine and judge*, which of them is next Heir of the Blood Royal. Every one knows, the Children of Great Princes are not brought into the World without a Number of Witnesses (and sometimes also their *Depositions* on Oath recorded) to put the Birth out of all Doubt: But, if there were no such authentic formal Proofs, you know very well, Sir, tis a Maxim in Law, (i) that *the Parents Nomination and Acknowledgment of a Child, gives him a Right to all the*

(i) *Mascard*, the Civilian, teaches us, That 'Nominatio Parentum inducit Filiationem, & transfert Onus probandi in Adversarium; & constituit Nominatum in aliquali Possessione, donec Contrarium probetur.' (*Conclus. 790, No. 9. Rebus de Nom. Quæst. j. L. n. 8*) And L. C. J. *Hobart* affirms, 'That even if a supposititious Child be acknowledg'd by those whom it concerns, the Consequences which follow of it, are as certain *ex Hypothesi, ex Concessis*, as if he were the true Child indeed, (*Colt and Glover's Case* against the Bishop of *Lichfield. Hobart's Reports, fol. 146.*)

the Benefits and Privileges of their Child; so that even in Case of any Objection to his Legitimacy, the Burthen of the Proof is to lie upon the Adversary. Where then is the Difficulty of obtaining Satisfaction in the Rightful Title and Lawful Authority? Or what Absurdity is there in supposing Men oblig'd to do that which is so easy?

Another Reason you urge against that strict Construction of the Text is, 2. ' That
' upon this Supposition, Christians must
' have been, in this Respect, in a worse Con-
' dition than they were in before, when this
' was not a Matter of Conscience to them ;
' since it must unavoidably expose them to
' the Resentment of the Higher Powers, and
' the imminent Hazard of their Lives and
' Fortunes, for the Rights and Titles of
' Princes, which (you say) the Gospel no-
' where requires of them, on that (k) Ac-
' count.' But surely, *the Gospel requires* of
them to *render unto all Men their Due* ; and
particularly, *unto Cæsar the Things which are*
Cæsar's. — And how is it possible for us to
perform this Duty, according to these Gos-
pel Precepts, without *examining*, or being
fully satisfy'd what is *their Due*, and what
Right (l) they have to it? — Which never-
theless

(k) Page 3.

(l) Bishop Burnet determines, ' That
' if those who govern us do claim that which is not *theirs*,
' and which either by the Laws of God, or by the express
' Laws

theleſs you are pleas'd to ridicule, as a *Thing* *abſurd to ſuppoſe!* And yet, your own Father, whoſe *Papers* (as I have Reason to think them) *relating to the Oaths*, you have here thought fit to ſubjoin to your *Vindication*, has more ingenuouſly declar'd and fairly prov'd, ' That certainly neither Man nor Wo-
' man can ſwear lawfully, and with a good
' Conſcience, what they do not underſtand,
' and are not ſatisfy'd (*m*) about.' And again,
' That if the Answers to the *Queries* do
' not ſatisfy and remove all Scruples about
' the Meaning and Matter of the Oaths, it
' ought to be refus'd, whatever may be the
' (*n*) Conſequence.' And what *more abſo-*
lute Neceſſity there can be, for ſuch *full Satis-*
faction and *Conviction*, with reſpect to the
Oaths, than to the *Prayers* in *Queſtion*, I
muſt leave to you to demonſtrate at *Leiſure*.—
But you, it ſeems, would have Men to com-
ply with both, *implicitly and without Rea-*
ſon! For, as you well obſerve in another
Place, ' He that has never examin'd, can have

no

' Laws of the Conſtitution, are declar'd not to belong to
' them, we are not bound to pay or render that, ſince it is
' *not at all theirs*, for that is all that we are bound to ren-
' der to them.' (*Sermon 29 May, 1710 8vo. p. 4, 5.*) And
Bishop *Andrews*, ' That it is firſt to be conſider'd, whether
' he that commands be *Nobis Rex*: For every one is not a
' Ruler: The Robes qualify him not ſo far, but as he is *cur*
' *King*, and no farther, than *quatenus nobis imperat*, as he
' rules over us, or hath *Right* to command us.' (*Expos of*
the Commandments, fol. 336.)

(*m*) Page 215, 216, & 223.

(*n*) Page 223.

‘ no just (o) Reason to do any thing.’ But when I pray you, Sir, was *this not a Matter of Conscience to them?*— Before their Conversion to Christianity? That is certainly a great Mistake. For whether they were *Jews* or *Gentiles*, they had the Law of Nature, if not the Law of God also, to direct their *Consciences*, and to teach them a dutiful and steadfast Adherence to their Natural and Rightful Sovereigns. — However, supposing *the Condition of Christians*, which you speak of, to be ever so *hazardous* on that Account, this Argument is so full of worldly Politics, more than of Christian Piety, that it is not fit to be insisted on by a Christian Casuist, in the Resolution of a Case of Conscience. — Were we to consult only with Flesh and Blood indeed, this Consideration of the *peremptory* Commands of Princes, their *Resentments*, and the *imminent Hazards* of our Non-compliance, would quickly determine the Question: But then, Sir, what becomes of the Evangelical Doctrine of the Cross; for the Practice of which there have been so many glorious Confessors in all Ages of the Christian Church, and especially in the primitive Times, when those Apostolical Injunctions were but newly receiv’d, and fresh in Memory? If it is not in Force in such Cases as this, where the Question turns upon a
Point

Point of Moral Right and Justice, what better Subject are we like to have, for the Exercise of our Christian Patience and Fortitude, which are so highly recommended, and so earnestly press'd, by our Blessed Saviour himself, as well as by his Apostles? Or now, in Countries where the Gospel is receiv'd by public Authority, who can be better intitled to the promised *Blessing of suffering for Righteousness-sake*, and a good *Conscience*, than they who hazard (*p*) all they have in this World, rather than become *Partakers of other Men's Sins* and Immoralities? Besides, Sir, to teach that *Christians* not only lawfully may, but are also in *Duty* bound, to comply with all *Actual Governors*, without due Examination and Satisfaction, or any Distinction of their Titles, is such a Doctrine as owes its Patronage, if not its Rise, to one of the worst Sects now professing the Christian Name; and which the wisest and more honest Heathens were asham'd (*q*) of!

But,

(*p*) See the Note on p. 19. (*q*) Bishop *Smalridge* observes, ' That a wise and sober Heathen was wont to pronounce a solemn Curse against those, who first found out the unluckly Distinction between *Profitable* and *Honest*; and several, who had only the Light of Reason to guide them, have judg'd it extremely scandalous, not only to prefer Profit to Honesty, but even so much as to bring the Former into Competition with the Latter. But, some Persons, who call themselves *Christians*, and some, who have appropriated to themselves the Holy Name of *Jesus*, have thought it a plain Indication of Weakness and Folly,

But, 3. You say, ‘ This Distinction would
 ‘ have defeated one main End for which the
 ‘ Precepts were (r) given;’ viz. *to refute the
 Calumny of those who charg’d the Christian
 Religion with Principles tending to Sedition
 and Rebellion.* For, you are pleas’d to ask,
 ‘ How would this Calumny have been refut-
 ‘ ed, if they had refus’d their Subjection and
 ‘ Prayers, till they had examin’d, and were
 ‘ satisfy’d of the Justice and the Right the
 ‘ Higher Powers had to their (s) Obedience?’
 In my humble Opinion, Sir, that *Calumny*
 was much better *refuted* by a conscientious
 Adherence to Rightful and Lawful Titles,
 according to the fundamental Constitution of
 their Country, than by shewing a versatile
 and Time-serving Disposition to comply with
 every Change or Revolution of State, as
 Things might take their Turn to be upper-
 most, right or wrong. For, what Confide-
 nce can any Prince have in, or Dependance
 upon, the Loyalty of those Men, whose
 declar’d

‘ to forego any thing which is greatly profitable, because
 ‘ it is a little dishonest; and have laughed at the *idle Scru-
 ‘ ples* of those, who have given themselves the *Trouble to en-
 ‘ quire*, Whether an Action be *lawful* or not, after it has
 ‘ once appear’d expedient! — That the shortest Ways to
 ‘ an End are fittest to be chosen, be they never so foul;
 ‘ that the Appearance of Virtue is an Advantage, but the
 ‘ Practice of it a Burden; that Charity ought to begin at
 ‘ home, and to end there too, are Maxims, which, tho’ own’d
 ‘ by few, are by many made the Measures of their Actions.

(Sermon 5 November 1705. Sermon p. 10.)

(r) Page 3.

(s) Page 9.

declar'd Principle it is, that they will be faithful and bear true Allegiance to him, only *while he continues to govern them!* That is, while he is able to keep his Seat, and to oblige them to be subject! But, whenever he shall be *dispossess'd*, they shall no longer look upon him as intitled to their Allegiance and Prayers, but transfer both to the next they shall find *actually settled* in his Place, with the Reins and Whip in his Hand! — A strange Way this, to remove the Suspicions of *Sedition and Rebellion*, and to gain the good Opinion of Princes! Whereas, 'tis natural for all generous Souls to have a greater Regard for a Person whom they find to be firm and steady in a fair Principle (however they may think him mistaken in it) than for those whom they perceive to be thus ready to turn with every Wind, or row with every Stream.

But, whereas you are pleas'd to proceed thus, ' Who made them Judges of these Things? The Christian Religion gave them no such Right or Authority, laid no such Obligation upon them, requir'd no such Thing at their (t) Hands;' I might object to you the Absurdity of questioning the People's Right to *judge* of their Governor's Title and Authority, when the whole Scope of your Discourse supposes them to have

have a Right to *judge* of the Administration, and in what Cases they may resist and depose their undoubted Rightful Sovereign; which is much more difficult to make a true Judgment of, for as much as the Reasons of State, and the true Motives of a Sovereign's Councils and Actions, are not so easily understood as the Right and Title which he has to the Sovereignty. But, to come directly to the Point, I beg Leave to say, That whoever requires me to *pray for him, as my King*, does so far *make me a Judge*, whether he is the Person whom I ought to pray for under that Character or not: And the like may be said of *Swearing* to him, as I intimated before. For, in such solemn Acts and Offices as these, *the Christian Religion* has not only given us a *Right and Authority*, but also *requir'd* and *laid an Obligation upon* us, to *prove all Things*, and to examine and be well satisfy'd in the Matter, before we presume either to call upon Almighty God as a Witness in the one Case, or to invoke him as a Patron in the other: Whereas, on the contrary, to *pray*, or *swear*, *at a Venture, after Vows to make inquiry*, and to offer up solemn Prayers to God *with Wrath or Doubting*, have been generally censur'd, as contrary both to Christian and Moral Principles; and you will not deny, that we are expressly commanded to *flee all Appearance of Evil*. Nay, tho', both here and elsewhere, over and over again, you roundly affirm, That

‘ That Christianity lays no such Obligation
 ‘ upon them, nor binds the Consciences of
 ‘ Believers to any such Regards;’ yet you do
 pretty fairly grant, that *Men may be under
 other Obligations,* ‘ from the common Rights
 ‘ of Mankind, from the Laws and Customs
 ‘ of the Common-wealth and Society they
 ‘ live in, or other accessory Ties, to examine
 ‘ or contend for the Rights and Titles of (u)
 ‘ Princes:’ And, more plainly, in a *Paren-*
thesis, you say, ‘ Assertory Oaths, indeed,
 ‘ about the Rights and Lawful Authority of
 ‘ Princes, are another Case, and require far-
 ‘ ther (x) Consideration.’ But, how is this
another Case, Sir? Or what *farther Consider-*
ation is there *requir’d,* for the *asserting on*
Oath, that our Actual Governor has *the Right*
and Lawful Authority, in Opposition to all
 other Pretenders, than for solemnly *praying*
for him as such, and that *he may vanquish*
and overcome them &c? Is not praying to
 God in a public Congregation, and that too
 by a known stated Form, as solemn and de-
 liberate an Act as *Swearing* by him in a
 Court of Justice? Or can it *require farther*
Consideration, for once, to call God to Wit-
 ness, that such a one is our Lawful and Right-
 ful King and Governor, than daily to call
 upon him to *prosper him as such?* For my
 own Part, I can’t see this to be *another Case;*
 or

(u) Page 10.

(x) *Ibid.*

or what *farther Consideration* can be *requir'd* for the one than the other: And therefore I put them here together, as what to me seems equally to require due Consideration, Examination, and Satisfaction, before good Christians presume to do either. ' For, if
 ' Submission, Honour, Tribute and Prayers--
 ' are due, and may be lawfully paid, to all
 ' who are in the actual Possession and Exer-
 ' cise of Power and Dominion,' — as you
 (a) affirm, there must be the same *Submission due*, with regard to *the Oaths*, as to *the Prayers*; they being both alike in that respect: And consequently, there must be as much *Consideration* and Satisfaction necessarily *requir'd*, for *Submission* to the one as to the other. 'Tis true, indeed, you add, ' That
 ' in this, as in other Things, it is possible,
 ' there may be no General Rule, which may
 ' not, in some Cases, admit of (b) Excep-
 ' tion.' And, if so, what *Case* can be thought more reasonably to *admit of Exception*, than this here suppos'd, of a contested Title to an Hereditary Crown, between Possession on the one Hand, and Right on the other? But, be this as it will; if there be *other Obligations*, from the *Laws and Customs of the Society they live in*, or *whatever else*, to contend for the *Rights and Titles of Princes*, as you seem here to grant, then, surely, they can't be
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(a) Page 10.

(b) *Ibid.*

bound in Duty to *pray for their actual Governors*, purely as such, *till they have examin'd, and are satisfy'd of the Right and Title* of those Governors whom they are requir'd to *pray for*. And this is still the more absolutely necessary in the Case here suppos'd; when they can't *pray for the Prosperity and Success* of the one, without praying for the *Confusion and Overthrow* of the other; and consequently, without Examination, may be unwarily engag'd, to pray to the God of Justice, for the Continuance and Protection of downright Injustice; than which nothing can be a greater (c) Abomination to him, or a more audacious Insult upon his Divine Attributes. You censure your Remarker, 'as mistaking the Nature and End of the Prayers commanded in the Text, and not
' confi-

(c) Bishop Burnet, having enumerated several Particulars, to prove, that King James was such an *Usurper* as might lawfully be *resisted*, says, 'The Revolution — must be look'd on as a continued Usurpation to this Day, if these Principles are not true: All the *Oaths* taken to support it are so many *solemn Perjuries*, which are of no Force, unless built upon a just Foundation; and the *Prayers* we have been offering up, relating to it, are an *impious Profanation* of the Name of God, if that for which we bless God was unlawful!' (Sermon 5th November 1710. 2d Edition 8vo. p. 12.) And so also Doctor Rye says, 'Our Prayers would really *dishonour* God, if there were a *Falshood* in them, and we knew it to be a Falshood; or if we *pray'd against plain Right* in express Terms, or against a Prince we *believ'd to be rightful*: For, the former Prayers would shew, that we thought we could *deceive God*; and the Latter, that we thought God would *favour Injustice!*' (Treatise against the Nonjurors, 1719. in 8vo. Vol. ii. p. 395, 396.)

‘ considering the Reasons given for them in
 ‘ the (d) Sermon.’ ’Tis true, as *Kings* and
 other *Governors are Men*, we are undoubt-
 edly to *pray for* them in general, because the
 Text enjoins us to *pray for all Men*: But
 they must be strangely *mistaken* indeed, who
 can from thence conclude, that it must be
lawful, and a Duty to pray for every *Actual*
Governor, as King; and especially in such
 Terms as those of the *English* Liturgy.

Again you say, ‘ Tho’ they may be wicked
 ‘ Men, or unjust and criminal in the Pos-
 ‘ session of Power, our Prayers for them
 ‘ neither tend to commend the one, nor to
 ‘ bless the (e) other.’ Now, I shall not deny,
 that a very *wicked Man* may be the Subject
 of the *Prayers* commanded in the Text;
 even as *Nero* himself was ‘ at the Time
 ‘ when *St. Paul* gave this (f) Precept.’ But,
 for the making this the more intelligible to
 ordinary Capacities, we ought to distinguish,
 That a Rightful Prince, however personally
wicked, or tyrannical in his Administration,
 is to be view’d in one Light; and an Usurper,
 however plausibly he may live and govern,
 in another. This, Sir, you know very well,
 is a common Distinction in the Schools, be-
 tween *Tyrannus Administratione*, and *Tyran-
 nus Titulo*; the former being what we now
 call a *Tyrant*, or wicked King, and the latter

(d) Page 11.

(e) *Ibid.*

(f) Page 12.

an *Usurper*, or unjust Possessor of Another's Right. Of the former Sort was *Nero*; who was, 'as to his Moral Character, the very 'worst of Men,' as you truly call (g) him: And yet this very *Nero* was *the Higher Power*, to whom *St. Paul* expressly commanded *every Soul to be subject for Conscience Sake*. But I can't by any Means agree with you, that he was of the latter Sort, an *Usurper*, till you can prove whose Right he unjustly possess'd, and who was the Pretender to that Right against him. This Instance therefore, of Subjection to, and praying for *Nero*, however strong and pertinent it may be, against those who *resist* and dethrone a Prince *vested with Lawful and Rightful Authority*, even supposing his Administration to have been wicked and tyrannical, can't pertinently be urg'd as an Argument for Subjection to, and praying for, any other Actual Governor, *not vested with Lawful and Rightful Authority*.--

You affirm indeed, that *Nero* had no Authority, 'but what was deriv'd from Usurpation, tho' submitted to by the Senate and 'People, through Fear and (b) Force:' For, you say, 'What were *Julius Cæsar* and *Augustus* but Usurpers, tho' their Authority, 'through Fear or Force, was afterwards 'recogniz'd by the Senate and People? Or 'what Title to the Empire had the succeeding

‘ ing Emperors, under whom these Precepts
 ‘ were all given, but what was owing to that
 ‘ first (i) Usurpation?’ With your good
 Leave, Sir, when *the Senate and People*, who
 had exercis’d the Supreme Power uninter-
 rupted for many Ages, had *submitted* to, and
recogniz’d the Authority of *Julius Cæsar* and
Augustus, it is very extraordinary in you, to
 triumph as you do, with the Notion of their
 being *Usurpers*; yea, and *confessedly* (k)
Usurpers! Could you have prov’d, That *the*
Senate did not voluntarily abdicate their own
 Right, but asserted their Authority so long as
 they could; and that, when they found
 themselves borne down by the Influence of
Cæsar, and his Partizans among them, they
 had, even then, after long and warm Debates,
 pass’d the *Abdication*, and their *Recognition*
 of *Cæsar*, by no greater Majority than that
 of one or two Voices, you had said some-
 what more to the Purpose: And yet, even on
 that Supposition, you could not properly
 have prov’d *Cæsar* an *Usurper*, unless you
 could also have prov’d, that the *Senate and*
People still continued to assert their proper
 Right, against him and his Successors. But,
 since neither *the Senate and People* did this,
 nor any other more Rightful Pretender ever
 did appear to claim a better Authority; sure-
 ly, the Christian Subjects were not concern-

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ed, in that Case, to be more solicitous than *the Roman Senate* themselves were, to scruple *the Authority* of the *Cæsars*, so recogniz'd by the Parties interestèd, whatever they might think of the secret Motives to that *Recognition*. And, as to the *Title* of the *Succeeding Emperors*, since it was founded on the Authority of the first *Cæsars*, so recogniz'd, and uninterrupted by any other Claim, it could not be fairly question'd; tho' mere Possession, where there is a better Right asserted, is indeed (1) no Title at all. But, after all, Sir, I must own to you, that I am not a little concern'd, to see a Gentleman of your Character following the old beaten Path of the baffled Pamphleteers, in pursuit of this stale and groundless Argument, when you cannot but know, how often and convincingly the Absurdity of it has been demonstrated; and particularly by the learned Dr. *Hickes*, in his yet unanswer'd, and perhaps unanswerable *Jovian*.

But now, since you are pleas'd to mention
 ' the Prayers of the Church for a King and
 ' Gover-

(1) ' Suppose any Man, by forcible Entry, gets *Possession*
 ' of the Mannor-House, is he thereupon Lord of the Man-
 ' nor; or has he a *Right* to the Rents of the Tenants? It
 ' intitles him to nothing that I know of, but to be follow'd
 ' by a Writ of *Ejectment*. For, the *Right* and the *Estate* are
 ' for ever inseparable. For tho' the right Owner be not in the
 ' Estate, yet the Estate is always in him.' (Mr. *Samuel*
Johnson's Notes upon the *Phœnix* Edition of Bishop *Burnet's*
 Pastoral Letter, Part I. 1694. in 4to. p. 25.)

' Governor, tho' wicked in his Morals, tho'
 ' unjust and criminal in his Power and Do-
 ' minion, tho' he had murder'd the nearest
 ' Heir, to come at the Crown, as some have
 ' (m) done,' it brings to mind the Case of
 our *Richard III.* who was *Actual Governor*,
 and at the same Time both a *Tyrant and*
Usurper. He had *murder'd* his Nephews (the
 young King *Edward V.* and his Brother) *the*
two nearest Heirs, to come at the Crown; and
 yet this execrable Parricide did not render
 him properly an *Usurper*: So that, notwith-
 standing this his *Wickedness*, he might have
 been entitled to the Prayers of the Church,
 as *King and Governor*, if there had not re-
 mained any other *Heir, nearer to the Crown*
 than himself. But, so far as his Niece,
 the Lady *Elizabeth*, was still in being, to
 whom the Crown of Right descended, im-
 mediately after the Death of those her two
 Brothers, therefore was *Richard* an *Usurper*,
 (to wit, of her Right;) and, as such, not in-
 titled to those *Prayers*, or any Duty of Alle-
 giance. For, taking it for granted, that he
 look'd upon the Lady *Elizabeth* as his *Enemy*,
 as he certainly did her two Brothers, (or else
 why did he *murder* them?) and that he
 would have sacrific'd her also to his Ambi-
 tion, if once in his Power, for the same Rea-
 son, by *murdering all the nearer Heirs, to come*

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at

at the Crown; Could any good Man apply such Prayers to him, as those of our Church, that God would prosper, and strengthen him, that he might vanquish and overcome all his Enemies, &c. ? Or could any Man of common Sense understand the Force of such a Petition, if he did not think it tended to commend or bless the unjust and criminal Possession of the Usurper, and in effect to curse the right Heir, (n) by devoting her to Destruction. And yet, you, Sir, are pleas'd to deny all this, and to call it a *Mistaking the Nature and End of the Prayers!* &c. And, tho' you are pleas'd to say, ' That, being in Possession of that Dominion and Power, they are, for that Reason, intitled to our Prayers, and, both for their Sakes and our own, we are commanded to give (o) them;' one would think it more consistent with the Duty of a Christian Subject, and the Principles of the Church of *England*, so long famous (p)

(n) Dr. Comber says, ' Whoever loves the Peace of the Church, doth heartily pray for the Flourishing of the Crown, because they live and grow together; and he that is a Friend to one, cannot be a Foe to the other. His Friends are our Friends, and his Enemies our Enemies.— If it be a Foreign Prince that opposeth our King, he is a Robber, and unjust, to invade his Neighbour's Rights: If he be a Subject who riseth against his Sovereign, he hath renounc'd Christianity with his Allegiance, and is to be esteem'd a Troubler of our *Israel*. Therefore, whoever they be, that are Enemies to the King, or whatsoever the Pretences be, we wish they may never prosper in that black Impiety of unjust Invasion, or Unchristian Rebellion!'

(Comp. to the Temple, 3d. Edition 8vo. 1679. Part i. p. 422.)

(o) Page 13.

(p) See the Note on p. 10.

for her distinguish'd Loyalty, to pray, that such unjust Possessors might repent, and make Restitution of what they have usurp'd, than to prosper and succeed in it; as your Remarker has well (q) observed.

But because he had apply'd this to the Case of *Pirates, Highwaymen*, and such like public *Robbers*, you endeavour to distinguish it from that of an Usurper, thus: 'Pirates, Highwaymen, and public Robbers, are Disturbers of Peace, Order, and Society; Violaters of all Rights and Laws, and public Enemies of Mankind: Every Act of their Trade is an Act of Injustice, Violence, and Oppression; their Trade itself (r) Wickedness &c.' But does not this seem to be a Distinction without a Difference? For, would not any one be apt to think the same also of Usurpers? And was not the petty Robber's Answer to *Alexander the Great*, (that he was a *great Robber!*) always thought to be pertinent and rational, inasmuch as *Alexander* was an ambitious Invader and Usurper of other Princes Dominions? No! you say, 'Between these two, Governors and public Robbers, there can be no Comparison, but what is truly odious; and the Objection is frivolous, and foreign to the (s) Purpose.' 'Tis true, between Rightful Governors and such *Robbers* as are here menti-

(q) Page 13.

(r) Page 14.

(s) Page 15.

mention'd, *there can be no Comparison but what is truly odious*: But between some *Actual Governors*, (such as are suppos'd in the Case here put) and those other *Robbers*, there may be as just a Comparison, as can be between great Robbers and little ones; between him who forcibly or unfairly takes a Crown, and him who steals an ordinary Cap. You say, indeed, of *Robbers*, ' That, as they ' are the Enemies of Mankind, it is every ' Man's Duty to oppose them, if able; it is ' lawful to kill them, as Beasts of Prey, that ' do great Mischief to the Country; and in ' all Ages and Nations, it has been accounted ' a glorious Action to destroy them, because ' it is a public (*t*) Benefit.' And, it would be no hard Task to prove the same, as to *Usurpers* also, from celebrated Casuists in all Ages and Nations: But, tho' I should be extremely averse to the having my Hand employ'd in the Destruction of either; and consequently, in sending them headlong to Hell, without Space for Repentance; yet, I frankly own my Opinion, that you may as easily prove it *lawful, and a Duty*, to aid, assist, and pray for the Prosperity and Success of the one, as the other of them.

As to what you have quoted on this Subject (*u*) from Dr. *Falkner*, I can't perceive that it makes any thing to your Purpose. For,
accord-

(*t*) Page 14.

(*u*) Page 15.

according to his Reasoning, ‘ As he is properly a *Traveller* who goeth upon his allowable or ordinary Occasions;’ so is he properly a *Governor*, who keeps within the proper Bounds of his allowable and ordinary Jurisdiction, and doth not invade or encroach upon that of others. And again, as he observes, ‘ If the meanest Man in the Country should hear of an Act of Parliament, for securing the safe Passage of all Travellers, he would never thence conclude, that they intended to provide for the Safety of Robbers, Highwaymen, and Traitors, who are the great Disturbers of (x) Safety.’ Even so, we may suppose, when he hears of this Apostolical Injunction, to *pray for Kings, and all that are in Authority*, he would never thence conclude, that the Apostle intended to oblige all Christians to join in solemn Prayers to God for the Safety and Protection of *Traytors, Rebels, and Usurpers*, whose Rise and Success is an outrageous Insult upon, and open Violation of all *Authority*. And tho’ *St. Paul* commands, that *Prayer be made for all Men* (which Expression is as general and indefinite as any of the rest (y)); yet, the utmost that *Dr. Falkner* here supposes allowable to be pray’d for, in behalf of *Traitors and Robbers*, is, ‘ That God would preserve them from farther Sin, and so keep them, that

(x) Page 15.

(y) Page 5.

‘ that they may have Time and Grace for
 ‘ Repentance; and that thereby they may
 ‘ be preserved from eternal (z) Destruction.’
 And how Usurpers can reasonably, according
 to this learned Author’s Judgment, be entit-
 led to more than this, is hard to prove; un-
 less we should grant, that their Success alone
 alters the Nature of Things, so that what
 would otherwise have been plain Treason
 and Robbery, becomes thereby just, laudable,
 and authoritative; which may be a good
Mahometan Argument indeed, but is contrary
 to *Christian* Doctrine. Much less therefore
 can it be a Duty, or even lawful, in such a
 Case as we have here suppos’d, for Christians
 to pray for their *de Facto*, or *Actual* Govern-
 or, in such Terms as these of our *English* Litu-
 rgy, (supposing them to have such a one) *viz.*
 acknowledging him to be their *Sovereign*
Lord and King; most humbly beseeching
 God to *strengthen him, that he may vanquish*
and overcome all his Enemies, and to give him
the Victory over all his Enemies, &c. while
 they believe, or have any Reason to doubt,
 that the other Competitor, whom he looks
 upon as his *Enemy*, is, *de Jure*, their *Sove-*
reign Lord and King, (a) unjustly dispos-
 sess’d of his Right; or acknowledging the Posses-
 sor as *God’s chosen Servant and Minister*, and
 to have his *Authority* over them, &c. without
 any

(z) Page 16.

(a) See the Note on p 13.

any exprefs Revelation from God, and even while the Event itfelf is yet doubtful! And yet all this, and much more of the fame kind, how absurd, immoral, or impious foever, must be lawful and neceffary, if the Apostolical Injunction, to *pray for Kings, and all that are in Authority*, be extended to all *Actual Governors*, without Distinction of their Titles, right or wrong! So that, tho' you are pleas'd to call these 'The Arguments of such as are dissatisfy'd with the present Government in this (b) Country,' and to cry out, 'That Prejudices and false Principles do so blind the Men, that they cannot perceive nor understand the plainest and clearest (c) Truths;' you must give me leave to say, you put the Issue upon a very dangerous Proof: Since 'tis evident to Men of most unquestionable Affection to the present Government, that you have not duly consider'd, how improper a Method you have taken, towards removing those *Dissatisfactions* and *Prejudices*, when you seem to *vindicate the Lawfulness and Duty of praying for our present King and Governor*, upon such *false, or precarious, Principles*, as are properly applicable to usurped Powers, but not so to such as are indeed *vested with a Lawful and Rightful Authority!* However, since you seem to lay so much weight upon the Judgment of that

(b) Preface.

(c) Page 18.

that *Reverend Author*, Dr. *Falkner*, I heartily recommend to your own, as well as to every other Reader's serious Consideration, what he has written of *Christian Loyalty*; and particularly that Part of it, *Book ii.* which asserts *the Unlawfulness of Subjects taking Arms against their King*: And if you are not thereby prevail'd with to *retract* many of the Principles and Inferences you have so warmly insisted on in this your *Vindication*, I dare say, all who peruse it, without Prejudice, will find good Reason why you ought to do so. But, because that excellent Treatise is not so commonly handed about as it deserves to be, I have hereunto subjoin'd some few short Extracts, in the APPENDIX, N^o. I. to which I refer you.

You say, *The Design of Government* is,
 ' To keep Men in Peace, Order, and Righte-
 ' ousness; to repress and punish all Acts of
 ' Violence, Injustice, and (*d*) Robbery.' And
 again, you call ' Peace, Godliness, and Ho-
 ' nesty, the chief Blessings of human Socie-
 ' ty;' — and ' the very End of (*e*) Govern-
 ' ment.' But, whereas you say, ' These, in
 ' a great Measure, depend on the good or
 ' bad Exercise of Power and Dominion,
 ' whatever the Person's Title be who has it;' and add, in a Parenthesis, ' That makes not
 ' the least Alteration in the Case, as to the
 ' End

(*d*) Page 14.

(*e*) Page 18.

‘ End of Government, or the Good and
 ‘ Welfare of the (*f*) Governed ;’ I beg
 Leave to think the contrary: I mean, that
 the Person’s having a *Title*, or not having it,
 makes a great *Alteration* in the Case: Because,
 unless the Person who exerciseth the Domi-
 nion has a good *Title* to it, no firm and last-
 ing *Peace* can be reasonably expected, as I
 observed before; and as to *Godliness and Ho-
 nesty*, you own, ‘ They are what we our-
 ‘ selves must (*g*) practise:’ And indeed it
 would be more tolerable living under usurped
 Powers, if Men were permitted so to do,
 without Interruption! — But how, I pray
 you, Sir, is it consistent with your good Senſe,
 to think, that *all Acts of Violence, Injustice,
 and Robbery*, are likely to be *puniſh’d* by those
 who hold their own Power and Dominion
 by those very Means, and cannot expect to
 stand their Ground, if *all Acts of Violence,
 Injustice, and Robbery*, were indifferently and
 effectually *puniſh’d*? As to *Order*, tis as evi-
 dent as any Proposition in *Euclid*, that That
 cannot be *kept*, when there is such a *Revolu-
 tion* as sets up the Heels above the Head, as
 in the Case of successful Rebellions; or placeth
 a Head upon the Body which does not na-
 turally belong to it, as in that of foreign In-
 vasions and Usurpations; both which are an
 Inversion or Destruction of Foundations:
 And,

And, as to *Righteousness*, you know who has said, *If the Foundations (b) be destroy'd, what can the Righteous do?* Since therefore, on all these Accounts, Usurpation must be inconsistent with *the very End and Design of Government*, according to your own Concession, I should think it more reasonable to conclude, contrary to you, ' That if *Prayers for our*
' *Governors*, as such, wholly respect the End
' of Government, and the Good of God's
' (i) People,' as you say, it must necessarily follow, that we are bound to pray for Rightful Governors only, under whom those blessed Ends of Government are most rationally to be expected.

You reflect upon your Remarker, (k) as if he were ' Not sensible of the Difference
' between *Government* and *Governors*, and
' could not distinguish between the *Office*
' itself, and those that *exercisè* it; between
' the *End* of Dominion and Power, and the
' *perverting* that End.' But to me he seems so *sensibly* to have *distinguish'd* these, that he has produc'd Authority to prove, ' That
' Government, taken in general, is indeed
' from God, but so is not every Governor;' as you yourself have quoted (l) him. Whereas you have laid yourself more open to the same Censure; whose Arguments, throughout this whole Treatise, plainly tend to persuade the
Reader,

(b) *Psalms* xi. 3. (i) Page 19. (k) Page 20. (l) Page 93.

Reader, that all *actual* *Governors*, as well as *Government* itself, are from God! 'Tis true indeed, you distinguish, pretty freely, *between the End of Dominion and Power, and the perverting that End*: But the Use you make of that Distinction, is generally to the Dishonour of Rightful Princes; as if they were as wicked as the most notorious Usurpers!

Now, Sir, admitting what you say of Godliness and Honesty, 'That under the violent and unrighteous Administration of a wicked Prince, tho' his Title to the Crown be ever so good, they may prove both dangerous and (a) destructive;' yet, under Usurpers, they can hardly ever escape *Danger and Destruction*, as being utterly inconsistent with the Principles and Practices to which they owe their Advancement and Support: For, whatever you may say of *their Duty*, you will never convince any such, that it is *their Interest*, 'to encourage and maintain Godliness and (b) Honesty,' so long as they persist in their Usurpation.

You seem to think, the Remarker unintelligible, where he useth this Expression, 'To pray for Godliness (c) and Honesty;' because we are not enjoind to pray for Godliness and Honesty, but for Kings, and all in Authority, that under them we may lead quiet and peaceable Lives, in all Godliness and

E ' Honef-

(a) Page 22.

(b) Page 19.

(c) Page 21.

‘(d) *Honesty.*’ But, since *Godliness and Honesty* is a principal End of *praying for Kings*, the honest and plain Reader will much sooner understand the Remarker’s *Sense* in that Expression, than your *Reason* for proposing the same End in praying for Usurpers.

As to the Case of *Manasseh*, which you exemplify, his Government was indeed notoriously *violent and (e) unrighteous*: But your Reader must take Notice, that tho’ his *Wickedness* was worse, both for open *Idolatry* and cruel *Tyranny*, than the very (f) *Heathen*; yet his Subjects never resisted him, but left him to *God, the only Ruler of Princes*; who punish’d him with a Captivity in *Babylon*: Nor, even then, did his People presume to fill *his Throne, as vacant*, notwithstanding such a remarkable Interposition of *Providence* to remove and dispossess him, but dutifully adher’d to him still as their *King and Governor*: For which their exemplary Loyalty, it pleas’d God to restore him to enjoy his own again, with his *Heart* so happily *turn’d*, that he afterwards became a greater Blessing to them by his Repentance and Reformation, than he had before been a Scourge to them by his outrageous *Wickedness and Impiety*. All which, if duly consider’d, will sufficiently confute the strongest of your Arguments and Inferences here, in Relation to
God’s

(d) Page 22.

(e) Page 20.

(f) 2. Kings xxi. & 2. Chronicles xxxiii.

God's Government of the World, and his providential Ways of disposing of Kingdoms; in which, however, some People (you know) have not been content to trust him!

But it seems to be a Maxim with you, That *the Thrones of Princes are establish'd* ' in the Righteousness of their Actions and ' just Exercise of their Power; and depend ' no more upon their Titles, than upon their ' Purple (g) Robes.' But, where you will find a good Warrant for that Interpretation of the sacred Text, I own myself yet to learn. According to your Notion, if *Oliver Cromwell* had taken the Title of King, as he was about to do, *his Throne* might have been *establish'd in the Righteousness of his Actions, and the just Exercise of his Power*, between Subject and Subject, without any Regard to our undoubted Rightful *King and Governor*, then in Exile, attainted and abjur'd; and the good People of *England* must have been bound in Duty to pray to God to prosper their gracious King *Oliver!* Nay, moreover, to pray for King *Charles*, as their *King and Governor*, had been not only *unlawful*, according to the Interpretation of Law in those Times, but even absurd in itself!

For thus you argue, ' That we cannot ' pray for one, as Governor, who is really ' not so; and that it is absurd to pray for
E 2 ' any

‘ any one, as King and Governor, who is
 ‘ not King and (b) Governor.’ Which is so
 far undeniably true. — But, when you
 come to explain what you mean by the being
really Governor, you expressly affirm, ‘ That
 ‘ the Prayers for the King and the Govern-
 ‘ ment, must certainly be for those in whose
 ‘ Hands the Government is (i):’ Nay, more
 particularly, you pronounce, that King
Charles II. during his Banishment, ‘ was not
 ‘ King, but in Name only!’ — ‘ That
 ‘ No-body can say, that he was all that Time
 ‘ (k) Governor!’ — And consequently,
 ‘ That he could not be pray’d for as (l)
 ‘ such!’

I have often observ’d, that a Man who
 reads much of our Modern Controversies,
 has need of a great Command of Temper;
 and I am sorry to find, that even this Per-
 formance has confirm’d the Truth of that
 Observation. Excuse me therefore, Sir, if I
 cannot forbear to express my Astonishment
 at such kind of Arguing, or Reasoning (call
 it what you will) as I have now before me,
 to prop up a precarious Hypothesis.

What! Was our King *Charles II.* during
 his Banishment, *not King, but in Name only!*
 Who then, I pray you, was our King? If
 you say we had not any King at all, during
 those Years of his being forc’d to live abroad,
 you

you run foul upon the Absurdity of an *Interregnum*, which is inconsistent with the very Nature of an Hereditary Monarchy, such as you acknowledge this of ours to be^(m): And, if we had one, as tis certain we had, it must be either King *Charles*, or King *Oliver*! The latter of them indeed seems to be intitled to your Suffrage, so long as he *had the Government actually in his Hands*. And yet you acknowledge, that the former (even that exil'd, attainted, proscrib'd and abjur'd Pretender, *Charles II.*) 'had an undoubted Right 'to the Crown and Government, even in 'his⁽ⁿ⁾ Banishment.' How then is it, I pray you, Sir, that he was *not King, but in Name only*? Does not this sound more like a *Contradiction*, than any of those you have charg'd upon your Remarker? At least, I am sure, you have herein flatly contradicted the Recognition of *both Houses* of the Loyal Convention, which restor'd him, declaring, that *his Right and Title was every* ^(o) *way completed by the Death of his Father*. For, according to their Sense and Judgment, he was all that while, *undoubtedly*, our King and Governor, not in Name only, but *completely, and every way*, by Virtue of his *inherent Right*, as *next Heir of the Blood Royal*. Nor is your Conclusion less exceptionable, that *he could not be pray'd for*, as our *King and Governor*,

(m) Page 52. (n) Page 25. (o) See the *Appendix*. No. ii.

vernor, when you plainly admit that he *had an undoubted Right to the Crown and Government*: For you know, ‘ it is illogical, and ‘ against Reason, first to grant the Premisses, ‘ and then deny the (*p*) Conclusion.’ Unless you would persuade us, that it is *absurd to pray for any one under such a Title as he has confessedly an undoubted Right to!*

You acknowledge also, ‘ That King ‘ *Charles I.* was King and Governor, in the ‘ Eye of the Law, and with respect to the ‘ Sovereign’s Duty, even while he was a Prisoner in his own (*q*) Kingdom.’ And so he was undoubtedly, even upon the Scaffold, to the last Moment of his Life. But then, why do you not admit his Son and Heir to have been the same, from the Moment of his Father’s Death? Especially when you grant, ‘ that in the Eye of the Law the King never ‘ (*r*) dies.’ Why truly, because he was *dispossess’d*. For, to you it seems *a Thing in a Manner self-evident*, ‘ That the most Rightful King, if dispossess’d of the Government, is plainly no longer our (*s*) Governor.’ One would think King *Charles I.* was as effectually *dispossess’d of the Government*, when he was not only a close Prisoner in the Power of his Enemies, but they had also, under the Name and Appearance of a *Parliament*, resolv’d to make *no more Addresses* to him, but

but to put him to Death as a Traytor: And yet, you are pleas'd to own him still to have been *King and Governor*. And tho' you will not own his Son and Heir under the same Characters, you must give me leave to put you in Mind, That the Law of the Land (which you seem to build so much upon in some other Cases) (t) is expressly against you; and in this very Case, adjudg'd, that he

E 4

was,

(t) In the 4th. Year of King *Edward III.* *Roger Mortimer*, Earl of *March*, was condemn'd and executed, as a *Traytor*, for the Murder of King *Edward II.* his *King and Leige Lord*, even after the said King was not only *dispossess'd*, but formally depos'd, and his Son *Edward III.* actually possessed of the Crown and Government; as is fully prov'd by the Parliament-Rolls, and other Authorities. (*Prynne's Plea for the Peers*, 1658, in 4^{to}. p. 275. 460. & 479.) And in the Parliament 21. *Richard II.* the Revocation of the Act for the two *Spencers* Restitution, in the Parliament 1. *Edward III.* was repeal'd, 'because made at such Time by King *Edward III.* as *Edward II.* his Father, being Very King, 'was living and imprison'd; so that he could not resist the 'same.' (*Ibid.* p. 460.) It is also resolv'd, both by our Statutes, Judges, Lawyers, over and over, ——— 'That 'so soon as the rightful Hereditary King dies, the Crown 'and Realm immediately descend unto, and are actually 'vested in the Person and Possession of the Right Heir, before 'either he be actually proclaim'd or crown'd King: And 'that it is High Treason, to attempt any thing against his 'Person or Royal Authority before his Coronation, because 'he is both King *de Jure*, and *de Facto* too.' (*Ibid.* 485.) Accordingly, in the Case of the *Regicides*, it was resolv'd, that the Indictment for the King's Murder should conclude, *Contra Pacem nuper Domini Regis, Coron. & Dignitat. suas; nec non contra Pacem Domini Regis nunc, Coron. & Dignitat. suas*: And it was likewise agreed, that tho' King *Charles II.* was *de Facto* kept out of the Exercise of the Kingly Office by Traytors and Rebels, yet he was King both *de Facto* and *de Jure*. (*Kelyng's Reports*, fol. 11. 15.)

was, all that while, *really our King and Governor*, as well *de Facto* as *de Jure*: And accordingly *Oliver* himself, your *Actual Governor*, as well as many of his wicked Agents and bloody Instruments, were fairly and solemnly attainted of High Treason, by a Parliament truly and properly so call'd; not such a Convention of rebellious *Miscreants* as those were, who thirsted for the Blood of their Sovereign, that they might make a Prey of his *Inheritance*! Can there be any Reason then to believe, that, in the Judgment of our Law, and of the Legislators themselves (those very Legislators who gave the last solemn Temporal Sanction to the then review'd *English Liturgy*) it could be *absurd* to apply to King *Charles II.* those Prayers for *our King and Governor*, as you represent it? No, Sir. It was universally agreed to have been their *Duty*: And accordingly, such of the Clergy, as had so done their Duty, at all Hazards, notwithstanding the pretended *Laws* to the contrary, have been ever since look'd upon and consider'd as glorious Confessors, by all who best understood, and most sincerely adher'd to the Principles of the Church of *England*.

Whether they were wont in those Days to *name* the King when they pray'd for him, I can't certainly affirm. But this we may venture to conclude, That if any of them did name any King or *Governor* in their Prayers,

Prayers, it was King *Charles*; whom alone they truly and honestly acknowledg'd to be the King and Governor, notwithstanding they saw the Usurper *Oliver* actually possess'd of the Exercise of Sovereignty, and in full Possession of the Government. And yet, according to your Principles here asserted, those pious, learned, and venerable Confessors, were all utterly ignorant of their Duty! For these are your own Words: 'When the War is at an End, Peace restor'd, and the Government in some sort settled, tho' an Usurper, a *Cromwell*, should then step into the Throne in Prejudice of another's Right, Mr. C. acknowledges, he cannot see but that That Person, as our Governor, is to be pray'd for; because he does not see, that the Higher Powers are to be excluded our Prayers, even tho' they be (*u*) Usurpers.' Your *Reasons for this extraordinary Opinion* shall be consider'd hereafter. In the mean time, I beg Leave to observe to you, Sir, that, whether they *nam'd* the Person they pray'd for, or not, they were plainly of an Opinion contrary to yours. For in their Use of the *English* Liturgy, 'tis certain they never pray'd for *Oliver* as being their *Actual Governor*. And yet, they could not but see, that, according to your Notion, *the War was at an End, Peace restor'd, and the Government in some*

sort

sort settled. But, forasmuch as they saw
an Usurper in the Throne, in Prejudice of ano-
ther's Right, they judged it their Duty to
 pray for him whose *Right* it was, and not for
 him who had so got the Possession. We all
 know the Truth of your own Observation,
 ' That in such troublesome and iniquitous
 ' Times, Men must do the best they can,
 ' but cannot always do what they would. --
 ' There are Times when neither Law
 ' nor Rules can be (x) observ'd.' And there-
 fore tis probable indeed, that those *prudent*
 Men, in that *evil Time*, not being at Liberty,
 without the utmost Hazard, to *observe* the
 very Letter of the *Law and Rules* for read-
 ing the Liturgy, might so far *keep Silence*, ac-
 cording to the Text you have there (y) cited,
 as to forbear to *name* their King or Governor.
 But perhaps you will say, if in so doing, they
did not intend and apply those Prayers to their
 then Actual Governor, *and all in Authority*
under him, tho' they did not name him, ' they
 ' were all vain Words, and an empty Sound ;
 ' in that Case they *pray'd* for No-body, and
 ' for (z) Nothing!' For this is your own
 Censure upon some, who, it seems, do not
 now *name* the King when they pray for
 him ; on a Supposition that they ' do not in-
 ' tend and apply those Prayers to King (a)
 ' George.' Upon which, tho' I am not so
 mad

mad as to make any Parallel between these two Cafes; yet, I cannot but think, your Manner of treating this Subject is apparently expos'd to divers Objections, which may be worthy of your farther and more serious Consideration. For, 1. Is *the King* to be thought *No-body*, and the praying for him *Nothing*, unless he is particularly *nam'd* in those Prayers? 2. Is not the common Suffrage, at the End of all Proclamations, only *God save the King*, without naming him? And is that understood to be *Nothing*, but *vain Words, and an empty Sound*? If so, how can the Judges, or even the Legislators themselves, escape your Reflection, for not having authoriz'd a more expressive and significant Form? 3. If such a Form is understood to be sufficient in the solemn Proceedings among Men, can it be less so in their Addresses to God? For he certainly knows who is *the King*, without being told his *Name*; and, if he is pleas'd to bless him, will do it as effectually as if he were expressly *nam'd* in their Prayers. 4. It seems hardly consistent with Christian Charity to suppose, that he who prays for *the King*, does not intend and apply those Prayers to him who really is the King. And moreover, 5. To start an Objection against such Prayers, may be deem'd an Insinuation, as if it were doubtful, whether the Prince actually reigning, is *really the King*; or whether there is some other more properly to be pray'd for

as such. So that upon the whole, whatever those who *do not name the King* in their Prayers may have to say in Defence of their Practice, you will probably find yourself disappointed of convincing their Judgment by such your Arguments; and may possibly meet with slow Returns of Thanks from others also, for starting such unseasonable Objections.

It is no less uneasy to me, than it will, I fear, be displeasing to you, that I dwell so long upon this Point: But, since you have heap'd so much of that Kind in my Way, I can't proceed without fairly endeavouring to remove it. — You call it *a Thing in a manner self-evident*, 'That the most Right-ful King, if dispossest'd of the Government, is plainly no longer our Governor;' and consequently *not to be pray'd for*, in the Terms of the *English Liturgy* (b) *as such*. But now, supposing that some of your Neighbours (whether your own Relations or not, 'tis all one, unless for the greater Aggravation) had by Force or Artifice made an Entry upon your House, seduc'd some of your Family, and overpower'd the rest, and in short, had utterly *dispossest'd* you, and shut your own Doors against you; Would it not, in like manner, be *self-evident*, that you are therefore *plainly no longer* Master of the House, because
you

you are *dispossess'd*, and do not actually *govern* it? Be pleas'd, Sir, to lay your Hand upon your Heart, and consider this coolly: And then oblige the World with your Resolution of this single Question, Whether you think in your Conscience, that any one could fairly *vindicate the Lawfulness and Duty* of your Children and Servants, not only resisting you themselves, but *praying for the present* Master of the House, in Opposition to you who *have an undoubted Right* to it? — I put the Case to you thus, the rather because, as you observe, in Disputes about Matters of Government, as well as of Religion, ' Men
' of all Sides have pretended Conscience, to
' which Passion, Prejudice, and false Princi-
' ples, more than Truth and Reason, have
' too often given the (c) Direction;' to which you add a heavy Complaint of *the Obstinate*, whom no Man can hope to *convince*, were *his Reasons as clear as the (d) Sun!* The Truth of this your Observation I am so far from disputing, that the more I read of this kind, the more I am convinc'd of it. But then, I can't but wonder also the more, that a Gentleman of your Learning and Experience (to make bold with your own Phrase) should *be so vain, as to imagine, that you can convince* such Men with these *Reasons*, which, even to me, your Friend, do not seem to be quite

(c) Page 27.

(d) *Ibid*

quite so *clear as the Sun!* But when you are pleas'd to answer the Query, as I have taken the friendly Freedom here to put it to you, I am charitably perswaded, that *Passion, Prejudice, and false Principles*, will soon give way to *Truth and Reason*.

In the mean time you own, That ' the
 ' Event or Success does not always declare
 ' the Right and Justice of the Cause, nor ex-
 ' tinguish the Claim of other (e) Pretenders.'
 And how then can we know when it does so,
 and when not? For, on this Concession, there
 is no Regard at all to be had to the *Event or*
Success. Yes, you say, ' It certainly deter-
 ' mines the Possession, and secures the Power
 ' and (f) Dominion.' But, Sir, how can
the Possession be *certainly determin'd*, while the
 Right is controverted, and a Suit depending?
 Or how can *the Power and Dominion* be said
 to be *secur'd* to the *Possessor* by *the Event or*
Success, before the Suit is quite determin'd?
 No otherwise surely, than the intruding Pos-
 sessor of your House, (in the Case last sup-
 pos'd) can be *secur'd* in the Mastership and
 Government thereof, tho' he knows not how
 soon he may, by a legal Determination, be
 forc'd to quit his ill-gotten Power and Domi-
 nion, and be justly punish'd for his Usurpa-
 tion of it. You say indeed, very truly, ' The
 ' quiet and peaceable Possession of Power
 ' and

(e) Page 27.

(f) *Ibid.*

‘ and Dominion, the Dispute ended, determines the Subjects Acknowledgment and (g) Submission.’ But to conclude from thence, that *the Subjects Acknowledgment and Submission is determin’d*, while the *Possession is not quiet and peacable*, and before *the Dispute is ended*, is what you would be far from allowing, in a Disputant of the lowest Form in the Logic-Schools! And to talk of *Events and Success, Determination and Security, Quiet and peacable Possession, and Disputes ended*, while an Appeal to the Supreme Court is still depending, and the Event and Success lies absolutely in the Breast of a Judge, who has not yet declar’d his final Sentence, is plainly to beg the Question, and presumptuously to pronounce without Authority! Neither is it true, ‘ that the Possession and Acknowledgment determine the Person for whom we are to pray as our King and (b) Governor.’ They *determine the Person* indeed, who has it in his Power to punish and persecute those who scruple to comply with his Commands, how arbitrary or unreasonable soever: But they do not in the least *determine* either the Right on the one Side to command, or the Duty on the other to obey. — You may possibly find Arguments of this Kind, to prove to you *the Benefit of praying for all Actual Governors*; but, however easy you may

may think it, you must strain them very hard, to convince any Man's scrupulous Conscience, of the *Lawfulness and Duty* of so doing. For tho' you are pleas'd to say, ' Let him
' keep his Conscience clear as to the Righte-
' ousness of his own Actions, and it need
' never be troubled about the Righteousness
' of his Prince's Title; for that no way con-
' cerns him, but the Prince himself; his Con-
' science must answer for that, and not the
' (i) Subject's.' Yet, surely, he can never think himself quite *unconcern'd*, in such a Case as is here suppos'd, while he is call'd upon to make himself a Party, by such solemn Acts as Oaths or Prayers: And, if he shall be so ill-advis'd in the Question, as to partake with the wrong Side (which he runs the utmost Hazard of doing, if he follows your Advice, *not to trouble* himself about the Merits of the Cause) I hope, you will not deny, that, in so doing, he must *answer for that*, as well as the *other*, whose unrighteous Cause he asserts, and whose *Sins* he is so far a *Partaker of*.

You are very angry with your Remarker, for saying that your ' Scheme, at Bottom, tho'
' gilded over in other Words, is, That Possession gives Right, and that Right without
' Possession is good for (k) Nothing.' This you call a *Mistake*, and *putting false Colours upon*

(i) Page 27 & 28.

(k) Page 28.

upon Things! And, in order to *set them in a true Light*, you grant, 1. ‘ That if those ‘ Words had been found in the Sermon, or ‘ any Sentence equivalent to it, or which did ‘ fairly infer it, the Charge had been (a) just.’ Now, whether your *Sermon* had any thing to warrant this Charge, or not, I am not concern’d to enquire. But surely, your Remarker had, at least, a good guess at your *Scheme*; since, whatever was *at the Bottom* there, we find it here come up to the Top, and boiling over. Instances are so numerous, almost in every Page of this your *Vindication*, of *Sentences equivalent* to what is here *charg’d*, or such as must be understood *fairly to infer it*, that I need not point them out to the Reader. Some of these I have already taken Notice of; and others will fall in my Way as I proceed. However, I may observe here, once for all, that I do not meet with any thing material of that kind, but what has formerly been substantially confuted; and particularly in the several Answers to Dr. *Sherlock*, and Dr. *Higden*, &c. whose Steps you are nevertheless content to follow in the same worn-out Path. 2. You say, ‘ The Subject of the Sermon was not ‘ concerning the Rights of Princes at (b) all.’ And the same may be said of this *Vindication* of it also, in some Sense; because it does

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(a) Page 29.

(b) *Ibid.*

not seem to have regard to any other *Rights* but that of mere *Possession*, or *actual Government*, which in Truth is *no Right at all*.

3. You say, ‘ The Right or Title which any Person has to a Crown, and the Right which the Possessor of that Crown has to the Subjects Duty, are two distinct (c) Things.’ But what *Right* has any Possessor of a Crown *to the Subjects Duty*, other than by Virtue of the Right or Title which he has *to the Crown* itself? Few of your Readers are so well acquainted with Metaphysical Subtleties, as to think these to be *different Subjects* or distinct Things: And therefore they will generally take it for a *just Inference*, that he who has not a *Right to the Crown*, cannot have a *Right to the Subjects Duty*; and may be apt to think, that to insinuate as if meer *Possession* gave a Right, may one Time or other, open a Way to infer a Right to the Crown in the Person who actually keeps it in the Tower, or even in *Blood* who stole it from thence! You observe indeed, ‘ that with the first of these Rights, viz. That of any Person to a Crown, neither the Gospel in general, nor St. *Paul* in particular, ever (d) meddle:’ And elsewhere, ‘ that the Gospel neither enlarges nor diminishes any Superior’s Power; neither adds to, nor takes away from any Inferior’s

(c) Page 29.

(d) *Ibid.*

or's Right: In these Cases it only confirms
 and explains the Obligations of Nature,
 and inforces the Practice of the respective
 Duties with stronger and more powerful
 (e) Motives.' But now, where you affirm,
 that the last of them, viz. The Right
 which the Possessor has to the Subjects
 Duty, they (that is, the Gospel in general,
 and St. Paul in particular) fully assert, and
 bind upon all (f) Christians; it cannot be
 true, that they assert and enjoin a Duty to
 mere Possession alone, without any other Right
 or Title; which would be a manifest Altera-
 tion and Diminution of the Rights and Obli-
 gations arising from the Law of Nature, as
 well as from the Law of God in the Old
 Testament. For if you look over that whole
 Code, you will never find the least Authority
 therein, to warrant this Principle, that mere
 Possession alone gives a Right to the Subjects
 Duty; but enough to prove the contrary:
 Witness the known Cases of Abimelech, Ab-
 salom, Sheba, and Athaliah; to which, if you
 please, we may add those of Shallum, Mena-
 hem, Pekabiah, Pekah, and Hoshea; since
 none of these five last, as you confess, had
 any Right or Title to the Kingdom of
 Israel, any more than Cromwell had to the
 Crown of (g) Great Britain; and yet you
 cannot deny, that all of them had the Pos-

session and *actual Government*. 4. It will be as hard, to maintain that Principle by the Laws of the Land, as by those of God and Nature. For, ‘ tho’, in some Cases, Possession gives (*b*) Right ;’ yet, that is only allow’d till a better Right is duly made out. And as to what you add, ‘ That no Right ‘ in another Person shall bar a King in Possession, from all that which he claims by ‘ Virtue of that (*i*) Possession;’ every one knows, tis only because the other may want the Argument of Power, to support his *Right* in Bar to that of *Possession*: But it is not the Consideration of Fact, or actual Possession, but that of Right, by which Men are to be directed in a Case of Conscience. And 5. ‘ As to the just Right and Title of the present Possessor to the Crown of these (*k*) ‘ Realms,’ I suppose, you will not presume to put it upon the precarious Issue of a mere *Possession* against apparent Right! And unless you do this, it is more artfully than pertinently mention’d in this Question. But I must beg Leave to admonish you of a great Mistake in Law, where you call the *Solemnity* of *Coronation*, which is but a (*l*) *Ceremony*, ‘ an Evidence of the Right, as well as ‘ of the (*m*) Possession.’ To which I shall only add, that if such Arguments as you have

(*b*) Page 30.(*i*) *Ibid.*(*k*) *Ibid.*(*l*) See the Note on p. 53, and 55.(*m*) Page 30.

have here alledg'd, are to *set Things in a true Light*, the best of our *Law-books* may be call'd *Dark-Lanthorns!*

You are pleas'd to say, That *Crowns* ' have no such unalienable Property inherent ' to them as private Estates have. They are ' of the same Nature as other Places of ' Trust and Power; tho' they be of a higher ' Eminency, because they themselves are the ' (n) highest.' — That the *Crown*, or Kingly State, is an Office, or *Place of Trust*, is, I know, a favorite Notion of those who are of a Republican Spirit, and disaffected to Monarchy: But for you, Sir, who seem to triumph in your *Acquaintance* (o) with the *Law-books*, to assert the same, is somewhat amazing; since the most eminent Fathers in that Faculty have taught us the contrary. — If you call it a *Place of Trust*, only because ' Kings themselves hold their Crowns and ' Kingdoms of the Majesty of Heaven, by ' no other Tenure than *Durante Beneplacito*, ' or *Quamdiu bene Se* (p) *gesserint*,' I shall not dispute that Point: But then, what will that avail you, as to the *Alienability* thereof? The most zealous Assertors of the Divine Right of Monarchy do agree with you, that *Kings hold their Crowns and Kingdoms of God*: And there is no Doubt, but ' he may turn them ' out at his Pleasure, and put others in their ' (q) Room.' But, the Question is not about

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what

(n) Page 31. (o) Page 30. (p) Page 32. (q) *Ibid.*

what *God* himself may do with these his Vicegerents; but, whether any other Powers, and particularly their own Subjects, have a sufficient Authority to do the like? Especially in such Hereditary Kingdoms as I have before suppos'd. — To argue, that because *God* can do this, therefore their own Subjects may do it, would be a strange Absurdity, in one who, every Day, does solemnly acknowledge Almighty *God* to be *the only Ruler of Princes!* And whatever has here dropped from your Pen tending to such a Conclusion, cannot easily be made consistent either with our (r) Laws, or even with your own Concessions.

For, since *the King himself is the (s) Highest*, and even *the High Court of Parliament, assembled by and under him*, as well as *all the Judges and Magistrates, who act in their several Stations by Commission from him*, 'are all Parts of the Administration and Government depending upon (t) him;' it will not be an easy Task for you, to convince the Conscience of any plain rational Man, that any,

(r) By the *Act for the Attainder of the Regicides*, 12 *Car.* ii. c. 30. 'It is declar'd, that, by the undoubted and Fundamental Laws of this Kingdom, neither the Peers of this Realm, nor the Commons, nor both together, in Parliament or out of Parliament, nor the People collectively or representatively, nor any other Persons whatsoever, ever had, have, hath, or ought to have, any Coercive Power over the Persons of the Kings of this Realm.'

(s) Page 31.

(t) Page 24.

any, or all these together, have a sufficient Authority *to turn out the King*, by and under whom alone they are to act in their several Stations, *and to put another in his (u) Room*: Nor will you consequently be able to prove it the *Duty* of the Subjects, in such a Case, to *pray for* that other so set up, in Opposition to him who is so *turn'd out*! —

As to your Observation, concerning *the Law or Rule, which determines in private (x) Property*, with Submission, Sir, tis foreign to the Purpose. For, tho' 'when the Judges determine the Right to be in one preferably to another, whether justly or not, that Person shall take Possession of the Estate, shall receive the (y) Rents, &c.' does it therefore follow, that in the Case of the Crown, mere Possession alone, without any such *Determination of the Right* by any superior Judges, shall entitle the Possessor to 'all that is due from the Subjects to the (z) Crown?' Surely, Sir, there is a wide Difference between a Determination of *private Rights*, by the known proper Judges, declar'd and pronounc'd in open Court, in the ordinary Legal Course of Proceedings, and such a Determination of *Sovereign Rights*, as you here contend for, without any other Proof but that of precarious and doubtful *Events*; which are nei-

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(u) See the Notes on p. 7, 8, and 70.

(x) Page 32.

(y) *Ibid.*

(z) Page 33.

ther a certain Indication of God's Will, nor of the Justice of the successful (a) Cause. So that, how much soever you may contemn *the Remarker*, as *understanding very little of the Nature of (b) Government*, he may yet be allow'd to *imagine*, that there is, at least, 'the same Right to Crowns as to private Estates;' and to conclude, that a *Principle*, which is *not at all tolerable in private Life*, can hardly be *honourable* with respect to Sovereign (c) Rights, on which those of the Subject do so much (d) depend. But, where you speak of Subjects conveying their Estates 'to what Uses they think fit, so as the Public be not injur'd thereby; for the public Good shall controul their private Pro-

(a) 'The Justice and Righteousness of our Cause will not always secure us of Success: For those who have a very just Cause may deserve to be punish'd; and then God may justly punish them, and deliver them into the Hands of their Enemies. God does not always determine what is right and wrong by the Events of War: For he is the Sovereign Judge of the World, and may punish a wicked Nation by unjust Oppressors; as he often did the *Israelites*.' (Dr. Sherlock's Sermon the 17th. of June, 1691. 4to. p. 25.) (b) Page 31. (c) *Ibid*.

(d) The three Estates in Parliament acknowledge, that upon *the perfect Surety of the King's Lawful Succession and Heirs*, 'dependeth all our Joy and Wealth, &c.' (Stat. 25 Henry VIII. c. 22.) And that in the King's 'Honour and Happiness consists the Good and Welfare of his People.' (Stat. 13 Car. II. c. 1.) Agreeably to which, it is well observ'd by Dr. Chandler, now Bishop of Durham, 'That *the King* has at least the same Right with every private Person; and a *much greater Right*, as he sustains the Person and Fortunes of every private Man in that Community.' (Sermon the 7th. of June, 1716. 8vo. p. 11.)

‘ Property or (e) Disposition;’ you seem to have quite forgot the *Salvo Jure Coronæ*, so common in Grants and Conveyances, and other Legal Acts, to save the Rights of the Crown, and secure the Property of the (f) King: And again, when you are upon this Parallel, as to the *Determination* of public and private Rights, and yet do suppose, that the *Judges* may, in some Cases, *determine* (g) *unjustly*, it is very strange Casuistry, to teach, that we are, in such a Case, *bound in Duty and Conscience*, to assert and maintain the Party in Possession, under such an *unjust* Sentence; only because the Party injur’d has not any Means left him to come at his Right, of which he is so *unjustly* dispossessed! Thus also you are pleas’d to say, ‘ That Honour, ‘ Tribute, Custom, Prayers, Allegiance, Defence, are all due to the King in Possession, ‘ and by Virtue of his (b) Possession.’ — But your Readers will not be convinc’d of that, without sufficient Proofs: Especially those

(e) Page 31. (f) By Statute, 17 *Edward II. A. D. 1324.* it is enacted, ‘ That when a Freeman shall do ‘ Homage to his Lord, of whom he holdeth in Chief, he ‘ shall hold his Hands together, between the Hands of his ‘ Lord, and shall say thus; I become your Man from this ‘ Day forth, for Life, for Member, and for worldly Honour, ‘ and shall owe you my Faith, for the Lands that I hold of ‘ you; *saving the Faith that I owe unto our Lord the King,* ‘ and to mine other Lords.’ And in other good Authorities, we have this *Salvo* thus express’d; ‘ *saving the Faith I owe ‘ unto our Sovereign Lord the King and his Heirs.*’ (*Prynne’s Plea for the Lords, 1658. 4to. p. 459.*)

(g) Page 32.

(b) Page 33.

those who have had the Opportunity of duly considering *the Case of Allegiance to a King in Possession*, and the *Defence* thereof; Books, which, you know, have been many Years in Print, and perhaps may require a better Answer than they have hitherto met with. Whatever Advantage you may therefore flatter yourself with having gain'd over your *Remarker*, there seems to be somewhat in his Objections against this Doctrine, which will not allow you an easy Conquest, however you may triumph in your own Opinion of it. According to your Notions here advanc'd, we may as easily inform ourselves who is our King, and to whom we are bound in Conscience to pay our Duty of Allegiance, &c. as we can, by looking up to the Weather-Cock, upon St. *Paul's* Chapel in *Aberdeen*, discover which Way the Wind blows! — But, whether this be really a *subverting all Principles*, or 'settling the Matter in Question upon right Principles, and its true (i) Foundation;' a *resolving all into Fear and Force*, or 'resolving them by Truth and (k) Reason;' a *playing fast and loose with all Governments*, or the Way 'to make us uniform and fixed in our Obedience and (l) Duty, &c.' must be left to the impartial and disinterested Readers to judge between you: Tho' I may venture to pronounce,

(i) Page 34.

(k) *Ibid.*(l) *Ibid.*

nounce, that all such will soon be convinc'd, at least, of the Truth of your Observation, ' that false Principles, and wrong Notions, ' unavoidably involve Men into Inconsisten- ' cies, Contradictions, and Absurdities; of ' which *one of you* has given us several In- ' stances in this small (*m*) Performance.'

And here you take Occasion to speak of *the Tendency of Principles*, and to condemn such as are maintain'd by *the Remarker*, and those of his Opinion, as *naturally tending* ' to establish Arbitrary Power or Tyranny ' in the King, and Slavery in the People; — ' to make no Distinction between Right and ' Wrong, Just and Unjust, Good and Evil; ' but to resolve all into a blind Obedience, ' a slavish and sneaking Compliance to the ' Will of the Prince; and so to play fast and ' loose with the Laws of God, and the Laws ' of the (*n*) Land, &c.' Which of their Principles this Reflection is aim'd at, you do not tell us. If you mean these, That *Sub- jecti- on* and Obedience are due to *Rightful* Sovereigns, and that for *Conscience* Sake; That Prayers are to be made also for the same; That, in order to know whom we are to obey, and pray for, tis necessary to *ex- amine*, in Case of a disputed Claim, on which Side the *Right* lies; That in all such Cases, *Authority* is to be more regarded than Power, *Right*

(*m*) Page 35.(*n*) *Ibid.*

Right more than Possession, and the *Justice* of the Cause more than Success, &c. And, if such Principles are either plainly taught in, or fairly inferr'd from the Laws of God and Nature, as well as the Laws of the Land (as the most eminent Divines, Lawyers, and Casuists agree them to be) your Reflection must reach to a much bolder Height than to the Remarker, and at last recoil upon your own Head. — But, where you mention their *making no Distinction between Right and Wrong*, &c. when, at the same Time, in your main Controversy with them, you represent them as too nice and scrupulous in making that Distinction, there is such an Absurdity and Contradiction, as is hardly to be match'd; unless it be with what follows; where you upbraid them with a *slavish and sneaking Compliance*, who suffer the Loss of their All but Conscience, for their not being so very *complying* as yourself!

Another of your Reflections is, ‘ That
 ‘ they adhere obstinately to Titles long ago
 ‘ extinguish’d, and which subsist no (o)
 ‘ more.’ Now, you might have remember’d
 your own Concession, ‘ That the Event or
 ‘ Success does not always declare the Right
 ‘ and Justice of the Cause, nor extinguish
 ‘ the Claim of other (p) Pretenders.’ But
 you explain your Meaning, where you tell
 us,

(o) Page 35 and 36.

(p) Page 27.

us, ' Whatever Right there may have been
 ' in others, on Account of Proximity of
 ' Blood, they —— are, by the present Laws
 ' and Constitution, excluded, their Right
 ' extinguish'd, and subsisting no (*q*) longer.'
 And what is this, but to tell us, as is after-
 wards plainly confess'd, ' that formerly Pro-
 ' ximity of Blood was the undoubted Right
 ' by (*r*) Law;' but that now the *Constitution*
is alter'd, in a Fundamental Point; which
 elsewhere you have positively (*s*) deny'd? So
 that what you here offer, against those whom
 you charge with *Obstinacy*, must either prove,
 that the Constitution is not alter'd, and con-
 sequently that the *former Right* is still *sub-*
sisting, and not *extinguish'd*; or else, that
 you impose a downright Contradiction upon
 them, which is not a likely Way to convince
 them.

Your *Remarker* objected, that, by this
 your *new Doctrine*, ' we must strike in with
 ' all Changes and Chances.' To which you
 reply, ' And, pray, why may we not, if it
 ' be lawful and (*t*) necessary?' — But, I
 pray you, Sir, who is to judge whether it is
lawful and necessary, or not? If the Powers
 actually in being are always to judge of it,
 then it was equally the Subjects Duty to
strike in with all the Changes and Chances con-
 sequent upon the Rebellion against and Mur-
 der

der of King *Charles* I. For then, you know, those Powers did gravely, and with equal Assurance, pronounce all their Proceedings to be *lawful and necessary*! And yet, you cannot deny, that the whole Course of their Proceedings were an open Violation of all *Law*; and that they had no Pretence of *Necessity*, but what they had brought upon themselves, to disguise and defend one wicked Act by another. — But if the Subjects were at Liberty to judge of it, as tis well known all did but those who were engag'd in the Faction, then why may they not judge in one Case as well as another? And what is there in all your Expostulation on this Subject, but what might have been urg'd by the Advocates of those Times, even while they themselves were endeavouring to *stop the Course of Nature, &c.* for *striking in with all the Changes and Chances* during that Usurpation? For might not any of them have argu'd, as you do, ' What Inconsistency, Contradiction, or Absurdity is there in so doing? ' Have we Power to stop the Course of Nature, or to fix Things immutably to our ' Schemes or Ways of Thinking? Have not ' Changes and Revolutions happen'd in ' States and Kingdoms, in all Ages and ' Countries? And must we beat our Heads ' against the Wall, because Things continue ' not as we would have them? Where is the ' Wisdom or Reason in so doing? Or, what ' Law

' Law of God or Man obliges us so to do?
 ' Do we, or the Almighty, govern the
 ' World? And whose Will must take Place,
 ' His or ours? Is it not said expressly, That He
 ' *changeth the Times and the Seasons?* And is
 ' it not our Duty and our Wisdom, to ac-
 ' quiesce and submit to that Change which
 ' His Providence brings (*u*) about?' &c. At
 this rate, People need not to have any Re-
 gard at all to Authority, but are only to have
 Respect to mere Power! Nay, Justice itself
 will be quite out of the Question, if we are
 to look upon every *Change and Revolution*
that happens in Government, as the immedi-
 ate Work of God, and done according to his
 Holy Will! And, if so, every successful Rebel
 and audacious Usurper may justify himself
 as God's immediate Instrument, whom *he*
hath decreed to reign over (*x*) *us!* Surely, Sir,
 this is launching out into such a Latitude of
 Principle, as on more cool and mature Consi-
 deration, you must be convinc'd, will expose
 the Assertor to a much more severe Censure
 than I am willing to pass upon it. I am per-
 suaded, if ever your Remarker himself shall
 be dispos'd to reply to this your Vindication,
 he will not fail to shew, that there is some
Inconsistency, Contradiction, or Absurdity in
striking in with all Changes and Chances!
 That not he, and those of his Opinion, who
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(u) Page 36.

(x) Page 37.

are for having Things run in their Natural Course, but those who are *given to change*, do pretend to the *Power to stop the Course of Nature*, &c. That the Phrase of *Changes and Revolutions happening*, sounds too much according to the Heathen Notion of *Fate*, or *Fortune*, to consist with the Doctrine of Divine Providence! That *beating their Heads against the Wall*, is more properly applicable to active Zealots, than to those whose Principles are always passive under Authority! That *the Wisdom of this World* is indeed but *Foolishness*! That since *the Almighty governs the World*, he needeth not any Man's Wick- edness to bring his Purposes to pass, &c. For thus we may hear your Opponents every where remarking, upon the Comparison which you are pleas'd to make between their Case and that of the *Jews*; wherein, indeed, you have given them no small Advantage against you, since the *Jews* were expressly command- ed by God to submit to the King of *Babylon*; whereas those whom you here so sarcastically reflect upon, do not appear to have yet receiv'd any such Divine Command; and there- fore think you very uncharitable, in insinu- ating, as if they *follow the Example* of those *Jews*, and are 'as obstinate as they (*y*) were!' Nor do they think you less unhappy in the Application of some of the Texts of Scrip- ture

ture which you have occasionally quoted. For, say they, How can we be obnoxious to the Censure of *meddling with them that are given to change*, while we remain fix'd upon the old Principles, and cannot yet be persuaded to *strike in with all Changes* to which we have been so much tempted both by Arguments and Example?

And, for the same Reason, they likewise deem it an Absurdity in you to compare them to 'an obstinate Pilot, that will needs sail to the Port he had in (a) view, &c.' Whereas they look upon themselves as more properly to resemble a wise Merchant, who resolves to remain in a safe *Port* (the *Port* of old Principles, once common to us all) and will not venture out with every *Wind*, and in all *Weathers*, for Fear of 'sinking himself, his Ship, and (b) Crew!'

The Series of your Vindication leads me next to consider the Proposition, 'that *Protection and Allegiance are reciprocal*;' which you are pleas'd to affirm, as a Maxim, 'not with you only, but with all Men who understand Reason and the Nature of (c) Things.' In support of which you argue thus; 'Are not all relative Duties reciprocal? The Duties of Husband and Wife, of Parents and Children, of Masters and Servants, of Pastors and People, of Superiors and Inferiors,

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and

(a) Page 38.

(b) *Ibid.*

(c) Page 39.

‘ and so of Kings and Subjects, are all reci-
 ‘ procal. He that dischargeth his relative
 ‘ Duty, is intitled to the reciprocal Duty in
 ‘ (d) return.’ — But is he not *intitled* to
 it unless he *discharges* his own Duty? Or is
 the *Duty* void on the one Part, if it is not
 duly discharg’d on the other? This, Sir, is
 the Question: And this is what you are to
 prove, if you say any thing material and per-
 tinent to the Purpose. But, surely, you will
 not take upon you to maintain, that if the
Husband, or *Father*, fails in his relative Duty,
 the *Wife*, or *Children*, are thereupon dis-
 charg’d of theirs: For, at that rate, their Re-
 lation itself must, *ipso facto*, cease; and the
 one continue no longer a *Father*, nor the
 other an *Husband*; than which there can’t
 be any thing more inconsistent with *Reason*
and the Nature of Things. But if we look
 into Revelation, or even into the Laws of
 our own Land, we find this Point clearly
 determin’d against you. For, however the
 Superior may happen to fail in his Duty, the
 Wife is nevertheless bound to obey and sub-
 mit herself unto her Husband, the Children
 to their Parents, and the Servants to their
 Masters. Thus, *Wives* are commanded to
submit themselves, and be in Subjection to their
own Husbands, as unto the Lord, in every
thing; even tho’ their Husbands be so wick-
 ed,

ed, as *not to obey the Word of (e) God*; *Children to obey their Parents in all (f) Things*; and *Servants to count their own Masters worthy of all Honour*; and to be obedient to them, in all Things, with *Fear and Trembling, in Singleness of Heart, as unto (g) Christ*: And all this too, *not only to the good and gentle, but also to the (h) froward*. Now, Sir, if there is an Analogy between these several Relations and that of a King and his Subjects, as your own Argument supposes, we may from thence alone conclude, that the Duty of *Allegiance* does indispensably oblige the Subjects to their own Sovereign, even tho' he shall fail in his *Protection* towards them. But we need not to rest in such Analogical Conclusions, since the express Word of God has directly commanded *every Soul to be subject to the higher Powers, not only for Wrath, but also for (i) Conscience-sake*; and that without any Distinction as to *Protection*, or even as to their Religion or Morals: For, I need not to put you in Mind of your own Remark, that this very Injunction was given by St. *Paul* to the Christian Subjects of *Nero*, a notorious Idolater and persecuting Tyrant. Agreeable to which is the Doctrine of our own Laws; of which I beg Leave to lay be-

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(e) *Ephesians* v. 22, 24, 33. *Colossians* iii. 18. & *1. Peter* iii. 1, &c.

(f) *Ephesians* vi. 1. & *Colossians* iii. 18.

(g) *Ephesians* vi. 5. *Colossians* iii. 22. & *1. Timothy* vi. 1.

(h) *1. Peter* ii. 18.

(i) *Romans* xiii. 5, &c.

fore you a Specimen [APPENDIX N^o. iii.] notwithstanding you value yourself upon your Acquaintance with our *Law-books*: Wherein you may not only find a clear Distinction, between such a *Local Allegiance* as is due on Account of *Protection*, which you seem to build your Doctrine upon, and the *Natural Allegiance* which is due by *Birth* from every Subject to his Natural Sovereign, which you do not seem yet to have a right Notion of; but also many other remarkable Points solemnly adjudg'd, directly contrary to divers of your Opinions here laid down for Law: Which will not only *shew* you *palpably mistaken in these Things*, but ' may serve ' to make *you* more cautious, and less positive, in others;' as you say of your (*k*) Opponents. — Nay, the Proofs here produced are fairly confirm'd, even by your own Father, in his *Letter to a Friend*, which you have here subjoin'd to your *Vindication*: Wherein he agrees, ' That Allegiance is due ' to both good and bad Kings; for both are ' of God: Even as Wives, Children and Servants ought to do their several Duties, tho' ' the particular Behaviour of Husbands, Parents and Masters do not much encourage ' it: For no Misdemeanour of others can ' cancel the Obligation to obey (*l*) God.' And now, Sir, 'tis to be hop'd, that you will
not

not insist, that *Protection and Allegiance are reciprocal*, since these Authorities may convince you, 'that all Men who understand Reason and the Nature of (*m*) Things,' are not of your Opinion!

Another Argument you offer, 'That we certainly owe a Duty where we reap a Benefit; according to that known Maxim, *Omne Beneficium postulat (n) Officium.*' 'Tis true indeed, every Benefit receiv'd obliges to a Duty in return: But still that Duty is not to be extended beyond its proper Limits. For, after you have urg'd it to the utmost, you can't say, that any Benefit receiv'd can oblige us to a Duty out of our own Power, or to the Prejudice of another Person's Right. And therefore your Inference drawn from hence will come as far short of the End for which you produce it, as the former have done: For thus, what you say of a double Obligation to the Duty enjoin'd in the Text, (*viz.* 1. 'That under them we may lead quiet and peaceable Lives, (*o*) &c.' And, 2. 'In return for those Benefits we actually do enjoy under (*p*) them;') may be briefly refuted, by observing, that the former of these can't reasonably be expected, nor faithfully be pray'd for, where the Actual Governor has only the Power, in Opposition to apparent Right and Authority; and that the latter

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ter can't warrant, and much less lay us under any *Obligation* of Gratitude, to transfer our Allegiance, and offer up our solemn Prayers and Thanksgiving for such an one, as our King and Governour, in Prejudice of a Third Person: For, even by your own Confession, ' we are bound to the Duties of Justice ----- ' &c. tho' we should reap no temporal Benefit by them; tho' Men should repay us ' with Hatred for our (q) Good-will.' If I do therefore the more briefly pass over a great part of what you have added to this and the like Purpose, it is not that I look upon it to be unanswerable, much less by way of *Concession*, as if I had nothing to object against it (on which Supposition you are pleas'd to triumph over your *Remarker* with your *Maxims* in *Logic* and (r) *Law*) but only because a few Words are enough, where the Subject does not need an Enlargement, and the Foundation being thus shaken, your Superstructure must fall of course. I must not however leave your Reader to be led away into an Error, by what you build so much upon; ' *the End of Government*, and the ' Reason why Dominion and Power is given ' unto Men.' You are pleas'd to say, ' It is ' not for their own Sakes, but for the People's, that such Power is committed unto ' (s) them.' As if the *People's* Safety were the

(q) Page 40.

(r) Page 46, 47.

(s) Page 40, 41.

the sole and principal End of its Institution (t). But this is a very great and dangerous Mistake. — Neither is that Phrase which you make Use of, concerning *a Moral (u) Incapacity*, so clear to the Understanding of all your Readers, as not to admit of some Exception or Doubt. You do not here indeed tell us what you mean by it: But, if it be a Difference in Religion only, as we

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may

(t) ‘ This which is commonly affirm’d, that the End of Government is the Good of the Inferiors, must be understood *cum Grano Salis*. For, from this Principle misunderstood, some have collected, that, because the End is above the Means, and more noble, therefore Subjects are above their Governors, and so may call them to an Account for their Misgovernment, and judge or punish them, and remove them if they see Cause; from which false Collecti- ons, made by seditious and turbulent Persons, infinite Trou- bles, Confusions, Rebellions and Desolations have follow- ed. We must know therefore, 1. That to procure the Good of Inferiors is indeed the Duty of Superiors, and *one End* why God committed the People to them; but *not the sole* or principal End of their Authority. For Princes receive their Power only from God, and are by him con- stituted and intrusted with Government of others, *chiefly for his own Glory and Honour*, as his Deputies and Vicegerents upon Earth; for they are *His Ministers*, *Romans* xiii. So that *the principal End* of their Government is the Advance- ment of *God’s Honour*, who is the Supreme King and Lord of all the World: And therefore, if they fail in Perfor- mance of *this Trust*, they are *accountable only to Him who intrusted them*; and not to the People, whom he hath put under them, and whom he never authoriz’d to call them to Account, but to appeal only to him. 2. It is not generally true, that all Government is only for the Benefit of those that are govern’d. For some Government there is merely for the Benefit of the Superior; as that of a Lord or Mas- ter over his Servants, &c.’ (Bishop *Andrews* on the Com- mandments 1650. *fol.* 331.) (u) Page 52.

may gather from other Passages, it may be thought somewhat improper to call that a *Moral Incapacity*, and no less absurd to make it a Bar to suppos'd Natural Rights. For, at this Rate, every Fanatical Sect, when powerful enough, may pronounce an orthodox Churchman *morally incapable* of governing them; even as Christianity itself has been formerly construed a *Moral Incapacity*, among the unconverted Heathens in *Bulgaria*. But, till we can find out such an *Incapacity* in the Laws of God and Nature, the fairer Way would be to call it a Legal Incapacity, and to rest it wholly on *the present Laws and Constitution*, and the Principles of human Policy, which have not always been (x) infallible.

The next Thing material, and not yet taken Notice of, is where, having *acknowledg'd* that *this is an Hereditary Kingdom*, you go on thus; ——— ‘ But what then? Because a
 ‘ Kingdom is Hereditary, must the Crown
 ‘ necessarily and unalterably, descend always to
 ‘ the eldest Son, or the next immediate Heir?
 ‘ Or if a more remote is exalted to the
 ‘ Throne, is not his Title right and good?
 ‘ No such (y) thing.’ ’Tis well you have answer'd your own Objection; and that too, with such an Air of Positiveness, as might not have been well taken from a Person less
 ac-

(x) See the *Appendix*, No. iv.

(y) Page 52.

acquainted with *Law-books* and the *Nature of Government*, than yourself. For my own Part, I might possibly have been of a different Opinion, as many wiser Men may be; especially on the Credit of such Authorities as you will find (z) in the APPENDIX. — However, this I may venture to say, That, in such a Country as I have herein before (a) suppos'd, it would be thought very strange, if the Crown did not *descend always to the eldest Son, or the next immediate Heir*, before all those who were *more remote*! For might it not be a reasonable Matter of Doubt, in such a Case, who could have a sufficient Authority to make such an *Alteration* in the Ordinary and Natural Course of Descent? — If it be said, The People, either collectively or representatively; would not that look like the inverting the Nature of Things, and setting up the Subjects above their Natural Sovereign, which is a downright Contradiction in Terms? And then, *if a more remote* should be *exalted to the Throne*, before, and in Opposition to *the next immediate Heir*, might there not seem Reason to question, whether *his Title was right and good*, since he could not have a better Title than they had who gave it him? — No! You say, ‘*No such thing!*’ — And therefore I shall leave it here with the Reader, while I hasten to what follows.

(z) See also the Notes on p. 10, 55, 72. (a) See p. 17.

You say, ' The Remarker must acknowledge, that the Kingdom of *Judah* was hereditary, being entail'd on *David* and his Heirs, by Divine Appointment. But, who succeeded *David*? Was it his eldest Son? No: The younger of many Sons, even *Solomon*' (b). What then? May not I, in my Turn, now ask you, Sir, because *Solomon* was not the *eldest* Son of *David*, but the *younger of many* Sons, does it therefore necessarily follow, that in other Hereditary Kingdoms, it must be equally lawful for a younger Son, or other more remote Relation, to succeed to the Throne, in Opposition to the next Heir? Or, because *Solomon* was exalted to the Throne by God's express Appointment, must the *Title* of any other younger Son, or more remote Relation, so exalted by the People, or a Party of them, be equally *right and good*? No such thing. For, you may remember, That such was the universal Opinion of an Hereditary Succession, that, 1. All *Israel* look'd upon *Adonijah*, the eldest Son, as the Person who was to succeed his (c) Father. 2. *Adonijah* prepar'd himself accordingly, as the next undoubted Heir, in Virtue of his Natural Right of (d) Primogeniture. Yea, and, 3. Even the wise *Solomon* himself acknowledg'd, that the Priority of his *elder Brother's* Birth would have given him the undoubted Right of Succession, as in all ordinary

(b) Page 52.

(c) 1. *Kings* ii, 15.(d) *Ibid.*

dinary (c) Cases, had not God himself thought fit to make a special Entail of the Succession in that particular Instance. And it was this special Interposition of God Almighty (whose sole Prerogative it is to dispense with and supersede his own Laws and those of Nature) which alone exalted *Solomon* to his Father's Throne, and render'd his *Title right and good*: God's Interposition, I say; not by mere *Events* (which you would persuade us are Proofs of his Divine (f) *Approbation*, and necessarily to be understood as being (g) *according to his Will*;) but by express Revelation from God, by his Prophet *Nathan*. For, even before *Solomon* was born, there was an express Declaration made unto *David* from God, of the Succession being entail'd upon (b) him, and that too particularly, and by (i) Name: And, in Pursuance of this Divine Designation, King *David* bound himself with an Oath, that *Solomon* should succeed him, as he did (k) accordingly. From all which it is evident, that *Adonijah* might properly appeal to the common Sense and Knowledge of the Queen-Mother *Bathsheba*, that *the Kingdom was his*, according to the general Law of Hereditary Succession, and that *all Israel* did therefore justly regard him as the next undoubted

(c) 1. *Kings* ii. 22.

(f) Page 139.

(g) Page 142.

(b) *Samuel* vii. 12, &c.(i) 1 *Chronicles* xxii. 9. xxviii. 5. & xxix. 1.(k) 1. *Kings* i. 13, 17, 30.

doubted Heir, and *set their Faces on him that he should reign*, in Virtue of his Natural Right of Primogeniture, till they had such demonstrative Proof, by exprefs Revelation, that *the Kingdom* was entail'd upon his Brother Solomon, and that *it was his from the (l) Lord*.

But now, to proceed, you confess, ' That *Rehoboam*, in all Probability, was *Solomon's* ' eldest (*m*) Son : ' Yet, in Hopes to weaken the Arguments for Hereditary Right, you are pleas'd to go on thus: — ' But who succeeded *Rehoboam*? Not his eldest, but a ' younger Son ; as is clear from the (*n*) History.' Now, that he was not *the eldest* in Strictness of Speech, or the first-born of all his Father's Sons, is not the Point in Question. For if he was *the eldest* surviving at the Time of his Father's Death, and his own Succession, 'tis all that is contended for ; and enough to make good his undoubted Hereditary Right to the Throne. And that he was *not the eldest* then surviving, is far from being *clear from the History*. You indeed have labour'd hard to prove what you assert : But with what Sort of Proofs? Why, truly, with Inferences drawn from precarious Propositions, and with harsh Reflections cast upon Books, which you have neither particularly referr'd to, nor nam'd! So that it will be
diffi-

(l) 1. Kings ii. 15. (m) Page 52. (n) Page 53.

difficult for the Reader to discover, whether you have fairly and fully collected the Sense of the Authors, in the Passages which you treat with an Air of Contempt; and consequently, whether your Reflections are just or groundless. We all know indeed, that some Books are easily reflected on in the general, which perhaps would not be so easily answered, if they were taken into serious Consideration; like some Doctrines, which, as Dr. *Sherlock* formerly observ'd, witty Adversaries endeavour to *laugh out of Countenance*, when they find themselves not able seriously to confute them! — But now, more particularly, as to your Remarks upon the Case of *Abijah*, or *Abijam*; 1. Whereas you say, ‘ That he ‘ was not *Rehoboam*'s eldest Son, there being ‘ three nam'd before him; but only the eldest ‘ Son of his third Wife (*o*) *Maachab*;' that is not the Point here in Question, for the Reasons before given. 2. You observe, ‘ That ‘ tho' he was not his eldest Son, yet he made ‘ him Chief and Ruler among his Brethren, ‘ with a Design to make him King; for this ‘ Reason, because he lov'd *Maachab* above ‘ all his Wives and (*p*) Concubines.’ But, surely, the King, in his own Life-time, and while all his Children were equally his Subjects, had Authority to prefer which of them he thought fit, to any subordinate Office of Magi-

(*o*) Page 53.(*p*) *Ibid.*

Magistracy under himself; and it was natural to make Choice of him, for that Office, whose Mother was his most-beloved Wife: But still it does not follow, because he then also *thought to make him King* (which only imports a partial Affection for him, but not a form'd *Design*, and much less a fix'd Resolution, to break through the Natural Order of Succession) that therefore *Abijah* did afterwards actually succeed his Father, by Virtue of that immature *Thought*, in Prejudice of any elder Brother then surviving. 3. Whereas you urge, 'That to compass his Design, he (King *Rehoboam*) dispers'd all his other Sons into the chief Cities of his Kingdom, making them Rulers therein, and giving them ample Provision, that they might live easy and contented, and not disturb *Abijah*, whom he design'd to succeed (q) him;' the utmost that can be fairly concluded from hence is, that *Rehoboam* had settled, or intended to settle a valuable Consideration upon his elder Sons, that they should be *contented* to waive their respective Claims, in favour of *Abijah*: And as there is not the least Colour of Proof, that any elder Son did afterwards set up a Claim of a prior Right against him, you must either conclude, that they were all dead before *Abijah* mounted the Throne, or else that they were consenting

to

to it; which will justify his Right of Succession, according to the known Maxim, *Volenti non fit Injuria*. And therefore, even supposing that there was any elder Son of *Rehoboam* surviving, at the Time of his Death, which does not appear by the History, it is no Wonder, 4. ‘ That, by this wise and
 ‘ prudent Management of his, this very
 ‘ same *Abijah* did quietly succeed him in the
 ‘ (r) Kingdom.’ Thus, even upon your own State of the Case, Sir, I can’t see any Colour for your Reflection, that this Succession of *Abijah* does *not at all agree with certain Schemes and Notions*, which, you are pleas’d to say, *some People have fancy’d to themselves indefeasible*; nor any Necessity for
 ‘ some Way to be found to evade the Proof from
 ‘ this Text to the (s) contrary;’ when the Text, even with your Comment upon it, is no Proof at all to the contrary of their Principle, of an undisputed, and indisputable Hereditary Succession. —

You say, ‘ They will have it, that *Abijam*
 ‘ was *Rehoboam*’s eldest Son when he came
 ‘ to the Crown. Their Reasons are, 1. That
 ‘ it no where appears, that any one of the
 ‘ elder Sons was living at that Time: But
 ‘ I think it is every whit as reasonable to say,
 ‘ that it no where appears, that any one of
 ‘ them died before that Time: Ergo, They
 ‘ were

‘ were all (*t*) living.’ But, with Submission, Sir, to your great Skill in Logic, your Argument does not seem to be fairly conclusive. For, 1. When the sacred History teaches us, that the Kingdom was expressly entail’d by God upon *David*, and his Heirs by *Solomon*, and that *Solomon* was accordingly succeeded by his Son *Rehoboam*, and he by his Son *Abijah*, or *Abijam*, we have all the Reason to believe, that *Abijah*’s elder Brethren were dead, before their Father, tho’ the Holy Scriptures, which are very brief in such Matters, have not recorded it: At least, since ’tis agreed, that *Abijah* did *quietly succeed*, without any Competitor, it wholly lies upon you, who deny his being the then eldest, to prove, that there was an *elder Brother living* when he came to the Crown. 2, We have as clear Proof of three Sons of *David*, elder than *Adonijah*; one of whom, for ought appears from the History, might have surviv’d their Father: And yet, because there is no mention of him, or his Pretensions, at the Time of their Father’s Death, but *Adonijah* is the next who put in his Claim to the Inheritance, ’tis therefore reasonably concluded, that all the elder were dead, and *Adonijah* is universally esteem’d to have been the eldest surviving Son of *David*, at the Time of that Demise; and why the same Argument should not be as conclusive also

so in the Case of *Abijah*, requires more Art than I am Master of, to distinguish. And the rather, because 3. As *Adonijah* insisted on his undoubted Natural Right of Primogeniture, in that Case, as before is observ'd; so did *Abijah*, in this Case, insist on his, without any Contradiction, even to the Face of *Jeroboam* and his whole (a) Army. Notwithstanding all this, you proceed to argue against your Antagonists thus; 2. ' Had there been any elder Brother living, it is not to be doubted, say they, but we should have heard something of his Pretension. But this Objection (you say) is prevented by the Text, which tells us, that *Rehoboam* dealt wisely, and took such Measures as to prevent these (b) Pretensions.' To which I shall only add to what I have already observ'd, that if *these Pretensions* were wisely prevented, 'tis much the same as to the Point in Hand, as if they were naturally dead; since there could not be any Law or Reason to oblige the Subjects to assert a Right, which the Heir himself, supposing there had been a nearer living, did not pretend to. The next Reason which you undertake to invalidate is, 3. ' That this had been contrary to the Law, in *Deuteronomy* xxi. 15, 16, 17. where a Man is forbid to make the Son of the beloved Wife, First-born, before the Son

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' of

(a) 2^d *Chronicles* xiii. 4, &c.

(b) Page 54.

‘ of the hated, which is indeed (c) the First-born.’ And is not this very true? No! You say, 1. ‘ This Law related only to private Inheritances, and not to the Kingdom, as is (d) evident.’ But where, I pray you, Sir, is this *evident*? The Law itself is given in general Terms, *A Man*; which in common Intendment of Speech includes *Every Man*, Kings as well as private Persons: And the very Reason given for that Law, because *the First-born is the Beginning of his Father’s Strength*, ver. 17. undoubtedly extends to the First-born of Kings, as much as to those of their Subjects. Besides, Sir, one who is so well acquainted with Maxims of Law, as you seem desirous to be thought, cannot be ignorant of these, which are among the best of them, *Neminem oportet esse Sapientiores Legibus*, and *Ubi Lex non distinguit, nec nos distinguere debemus*. — And this indeed you seem to be sensible of, by what immediately follows: ‘ But, 2. Admitting it to relate to both, I do not find, that these Kings were so very observant of the Laws. The Law forbid their Kings to multiply to themselves Wives; which Law both *Solomon* and *Rehoboam* had shamefully (e) transgress’d.’ And what then, Sir? You will not say, that, because they transgress’d the Law relating to their Marriages, it necessarily

(c) Page 54.

(d) *Ibid.*(e) *Ibid.*

family must follow, that they were not observant of it in any other Case. Does not this way of construing it, look like an Endeavour to *find out some Way to evade the Proof, from this Text, to the contrary of your own favorite Schemes and Notions, which you are so forward to censure in others?* — But I shall forbear to push this so home as perhaps some others may do! 5. Your next Reflection is upon what you ironically call *the wisest Reason of all!* Which in Substance is, that *the Pedigree of our Blessed Saviour, as King of the Jews, being deriv'd by St. Matthew through Abijah, as well as the rest of that Royal Line, the making a Doubt of the Right of Abijah, is in effect to raise an Objection against that of our Saviour also.* To which you are pleas'd, with great Good Nature, to say, ' Sure, a Man must have a very strong Prejudice, that will run the Hazard of a strong Objection against our Saviour's Pedigree, rather than forgo a precarious (*f*) Supposition!' Very true! But if the Right of *Abijah* was good, as the undoubted Heir of *David* (and such it plainly appears to be, notwithstanding all you have offer'd to invalidate it) there can be no *Hazard* in deriving our Saviour's Pedigree through that of *Abijah*: Tho' I must be so free with you as to own my Fears, that, in such Times as

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these,

these, when many Men are so audaciously impious, as to propagate all manner of Objections against our Blessed Saviour himself, such a pretended Flaw in his Pedigree will be laid hold on, as an Argument against his being *The (g) Born-King of the Jews*; and therefore, *surely, a Man must have a very strong Prejudice against the Doctrine of Hereditary Right, who will run the Hazard of a strong Objection against our Saviour's Pedigree, and even lend the common Enemy a Handle for it, rather than forgo a precarious Supposition, to the Prejudice of that Right, so plainly founded both in the Laws of God and Nature!*

This, I think, is at least enough, as to the
main

(g) St. Matthew ii. 2. The learned Dr. *W. Cowper*, heretofore Lord Bishop of *Galloway*, writing of the *Genealogy of Christ*, wisely observes, 'That there was a double Descent usually reckon'd among the *Jews*; the one *Legal*, the other *Natural*. The *Natural* Descent was, when one by *Natural* Generation descended of another; the *Legal*, when one not naturally descended of another, yet succeeded, as *nearest of Kin*, to the Inheritance. Now, to let us see the Agreement of the Evangelists, St. *Luke* deduces the *Natural* Line of *Christ* from *David*, making it known, how *Christ*, by *Nathan*, is the *Natural* Son of *David*, according to the *Flesh*: But St. *Matthew* deduces the *Legal* Line of *Christ* from *David*, making it known, how *Christ*, as *Solomon's Heir, and Lawful King of the Jews*, succeeded, as *nearest of Kin*, to sit upon the Throne of *David* his Father. For the which also St. *Matthew* calls him *Born-King of the Jews*: And the *Jews* themselves could not name any of their Nation nearer than he; and therefore, having no lawful Exception against him, cry'd out in their Wilfulness, *We will have no King but Cæsar.*' (Bishop *Cowper's* Works, 1629 fol. 591.)

main Point in Question here before us. — As to the Objections which you have taken so much Pains to make against particular Books, when you think fit to enter into a profess'd Examination of them, their Authors must be oblig'd either to defend or retract them, which it is not my Business here to trouble myself farther about. But thus much I may be bold to say, That I have now in my Hands a late Performance, wherein I find some Passages, against which you seem to have levell'd the sharpest of your Reflections; which if you had carefully read through, with an unprejudic'd Regard to Truth, rather than a Desire of Triumph, might have sav'd a great deal of Writing on this Subject, and at least have abated the Edge of your Resentment, if it had not prevail'd with you once more to submit to Principles, which for many Years you thought unanswerable.

Before I leave this Point, which you have so much labour'd, I find it proper to take notice of one or two extraordinary Passages, which had well nigh escap'd my Observation. — You ask, ' What does it signify, ' whether *Abijam* was *Rehoboam's* eldest Son ' alive, when he came to the Crown, when ' it is certain he was not his eldest (*b*) Son? ' Which is no *wiser* a Question than those others which you make so little Account of.

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If there be any Sense (i) in these Words, as you say of the Remarks, it must be found under a Distinction between the eldest born and the eldest surviving: And it signifies as much as when we say, *Charles I.* was not the eldest, or first-born Son of King *James I.* But yet, since his elder Brother, Prince *Henry*, died before the King, *Charles* was then of course the eldest Son surviving, and consequently the undoubted Heir. Again, speaking of *Rehoboam's* Design to prefer *Abijah* before his elder Brethren in the Succession, you say, 'Against this, tho' a Thing openly known, we find no Remonstrances made, either by the People, or the Priests, or the Prophets; whence we may reasonably infer, that they knew of no Law against (k) it.' This, Sir, methinks, is a strange Inference for so accurate a Logician as you to make; and that too, grounded on as strange a Reason! Can it be reasonably suppos'd, that No-body in those Times knew of any Law against disinheriting the First-born, or next Natural Heir? Were the Priests and the Prophets, as well as all the People, utter Strangers to the common Law of Nature? Or could they all have forgot the written Law of *Moses*? wherein, by the immediate Command of God, it was made a Statute of Judgment, or perpetual Law, that all Inheritances were

were to descend to *the (l) next of Kin*; and wherein also, to cite no more, it was expressly provided, that *the Right (m) of the First-born* ought not to be defeated; as I have already observ'd. — But this your Argument, if it proves any thing, will prove too much. For I dare say, among the several idolatrous Kings of *Judah*, as well as of *Israel*, there are some Instances of Idolatry, *against which*, nevertheless, *tho' a Thing more openly known than Rehoboam's Design* could be, *we find no Remonstrances made, either by the People, or the Priests, or the Prophets*: And yet you will not venture to say, that *from thence we may reasonably infer, that they knew of no Law against Idolatry!* Now, if such an *Inference* is not *reasonable* in the one Case, it will not be easy for you to shew, how it can be reasonable in the other! — As to what you tell us, from *Dr. Patrick*, that *this*, of disinheriting the natural Heir, *was a Power claim'd by the Kings of Judah, and sometimes also by the (n) People*; surely, we are not concern'd about what they *claim'd*, but what they had a Right to: And sure I am, the Holy Scriptures plainly intimate to us, that they had not, nor thought themselves authoriz'd to *claim*, any such *Power*; wherein we are carefully taught the Reason why *Jehoram*

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(l) *Numbers* xxvii. 8, &c. (m) *Deuteronomy* xxi. 15, &c.
 (n) Page 56.

succeeded his Father *Jehosaphat*, because he (o) was the First-born; and that *Abaziah*, who was the youngest Son of *Jehoram*, succeeded him, only because a Band of Men (p) had slain all the eldest; clearly intimating, that he had not been capable of it, if any of his elder Brethren had been then alive, and claim'd it.

Having urg'd all you could from the Cases of *Solomon* and *Abijah*, you say, ' Was the Kingdom the less Hereditary on account of these Successions? Or did any body ever question *Solomon's* or *Abijah's* Right to the (q) Crown?' No, Sir; nor was there any Colour of Reason so to do. For *Solomon's* Succession being according to the express Nomination and Entail of God himself, barr'd all Pretence of *questioning his Right*: And *Abijah's* being agreeable to the ordinary Rule of Survivorship; or, at least, even upon your own State of it, quiet and peaceable, without any prior Claim; there is no more Reason for any body to *question his Right*, than if we were positively assur'd (as we have good Reason to believe) that his elder Brethren were actually dead; as I have already prov'd at large. — But, not content with these two Scripture Proofs, you tell us, ' Many like Instances may be given in other King-

(o) 2. *Chronicles* xxi. 3.(p) 2. *Chronicles* xxii. 1.

‘ Kingdoms ; but, for Brevity’s Sake, we
 ‘ shall mention but one;’ — for which you
 would lead us as far as to (r) *Constantinople*.
 But, I think, we need not follow you so far
 out of our way ; since the Case of the Suc-
 cession there, in 1138 (whatever it was) can
 be no Rule to us. However, at the Close of
 this, you sum up all with this Remark ;
 ‘ The first of these Instances was by Divine
 ‘ Appointment, which shews the Thing to be
 ‘ lawful : The second was for no other Rea-
 ‘ son that is given, than the Affection which
 ‘ the King had for one of his Wives above
 ‘ the rest : And the third was for powerful
 ‘ Reasons of State. All of them shew, that
 ‘ such a Procedure is not inconsistent with
 ‘ the Nature of an Hereditary Kingdom.
 ‘ And why may not the same, or more pow-
 ‘ erful Reasons, justify the like Procedure in
 ‘ any other Hereditary (s) Kingdom?’ Why
 truly, Sir, in my humble Opinion, not one
 of all these three Instances comes up to the
 Proof of what you vouch it for. For, 1.
 Tho’ *Solomon*’s being preferr’d before his elder
 Brethren, by God’s immediate Nomination
 and Appointment, *shews the Thing to be law-
 ful* indeed, in that particular Instance ; yet it
 does not infer, that it will be lawful to do the
 like, in other Cases, where no such *Divine
 Appointments* appear to justify it ; any more
 than

(r) Page 55.

(s) Page 57.

than *Abraham's* offering up his Son *Isaac*, or the *Israelites* spoiling the *Ægyptians*, can be vouched for Precedents to justify others in the like Procedure: For, you know, Sir, that to argue against ordinary Rules from extraordinary Cases, is not good Logic. And, 2. None of these three Cases, even according to your own State of them, were transacted without the Concurrence of their respective Fathers Sovereign Authority: And therefore, how much, or how little, soever that may weigh in those particular Instances, it will at least shew them to be no way applicable to the Question here in Hand; since it cannot from thence be inferr'd, that the next Heir to the Crown can be justifiably excluded from his Natural Right of Inheritance, *in any other Hereditary Kingdom*, without so much as the Consent of his Royal Father; which is neither pretended, nor suppos'd, in the Case in Controversy. So that *such a Procedure* may be *inconsistent with the Nature of an Hereditary Kingdom*, notwithstanding all you have yet said.

As to what you mention of the long and bloody Contests between *Bruce* and *Baliol* in *Scotland*, *York* and *Lancaster* in *England*, and those of late in *Poland*, I shall not trouble myself here to enter into the Particulars. Your Argument from thence is, ' That as

' easy as it may seem in Speculation, to

' know, in an Elective Kingdom, who has the

Ma-

' Majority, or who is the next Heir in an
 ' Hereditary one, it seems it is not so easy
 ' to agree in the Matter, in some (t) Cases.'
 But, in my Opinion, you have shaken the
 Force of all this to Pieces, in what follows ;
 where; ' supposing it may not be so hard for
 ' a disinterested Person to know where the
 ' Right lies,' you immediately add, ' Does
 ' the Remarker imagine, that one whose Pas-
 ' sions and Interest are engag'd, will see Things
 ' in the same impartial View? Will not any
 ' small Claim serve as a Pretence, to Men of
 ' Ambition and Power, to make good their
 ' Title to a Crown by Force of Arms, and
 ' to take (u) Possession?' This is indeed so
 evident, that he must be strangely blinded
 who can't see the Truth of your Observation!
 But what is to be concluded from all this?
 Certainly not ' that Possession, once secur'd
 ' and settled, shall determine the Subjects (x)
 ' Obedience.' For 'tis impossible that any
 thing can be more expressly adjudg'd to the
 contrary of this your Assertion, than was
 done in that very Case of the Contest between
 the White Rose of *York*, claiming as Heir to
Clarence, and the Red Rose of *Lancaster*, (y)
 when after a long Possession of sixty or se-
 venty Years, it evidently appear'd, that no-
 thing but *Passion and Interest* had supported
 the

(t) Page 58. (u) Page 58. & 59. (x) Page 59.

(y) See the Appendix, No. v.

the *Ambition and Power* of the younger Line of *Lancaster*, while all *disinterested Persons* knew that the *Right* lay in the Duke of *York*, as Heir to the elder; and many of them gallantly underwent great Hardships for their honest Adherence to it.

And here also I can't but express my Amazement, that so accurate a Writer, and so close a Reasoner, as yourself, should sink so low, so often, and so heavily to repeat your Apprehensions (as here again you do) ' That
' the Fate of the People must be very miserable indeed, if they should be oblig'd to
' throw up their Lives and Estates, and ruin
' their Posterity, because one Man has got
' the Kingdom, and another has lost it! But,
' this neither the Laws of any Nation, nor
' the Law of the Gospel obliges them to (z)
' do.' 'Tis true, they *do not oblige them*, voluntarily, to *throw up* either. But they certainly oblige all Subjects to *do their bounden Duty*, to *keep a good Conscience*, and to resign the Concerns of their *Lives and Estates*, as well as those of *their Posterity*, to the wise Providence of God, who will, in due Time, *help those to Right who suffer (a) Wrong*; and who will make all Things turn to the Good of those who put their Trust in him, in such a manner as shall be *most expedient* for them. This, Sir, would have well become you, as

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(z) Page 59.

(a) *Psalms* cxlvi. 6.

a Preacher of God's Word, to have press'd upon the Consciences of your People: And so it would also, as a good Subject and a true Briton, to have insisted more particularly than you have done, on the *Miseries of Civil Wars, &c.* naturally consequent upon disputed (*b*) Titles, of which these Nations have had long and woful (*c*) Experience. Instead of which you alarm them with tragical Notions, as if the Principles of those whom you oppose, *oblige Men to throw up their Lives and Estates, and ruin their Posterity, because one Man has got the Kingdom, and another has lost it!* Whereas, the utmost that can be inferr'd from them in the Case here in question is, that *it is absolutely necessary to have some competent Knowledge of the Matter both of our Oaths and Prayers, and also a Conviction and Persuasion that there is no Falshood or Injustice in it, that the Oath may be taken, and the Prayers put up, without doubting; without*

(*b*) Page 53.

(*c*) In the Statute 25 Henry VIII.

c. 22. (made in the very Crisis of the Reformation) we have a most lively and pathological Description of the Miseries occasion'd by disputed Titles. And the only Remedy which our Ancestors could think of (who were as tender of their *Liberties* as we can be of ours) was to declare, 1. That the Sovereign Jurisdiction and Right to the Crown is *given by God immediately to Kings, and in Succession to their Heirs*: 2. That such Sovereign Right was in that King, without any manner of Doubt or Question: 3. That the same ought to descend to his right Heirs for ever, according to the Course of Inheritance: And, 4. That all the Joy and Wealth of this Kingdom depends upon keeping this Chain of Succession intire.

out which ' *it ought to be refus'd, whatever
' may be the Consequence.*' And this is no
more than is plainly asserted in your own
Book, as to the (*d*) Oaths; and is as fairly to
be inferr'd, as to the Prayers. Neither is
your Expression, of *one Man getting the King-
dom, and another losing it*, either so proper, or
so decent, as it ought to be: Since it is not
the Case of *one Man*, or a private Loss, but
that of *the King*, and his Heirs; on whose
Prosperity that of the whole Body doth con-
fessedly (*e*) depend.

And now we come to *the Rights of King
and Subjects*: Where you are pleas'd to af-
firm, ' That Kings have been more ready to
' extend or enlarge the Prerogative, than the
' Subject has been to encroach upon (*f*) it.'
This might have been more excusable in a
Rapin, or any other Stranger to the *British*
Constitution. But, after the gracious Con-
cession of *Magna Charta*, and the many
subsequent Grants of Privileges and Immu-
nities, whereby divers of the fairest Flowers
of the Crown have been given away by our
Kings, and especially by those of the Royal
Line of *Stuart*, such an Assertion seems to
favour of Prejudice more than Principle.
You admit, ' that the Laws ascertain the
' Right to the (*g*) Crown:' But then you
say,

(*d*) Page 216, 223.

(*e*) See the Notes on p. 72, 109.

(*f*) Page 59, 60.

(*g*) Page 60.

say, 1. ‘ How often do we see that Men will
 ‘ claim and contend for a Right, where the
 ‘ Laws allow (b) none?’ ’Tis true, Sir, we
do see this too often. But, what are we to
 conclude from hence? That therefore, we
 are not to trouble ourselves at all about the
Right, but to engage ourselves by Oaths, and
 endeavour also to engage our Holy and Righte-
 ous God by our Prayers, in behalf of him
 who gets the *actual Possession*, right or wrong!
 I believe, all our disinterested Readers will
 rather conclude the contrary. You likewise
 observe, 2. ‘ That the Law-makers cannot
 ‘ foresee all Cases or Inconveniencies that
 ‘ may possibly (i) happen.’ But they may
 easily foresee the *miserable Inconveniencies* con-
 sequent upon the Interruption of Natural
 Rights; and therefore, in true Policy, as
 well as in good Conscience, ought to avoid
 the Occasion of them. And, 3. you insist,
 That *the Laws of Men are mutable*, and *may*
be (k) chang’d. Whether the Law of Nature
 also may be be chang’d, is another Question;
 for which the Reader may have Recourse to
 the APPENDIX, No. III. You say, ‘ There is
 ‘ one immutable Law indeed: And that is,
 ‘ *Salus Populi Suprema Lex esto; The Good of*
 ‘ *the People is the Supreme Law*; by which
 ‘ all other Laws are to be directed, and to
 ‘ which they must (l) yield.’ How unfairly
 you have translated this Maxim, by render-
 ing

(b) Page 60. (i) *Ibid.* (k) *Ibid.* (l) *Ibid.*

ing the Latin Word *Esto*, by the English Particle *is*, every School-boy can discern: But for your Mis-application of a Commonwealth Precept to an Hereditary Monarchy, I refer the Reader also to a full (*m*) Proof in the Notes here below. But here you go on with it thus; ‘ When that Paramount Law
‘ re-

(*m*) The learned Mr. *Selden* observes of the Maxim, *Salus Populi Suprema Lex*, That ‘ there is not any thing in the
‘ World more abus’d. — For we apply it, as if we ought
‘ to forsake the known Law, when it may be most for the
‘ Advantage of the People, when it means no such thing.
‘ For, — it is not *Salus Populi Suprema Lex est*, but *esto*;
‘ it being one of the Laws of the Twelve Tables: And,
‘ after divers Laws made, some for Punishment, some for
‘ Reward, then follows this, that is, In all the Laws you
‘ make, have a special Eye to the *Good of the People* ’ (Fable-Talk, p. 40.) And that most famous Casuist, Bishop *Sanderson*, says, ‘ There is no sober Man will deny, that *the*
‘ *Safety of the People*, that is, of the whole Commonalty,
‘ as that Word comprehends the King, together with the
‘ Subjects, *is the Supreme Law*: But, that the Safety of the
‘ People, that is, of the Subjects, the King being excluded,
‘ is the Supreme Law, there is no Man will affirm it, unless
‘ he be a *Fool*, or an *Impostor*; a *Fool*, if he doth believe
‘ what he himself saith, and an *Impostor*, if he doth not be-
‘ lieve it. But, if any Man will seriously look into the
‘ Original of this Aphorism, I do believe he will more ea-
‘ sily grant, that it ought more precisely to be understood of
‘ the Safety of the Prince, than of the Safety of the Sub-
‘ jects. This Saying ——— came to us from the *Romans*;
‘ and was then used by them, when their Republic did flourish most of all under a popular State: And there is no ---
‘ Wonder, that *the People’s Safety* was the Supreme Law
‘ with them, with whom the People themselves were the
‘ Supreme Power. In the Judgment therefore of those wise
‘ Ancients, who were the first Authors of this Aphorism,
‘ *the Safety of the Supreme Power was the Supreme Law*; of
‘ the People indeed in a Democracy, but of a King in
‘ Monarchy.’ (Cases of Conscience *Engl.* 1660. Lect. ix.
§ 16.)

‘ requires a Change, for the Safety and Wel-
 ‘ fare of the People, then such Change may
 ‘ lawfully be made, and shall alter the Laws
 ‘ before standing: And the Law so made,
 ‘ and alter’d upon that Fundamental Prin-
 ‘ ciple of Society and Government, shall be
 ‘ the standing Law, and shall ascertain the
 ‘ Right to the Crown, as well as the Right
 ‘ of the Subject to an (a) Estate.’ Now,
 Sir, all this is asserted with such a Dogmati-
 cal Air, as might pass upon the unwary Rea-
 der for undoubted Law and Reason, were he
 not inform’d, that whatever Laws are made
 or alter’d, are to receive their whole Force
 and Efficacy from the Sovereign; without
 whose *Fiat* all the Resolutions of his Coun-
 cil, as well in Parliament as elsewhere, are but
 a dead Letter. Can it therefore rationally
 be argued, that such Laws, as, by the graci-
 ous Concessions of Princes, have, from Time
 to Time, ascertain’d the Prerogative Royal,
 and limited the absolute Monarchical Power
 within certain Bounds, for the Ease and Be-
 nefit of dutiful Subjects, *shall ascertain the*
Right to the Crown itself also? So ascertain
 it, I mean, as to make it liable to a Forfeit-
 ure, as the Estates of Subjects are! For that
 is the Point in Issue. — But this Anti-
 monarchical Notion lies open to divers Ob-
 jections by way of Enquiry; *viz.* Who are
 I the

the proper Judges, when the *standing Laws* do need an *Alteration*? Who have a competent Authority to make such an Alteration when 'tis thought necessary? Whether such an Alteration can be validly made, without the free Consent and Concurrence of the Sovereign Legislator? And whether such an Alteration, being made, not only without such Concurrence, but even to the utter Exclusion and Disinheritance of the Sovereign himself, and his Heirs, who, by the former standing Laws, had an inherent and undoubted *Right to the Crown*, can be of Force to bind the Subjects in Point of Conscience, and *determine* their *Obedience*; particularly as to the Case of Oaths and Prayers? — But these, and many more of the like Sort, must be left to the Reader's further Enquiry; my Business here not being to make a profess'd Lecture of Politics, but only to consider such particular Points as your *Vindication* necessarily leads me to.

You allow *the King* to be ' the Fountain
' of Authority and Honour, but not of (b)
' Property.' Whether you are mistaken in Point of *Law*, as to *the Fountain of Property*, I shall not here dispute; because your Concession, that *the King is the Fountain of Authority and Honour*, is enough for my present Purpose. Only your Assertion, ' That
' it

‘ it is the King in Possession, who is thus
 ‘ consider’d as the Fountain of Authority
 ‘ and Honour, &c. and not any other Person,
 ‘ whatever his Right might otherwise (c) be,’
 is certainly without Warrant, either in Law
 or Reason. For, what tho’ the King in Pos-
 session does appoint his own *Judges and Ma-*
gistrates, confer Honours, has all Writs, Bonds,
and Deeds run in his Name, and his Image
stamp’d upon the current (d) Coin? All these
 indeed are Proofs of his Power, but not of
 his Authority; of his Possession only, but not
 of his Right to it: Else why have we so
 many Proofs on Record, of *Honours confer-*
red, Judgments pronounc’d, and Grants pas-
sed, &c. by Kings de Facto, in Possession of all
 this Power, which nevertheless were so far
 from being *good in Law*, that they had no
 manner of Authority, but what the Kings
de Jure have afterwards been pleas’d to allow
 (e) them? And therefore, if the Subject had

I 2

not

(c) Page 61. (d) *Ibid.* (e) After the Accession of
 King *Edward IV.* to his undoubted Right, he pass’d an
 Act in Parliament, on purpose to enact certain *judicial Acts,*
Honours, and other Grants, in the Times of Henry IV. Henry
V. and Henry VI. ‘ late Kings of England successively in
 ‘ Deed, and not of Right,’ to continue in Force, *as if done*
by, or in the Time of, any King lazily reigning, and obtaining
the Crown by just Title: Wherein those Reigns are expressly
 declar’d to have been but *pretens’d Reigns,* and the Possessors
 themselves but *pretens’d Kings, and Usurpers;* and by neces-
 sary Consequence, all their Acts, as such, in their own Na-
 ture, mere Nullities. (Statute 1 *Edward IV.* c. 1.) After
 the Accession of Queen *Mary,* all the Letters Patents, and
 other

not been of so serious a Nature, I should be apt to smile at your Exclamation, ‘ What a ‘ Contradiction and Absurdity it is, to deny ‘ that Authority, which, at the very same ‘ Time, they actually dō and must acknow- ‘ ledge! Or to refuse to pray for that King, ‘ whom both the Law and themselves, by ‘ their own Act and Deed, daily acknow- ‘ ledge only to be (*f*) King!’ How far *the Law* acknowledgeth the King in Possession, is consider’d elsewhere: But how those whom you thus take all Occasions to reflect upon, can properly be said to *acknowledge the Authority* of any Person in Possession, only by such Acts as you have here enumerated, of passing Money for their necessary Subsistence, which happens to have his *Image stamp’d upon it, &c.* is not within the Compass of Common Sense to understand. For, at this rate, all the most steady Royalists must have
acknow-

other Grants, &c. pass’d by the Lady *Jane Grey*, late *Usurper* in Possession, are declar’d to have been, and to *remain utterly void, and of none Effect.* (Statute 1 *Mar.* Sess. ii. c. 4.) And, after the happy Restoration of King *Charles II.* the ordinary *judicial Proceedings* under the then late *Usurpers*, were made valid, as in the before mention’d Instances. In which Act of Confirmation it is declar’d, ‘ That altho’ ‘ it was necessary to mention divers *pretens’d* Acts and Ord- ‘ nances, by the Names and Stiles which those Persons then ‘ *usurped*, who took upon them to pass the same; — the ‘ Names and Stiles aforesaid, and every of them, are most ‘ rebellious, wicked, traiterous, and abominable *Usurpations*, ‘ detested -- as opposite -- to his sacred Majesty’s most just and ‘ undoubted Right, &c.’ (Statute 12 *Car.* ii. c. 12.)

(*f*) Page 61, 62.

acknowledg'd the Authority of Cromwell, or the upstart Common-Wealth, so often as they receiv'd or paid their Breeches-Money; which was the current Coin, not only while those notorious Usurpers actually had the Possession of the whole Government, and impudently call'd themselves (g) the Supreme Powers, but pass'd in Payments, even for some Time after our Rightful Sovereign's Restoration! And surely, this was not a Proof, or any Acknowledgment of their Authority at that Time!

What you say of a *Conquest* of the Kingdom by a Foreign Invader, and the Right thereby accruing to (b) him, is not to be allowed without a Distinction. For, in order to this, there must be, 1. A just Cause for carrying on the War to a Conquest: And, 2. The Submission of the King himself, as well as his People: In defect of which latter, the Conqueror can never be properly said to '*settle himself in the peaceable Possession (i) of the Crown;*' and in defect of the former, whatever Success he may have, he cannot be, as you say, '*in the Eye of the Law, as much King as any other Person can (k) be;*' but only an unjust Invader and violent Usurper of another's Right, which, by the Laws of God and Man both, he is bound to restore
I 3 him.

(g) See the *Appendix*, No. iv.

(b) Page 62.

(i) *Ibid.*

(k) *Ibid.*

him. And this, by the way, may suffice to reconcile that which you insinuate to be a Self-contradiction in your *Remarker*; who, it seems, ‘ makes a Jest of being determin’d ‘ by the Event ‘or (l) Success,’ as he very well may, in general; and yet allows it, in the particular Case of the *Romans* conquering (m) *Judea*. But, if you mean the Right by *Conquest* to be any way applicable to the Case in Hand, you may be pleas’d to remember the Answer formerly given to Bishop *Burnet’s Pastoral Letter*! And, as to your Reflection, that ‘ because a King has lost his ‘ Crown, — the Subjects are not oblig’d to ‘ lose their Senses, or, which is all one, to act ‘ as if they had lost (n) them ;’ I agree with you; admitting only, that in the same Case, they ought not *to lose their Consciences, or, which is all one, to act as if they had none!*

As to the Distinction, where you tell us, ‘ There is a Difference between an absolute ‘ unlimited Monarchy, where the Will of ‘ the Prince is the only Rule of Govern- ‘ ment, and a limited or mixed Monarchy, ‘ such as that of *Great Britain* is, where the ‘ People have a Power and a Share in the ‘ Government; a Power in making of ‘ Laws, that is, a Share in the Supreme (o) ‘ Power;’ I must take the Liberty to say, this is new Logic, that where *the King* is ac-
know-

known to be *the only Supreme (p) Governor*, there *the People have a Share in the Supreme Power!* And 'tis somewhat strange, that you, Sir, should need me to *put you in Mind* of a Thing so expressly taught, in the very Articles and Canons of that Church, of which you have so many Years been a Priest, and in which, I suppose, you receiv'd that Holy Order! But, not to insist on the gross Absurdity of this, or that other *arrant Bull* (as Bishop *Saunderson (q)* calls it) of a *mixed Monarchy*; your talking of *the People having a Power in making of Laws*, and a *Share in the Government, or Supreme Power*, is somewhat after the Doctrine of *Forty One*, when the Faction pretended to a Co-ordinate Authority with the King, and would have made his Majesty no more than one of the

I 4

Three

(p) See the Notes on p. 7. (q) 'As for the Sovereignty, be it as it will be with other States and Commonwealths, in regard of their Constitution; to *Us* of this Nation it is so evident where it resideth, that we need not to have recourse to Statesmen or Lawyers for Information in that Point. The known Laws of the Land have declar'd it so fully, and particularly the *Oath of Supremacy* expressed it so clearly, that any Man of ordinary Capacity may understand it as well as the deepest Statesman in the World. That which some talk of, a *mixt Monarchy*, (which, by the way, is an *arrant Bull*, a Contradiction in *Adjectio*, and destroyeth itself) and others dream of, such a *Co-ordination* in the Government as was hatch'd amidst the Heat of the late Troubles, but never before heard of in our Land, are in very Truth no better than senseless and ridiculous Fancies, &c.' (Bishop *Saunderson's* Preface to Arch-bishop *Usher's* Power of the Prince, &c. 3d. Edition 1710. in 8vo. § xiv.)

Three Estates! Whereas nothing is more certain in the *British* Constitution, than that there are Three Estates (*viz.* Lords Spiritual, Lords Temporal, and Commons) all Subjects to the King, and equally subordinate to his sole Supreme Authority. But, you say, ‘ These Laws shall bind the King, as well as the Subject, and shall determine the Right to the Crown, as well as the Subjects Right to an (*r*) Estate.’ As how, I pray you, Sir? Shall they *bind* him without his own Consent? And that too, under the Penalty of forfeiting his *Right to the Crown*? None but a rank Republican will say this! And nothing less than this will come up to your Purpose. Or, supposing the King to be so bound, To whom can he forfeit his Right? The very Nature of the Thing supposes it to accrue to some Superior: But the King has no Superior; he being *the only Supreme* himself, and the People of all Degrees his Subjects; and therefore he cannot forfeit it to them. But then you say, ‘ In such a Government the People may sometimes do, for their own Safety and the Public Good, what there may be no Law for, but yet what Necessity will justify, and the Public Good require, and therefore make lawful; for Necessity, in such a Case, has no Law but this one, *Salus Populi Suprema Lex (s) esto.*’

But,

(*r*) Page 63.

(*s*) *Ibid.*

But, supposing they take upon them to do not only *what there may be no Law for*, but what is expressly contrary to Law, what *Necessity will justify this, and make it lawful?* Or who is to judge of that *Necessity?* — But, for a better Confutation of this your Maxim, or rather of the mistaken Application of it, I refer you to the Notes (t) here below.

Speaking of *the Rights and Titles of Kings*, you own, ‘ that Time alters not the Nature of Things, the Nature of right and wrong, just and (u) unjust;’ which I shall not make any other Remark upon at present, than this, That therefore Possession alone cannot be a good Title against Right; nor can *Time alter the Nature of Usurpation*, any more than that of other *Wrongs*.

Your Remarker had observ’d, That, according to your Doctrine, ‘ we must always, in a Dispute about the Crown, pray for the fortunate Competitor, and against the unfortunate one, tho’ injur’d: We are to pray for the actual Governor, whether justly so or not, *that he may get the Victory over all his (x) Enemies!*’ To which you say, ‘ In
‘ a

(t) ’Tis well observ’d, by the Lord Chancellor *Clarendon*, That, in Disputes where *Necessity* is pretended, ‘ the true Logic is, that the Thing desir’d is not *necessary*, if the Ways are unlawful which are propos’d to bring it to pass.’ (*History of the Rebellion*, in 8vo. 1705. vol. 2. p. 211.) See also the Notes on p. 112.

(u) Page 63.

(x) Page 64.

‘ a Dispute about the Crown, that is, *pen-*
 ‘ *dente Lite*, while the Dispute continues, and
 ‘ the Competitors are making good their
 ‘ Claims by Force of Arms, perhaps we
 ‘ cannot tell whom to pray for, or we can-
 ‘ not do what we would; because these are
 ‘ generally Times of Confusion and Trou-
 ‘ ble, and of sore Evils upon Men: Or, if
 ‘ the Case be clear, and we at Liberty, we
 ‘ may then pray as we think right. But,
 ‘ when the Dispute is once ended, and one
 ‘ of the Competitors peaceably settled in the
 ‘ Throne, we must then pray, as we must
 ‘ obey; — for the Person who governs
 ‘ (y) us.’ Upon which you must give me
 leave to observe, 1. That, in such an Here-
 ditary Kingdom as is here suppos’d, *the Case*
 can hardly be ever so perplexed with Doubts,
 but that we may *clearly* enough distinguish,
 which of *the Competitors* is next of Kin; and
 as such may easily *tell whom to pray for*, if
 we are truly guided by the proper Considera-
 tion of his Right and our Duty, and prefer
 the Concerns of a good Conscience before
 those of our Skin. But, 2. If we are influ-
 enc’d by worldly Motives, and consider not
 so much what we *ought* to do, as what we
may do with Safety to our Persons, and with-
 out incurring the Danger of those *Troubles*
and sore Evils which you speak of, then in-
 deed

deed *perhaps we cannot do what we would*, lest we should suffer in our Persons or Fortunes for doing our Duty: But no Consideration whatsoever can warrant or excuse us in the omitting what we ought to do, or the doing what we ought not to do. And, 3. 'Tis certain, *We may pray as we think right*, even in *Times of Confusion and Trouble*: For, tho' *perhaps we cannot do this so publickly as we would*, yet we may acceptably perform the Duty injoin'd in your Text, by doing it in the best manner our Circumstances will admit of. ——— But 'tis somewhat extraordinary that you say, ' We pray *against* no ' Man: We pray *for* all Men, not *against* ' any Man; not *against* our greatest (z) Enemy.' Now, one would think, that praying that Men may be *vanquish'd and overcome*, and *cut off*, &c. is a *praying (a) against* them. ——— But perhaps you will not allow, that we *pray against* our Enemies, unless we doom them to Eternal Damnation! Even as you elsewhere argue, ' Tho' we should pray ' for Usurpers, — yet do we not pray to ' God to bless them in their (b) Crimes, &c.' At this rate, not only *the Remarker*, but almost every body else, must be said still to ' mistake the Nature and End of the Prayers for our (c) Governors.' For, if (as Dr.

Com-

(z) Page 65.

(a) See the Notes on p. 40.

(b) Page 133.

(c) Page 65.

Comber observes) even in that short Versicle, *O Lord, save the King*, ‘ we do in one Word
 ‘ with the King Prosperity and Peace, long
 ‘ Life and Health, Victory and Everlasting
 ‘ (d) Felicity:’ And if this, and the many
 other Blessings more expressly pray’d for in
 the behalf of our King, are to be construed
 a *blessing* him, and praying against *all his*
 Enemies, as ’tis plain to common Sense they
 are; then surely, the praying for an Usurper,
 in the very same Form of Words, must be
 a *blessing* him, and *praying against his Enemies*,
 or the Enemies of his Usurpation; among
 whom the Rightful Pretender, and his Adhe-
 rents, must in all reason be look’d upon as
 Principals: And, if Usurpation be a *Crime*
 (as till now it has been thought) then, thus
 to *pray for Usurpers*, must, in the very Na-
 ture and End of such Prayers, be a *praying*
 to God to bless them in their Crimes; and that
 must be confess’d to be an Abomination (e)
 to him! Yet nevertheless, you would have
 this Prayer, That God would give the King
 the Victory over all his Enemies, to be meant
 only of ‘ those who are unjustly his Ene-
 ‘ mies, or the Enemies of the Government:
 ‘ For (you say) if a Man has just Reason to
 ‘ be his Enemy, then it is the King who is
 ‘ an Enemy to that Man, and not that Man
 ‘ to the (f) King.’ But, not to insist on
 the

(d) Companion to the Temple, Part i. Partit. ii. Sect. ii. n. 5.

(e) See the Notes on p. 34.

(f) Page 66.

the Singularity of this Construction, or its Inconsistency with the Words, *All his Enemies*; those who are dissatisfy'd with the Use of these Prayers, will from hence gain an Advantage over you, which you perhaps are not aware of: For they will conclude, upon their Principles, that they cannot in Conscience join in such Prayers for the Actual Governor, nor be present at such an Office, as, in common Sense and the Nature of the Thing, is generally understood to pray for *Victory over him whom they believe to have just Reason to be his Enemy.*

You are pleas'd to say, The Objections made by the *Remarker* ' may, with as much ' Reason and Justice, be made against the ' same Prayers put up for one whom he himself shall acknowledge to be a Rightful and ' Lawful King; except he will say, that no ' Rightful and Lawful King ever did a ' wicked or unjust (*g*) Thing, &c.' But here you seem to have forgot, that the Question in Controversy, is not whether the Person to be pray'd for, as King, be a wicked King; but whether he is indeed our King, or *Nobis Rex*, (*b*) as the learned Bishop *Andrews* well expresseth it.

And now I come to the Case of *Paying Tribute to Cæsar*; which you here undertake to shew, ' *to be a direct, clear, and full*
' *Proof*

‘ *Proof of the Doctrine;*’ and which, you say, ‘ having been always judged to bear ‘ hard upon the Opinions of the Remarker ‘ and his Party, he seems to have taken a ‘ great deal of Pains to get quite clear of (i) ‘ it.’ But I think, Sir, it neither is such a *Proof*, nor needs much *Pains to get clear of it*. For, until you have answer’d your Remarker’s fair Question, ‘ Who was *Cæsar*’s Com- ‘ petitor? Or who else claim’d that Tribute ‘ but (k) *Cæsar*?’ *Cæsar* must be suppos’d to have had an undoubted Right; and consequently, all you have endeavour’d to build upon that Case, in favour of your actual or *de Facto* Governors, will fall to the Ground for want of a Foundation. You say indeed, ‘ What was *Julius Cæsar*, and *Augustus*, ‘ but Usurpers, in the very same Case with ‘ *Oliver Cromwell*, usurping upon the Rights ‘ and Liberties of the Common-Wealth, as ‘ *Cromwell* did upon those of King (l) and ‘ People? &c.’ But surely, you have forgot your own Concession, before taken notice of, that the Common-Wealth, that is, *the Senate and People of Rome*, did recognize the Authority of the (m) *Cæsars*: And when you have prov’d, that *the King* did the like for that of *Oliver Cromwell*, then (but not till then) you may be allow’d to talk rationally, like yourself, of their being *in the very same Case*.
As

(i) Page 69.

(k) *Ibid.*

(l) Page 70.

(m) Page 6.

As to *the Right of Conquest*, you know it is quite out of our present Question; and therefore needs no farther Examination. Nor can *the Event or Success*, in that Case of the *Cæsars*, upon which you are pleas'd to triumph over your Remarker, as if you had him fast bound in a (n) Self-contradiction, be in the least applicable to the present Controversy, either on account of the *Conquest* or *Recognition* before-mention'd: And therefore, if the Remarker is so merrily dispos'd, I don't yet see, why he may not still 'make
' a jest of being determin'd by the Event or
' (o) Success,' as to the Case here in dispute between you, after all that you have said to the contrary. You seem to think you have him fast, when you expostulate thus; 'If it
' was neither shameful nor unlawful for the
' *Jews* to submit to their Conquerors, why
' should it be shameful or unlawful for
' others to submit to their Governors, who
' have a much better Title than that of Con-
' quest; viz. the only Rightful Title which
' the Law (p) allows?' Why truly, Sir, where that is indeed the Case, it can be *neither shameful nor unlawful*, but must rather be their bounden Duty, *to submit*: But then, I presume, the *much better Title* which you speak of, and *the only Rightful Title which the Law allows*, cannot be that of mere *Possession*,

(n) Page 38 & 71.

(o) Page 23.

(p) Page 71.

session, or *actual Government* only, for which you are so strenuous an Advocate! Besides, your Remarker has wisely guarded his Concession, with this saving Clause, ‘ While they ‘ surrender only their own Right, and not ‘ that of another, who has a just Right (or ‘ Title) to their (q) Allegiance.’ But all the notice you take of that here, is to evade the Point, by observing, that ‘ in the Conquest ‘ of a Nation, the People neither surrender ‘ their own Right, nor that of another; all ‘ is taken by (r) Force, &c.’ Which is very true: And yet, when there is not a Conquest, the People may possibly take upon them to *surrender the Right of Another*, without his own Consent, and endeavour to bind him, by their arbitrary and partial Act; which will be a Case too hard for you to justify.

Your Assertion, ‘ That Allegiance is not ‘ personal, but (s) political,’ is contrary to the adjudg’d (t) Cases in our Law-books: But the Instance, by which you would illustrate it, is contrary both to Law and Reason. You say, ‘ A Woman is bound by the Law ‘ to her Husband so long as he liveth; but ‘ when he is dead, she is loosed from the Law ‘ of her Husband: So here, the first Husband is dead, and the Kingdom marry’d to ‘ (u) another.’ For, The Question here is
not,

(q) Page 71.

(r) *Ibid.*

(s) Page 72.

(t) See the *Appendix*, No. iii.

(u) Page 72.

not, what she may do, when *the first Husband is dead*; for, in an Hereditary Kingdom, as is here suppos'd, the Law says, ' *the King never (a) dies,*' because, his next Heir does in the same Moment of the Demise, commence King, without the least *Interregnum*, (b) or Vacancy of the Throne. Supposing then a Woman not only to renounce her former Marriage, but to enter into Matrimonial Acts and Engagements with another, during her Husband's Life-time, can you acquit her of the Crime of Adultery? If not, consider how little Advantage you can gain by this Allusion.

You will not allow, that *Prayers for the King* are an *express and formal Recognition of the Right to the Crown*, but only (c) of the Possession; because ' an express and formal Recognition of Right to the Crown is the Matter of (d) Oaths.' What you say of *Oaths* is true; as is also that which follows, ' Whoever is our King and Governor, and thereby intitled to our Allegiance and Obedience, is also intitled to our Prayers; to all the several kinds of Prayers enumerated by the (e) Apostle.' But still the Question is, Whether he who is *actual Governor*, without any other Title than mere *Possession*, is justly intitled either to the one or the other.

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In

(a) Page 25.

(b) See the Notes on p. 53. & the *Appendix*, No ii, iii

(c) Page 72.

(d) Page 73.

(e) *Ibid.*

In an Hereditary Kingdom, such as is here suppos'd, the Lawyers utterly deny that mere Possession gives a Right to *Allegiance*; and so do the Casuists deny the same as to *Oaths*: Why therefore should not the Divines be as scrupulous in respect of Prayers, as either of the other in Point of Oaths or Allegiance? But, to come closer to the Matter in Hand; surely, the praying for one by Name, as *our Sovereign*, and *God's chosen Servant*, acknowledging him to be *God's Minister*, and to have *his Authority*, &c. (as I have before observ'd) may properly be call'd a *Recognition of his Right to the Crown*, whether you will agree it to be an *express and formal* one or not: And consequently, a sincere Christian ought well to consider, before he presumes to make such a Recognition in his Addresses to God himself, as well as before he calls God to witness the Truth of it by an Oath. And if we are not bound in *Duty*, to put up *all the several kinds of Prayers here enumerated*, at all Adventures, for all *actual Governors*, without regard to their Titles, right or wrong (which is the Sum of your whole Argument) yea, and even for *Usurpers* too in Possession, much less can we be bound to *give Thanks* to God for them; which is as necessary a Part of the Apostle's Injunction as *Prayers* are.

Nor is the Case of the *Jews* praying for
the

the King of *Babylon*, (*f*) any thing more to your Purpose, than all the rest, when 'tis observ'd that *they were* (*g*) *commanded* so to do, as you confess; and that the *Command* was from God himself, who expressly declar'd to them his Pleasure, that they should serve *Nebuchadnezzar* (by Name) King of *Babylon* (how wicked a Tyrant soever he was!) and should *seek the Peace of the City*, to which *he caused them to be carry'd away Captives*, and to *pray for it*; for, in the *Peace thereof* (saith the Lord) *shall ye have* (*h*) *Peace*. But, where shall we find such a Revelation of God's Will, as to the Case in Controversy? — Till you can produce it, I beg leave to remind you of *Jeremiah's* Message to *Hananiab*, *Thus saith the Lord, Thou hast broken the Yokes of Wood, but thou shall make for them Yokes of* (*i*) *Iron!* — And whether this Denunciation is applicable to any Case in our Modern History, I leave to your further Consideration.

As to all that relates to the *Jews* Scruples against paying Tribute to *Cæsar*, whether on account of his being a Foreigner, or an Idolater, I shall not interpose between you and the Remarker, further than to observe,

1. That if they scrupled his Right to it on account of his Religion, then our Saviour's

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De-

(*f*) Page 73.

(*g*) Page 73 & 74.

(*h*) *Jeremiah* xxvii. & xxix. 7.

(*i*) *Jeremiah* xxviii. 13.

Determination (as you construe it) will shew, that Difference in Religion, and even *Idolatry* itself, does not morally incapacitate a Prince for Allegiance, and the other necessary Duties of his Subjects. Or, 2. If their Scruple had respect to his being a Foreigner, it was no more than they had a Warrant for, in the Law of God and Nature; which nevertheless, in some particular Cases, God himself doth authoritatively, but no-body else can lawfully dispense with. But, 3. As you observe, ‘ That the Reason of the *Jewish* ‘ Scruples not being expressly set down in ‘ the Gospels, all that can be said in this ‘ Case, either by Ancients or Moderns, can ‘ amount to no more than probable (*k*) Con- ‘ jecture:’ So we may say of our Saviour’s Answer; *the Reason* of which is no more *expressly set down* than the other. You are pleas’d to affirm, ‘ That the Answer given ‘ by our Lord, did conclude for *Cæsar’s* Right ‘ to demand the Tribute, and their Duty to ‘ pay (*l*) it.’ Now, supposing this, why might it not conclude so? Since *Cæsar’s* Authority was confessedly recogniz’d and submitted to, by the only Persons who had any Pretence to a better Right, as he was now their Governor without any Competitor. But to argue, as you, and some others do, upon *Ajcham’s* Principles, that our Lord’s
 Answer

(*k*) Page 80.(*l*) Page 89.

Answer concluded for *Cæsar's* Right, because he was *in Possession of the Sovereign Power, and had put his Image upon their* (m) *Coin*, is, properly speaking, to talk without Book! For, as it is evident, that the Question was propos'd to him with a premeditated Design, to take Advantage against him from his own Words, and *to ensnare him in his Answer*; (n) so was his Answer guarded with Caution to avoid the Snare; and amounted to no more than a Command to *render, or restore*, to every one what is his proper Right and Due (in like manner, as *St. Paul* afterwards commanded the *Christians*, to *render to all their Dues; Tribute, to whom Tribute is* (o) *due, &c.*) not determining what was particularly due to *Cæsar*, and much less declaring that it was his Right, or any body's else, upon such precarious Principles as are here contended for. As to that idle *Fable*, which you have quoted from *Dr. Whitby*, to prove it a *receiv'd Principle*, among the *Jews*, and a Maxim in their Schools, ' that the receiving the Coin of any Person, as the current Coin of the Kingdom, was not only an Evidence of his being Possessor of the Kingdom, but also that he was own'd by the Inhabitants as their Lord and (p) Governor; ' it proves rather, that they had

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not

(m) Page 90.
(o) *Romans* xiii. 7.

(n) Page 81 & 88.
(p) Page 91, 92.

not common Sense, either when they put the Question to our Saviour, or afterwards, when they made it an Article of his Impeachment, that he *forbade to give Tribute to (q) Cæsar*. And tho' you are pleas'd to affirm, ' that ' the Acts of Parliament in *England*, long ' before the Accession of the *Scottish Race* ' to the Crown of *Great Britain*, expressly ' determine in favour of the King, who is ' in full and peaceable Possession of the ' Kingdom, against all Claims and Rights ' (r) whatsoever; every one who is competently acquainted with our *Acts of Parliament*, must know, that they expressly determine the (s) contrary. So that your *threefold Cord* of the *Jewish Rabbinical Notion*, our *Saviours Decision*, and the Determination of our ancient *Acts of Parliament*, in favour of *Possession*, seems to me, Sir, to be quite untwisted.

The next thing remarkable is, your Interpretation of *St. Paul's Text*, concerning *the Powers that (t) be*. — You seem to be offended at your Remarker, for putting you in mind of the Case of *Cromwell*; who was undeniably for some Time the *Higher Power*, according to your Sense of the Phrase, tho' you confess ' he overturn'd (u) the whole ' Constitution to arrive at it.' But, you know,
Sir,

(q) *St. Luke* xxiii. 2.

(r) Page 92.

(s) See the Notes on p. 55. and the *Appendix*, No. v.(t) *Romans* xiii. 1.

(u) Page 96.

Sir, the Word *Constitution* is variously defin'd, according to the Sense or Interest of the Powers in being. For thus, 'tis plain, *Cromwell*, and the rest of the Usurpers of those Times, tho' they had actually overturn'd the true and ancient Constitution of this Hereditary Monarchy, *as all the World (x) knows*; yet, having done this in a Case of the last Necessity, for the Preservation of the Protestant Religion, and the Security of their Liberty and Property against the Fears and Dangers of Popery and Arbitrary Power (as they demurely pretended!) did not only plead *Providence*, to justify what they had done (as the Remarker truly observ'd) but also insisted upon the *Benefits* to the Public, and particularly that *whatever Right there might have been in others, on account of Proximity of Blood, they, being all under a moral Incapacity of governing this Nation, were now, by the present Laws and Constitution, excluded, their Right extinguish'd, and subsisting no longer; so that there could be no Competitor, no other Person having Right but the Powers then in Possession!* Thus, or to this effect, I say, the most notorious Usurpers have been wont to plead, as gravely as you do: And yet, *all the World knows* (and now we need not fear to say it, tho' in the Time of their Power it might have been call'd High-Trea-

son) that all the Use and Application which they made of those Words, *Protestant Religion, Providence, Liberty and Property, Public Good, Law, Constitution*, and such like, was ‘ nothing but Cant, a common Topic (y) misapply’d;’ and a downright Imposture, to dazzle Peoples Eyes, to frighten them with big Words, and to cheat the Unwary out of their Duty to God, and his Vicegerent the King. But, when your Remarker speaks of the Case of *Resistance* against *Cromwell*, you say, ‘ Tho’ it was not unlawful to ‘ resist him, the Question is, Whether it was ‘ expedient so to do, after he was fully settled in that (z) Power?’ But, I think, Sir, *the Question* here before us, is not concerning *Expediency*, but *Lawfulness and Duty*; as your own Title-Page has open’d the Case to us. Every body knows, ‘ that all that is ‘ lawful is not (a) expedient:’ And the bloody Records of those Times shew also, ‘ that ‘ they who try’d the Expediency of it, try’d ‘ it to their (b) Cost.’ But whatever it *cost* them, it proves nothing to us, more than this, that, in Times of Usurpation, Good Men may be overpower’d, and the Prisoner at the Bar may be condemn’d to suffer what by Law is more justly due to the Mock-judge upon the Bench who pronounceth the Sentence. You are likewise pleas’d to say, ‘ It ‘ is

(y) Page 125, 126. (z) Page 96. (a) *Ibid.* (b) *Ibid.*

' is certain, that the Restoration was not
 ' brought about by resisting him or his Suc-
 ' cessor, or any other Power set up after
 ' them, but by a wonderful Guidance of
 ' Providence, reducing all Things to the an-
 ' cient Form and Constitution, by fair and
 ' just Means, and by the Wisdom, Courage
 ' and Conduct of one Man, General (c)
 ' Monk.' Now, Sir, I would not be thought
 to have a less regard than you have to the
wonderful Guidance of Providence, or to the
Wisdom, Courage and Conduct of that happy
 Agent or Instrument, General *Monk* (of truly
 Glorious and Immortal Memory!) in order
 to that Restoration: Neither am I so for-
 ward, as some might be, to animadvert upon
 the *Antithesis* in this Period, between the
Resisting Usurpers, in order to *the King's Res-*
toration, and the Restoring him *by fair and*
just Means (as if *Resistance* were not a *fair*
and just Mean to such a just and righteous
 End! Or, as if it might not *fairly and justly*
 be us'd against Usurpers, but only against
 Rightful Sovereigns!) But, this I cannot
 avoid to insist upon, that if the whole Na-
 tion had thought it their *Duty* to submit to
 those Usurpers, who then were their *actual*
Governors (according to your Doctrine) it
 would not have been in the Power of *Man*,
 to have brought about the Restoration: And
 how

how far God's *Providence* might have interpos'd, to deliver an infatuated People, against their own Wills, it does not become me to determine. — *Against their Wills*, I say; because they must all have join'd in solemn Prayers to God for the Continuance, Prosperity and Success of those usurp'd Powers, according to your Doctrine; and then 'tis certain (as your Remarker properly observes) *if their Prayers had been heard, we should never have seen a (d) Restoration*. To which give me leave to add this Remark, by the way, *That the ancient Form and Constitution*, which you own to have been then so happily and providentially restor'd, was that of an Hereditary Monarchy, according to the strictest Laws of Succession by Proximity (e) of Blood.

When you come to speak of ' the known
' Constitution of the Kingdom, and stand-
' ing Laws of the Realm, which exclude all
' Papists from the Throne,' you call it ' a
' Law agreeable to the Constitution, and ab-
' solutely necessary to the Safety and Secu-
' rity of a Reform'd Nation; — a Law,
' which a Free People have as much Right
' to make, as any King had to the Crown;
' a Right inherent and invested in them (*the*
' *People*) by the Law of Nature, by the
' Law of God, and by the Constitution of
' the

(d) Page 45.

(e) See the *Appendix*, No. ii.

‘ the (f) Kingdom.’ But you do not inform us where we may meet with this *Law of God* in the Holy Scriptures, nor quote so much as Mr. *Hobbs* for the *Law of Nature*; nor do you tell us of how long *standing* this has been *the known Constitution of the Kingdom*. And yet, this may well be thought the more necessary for you to have explain’d, forasmuch as your Readers will soon discover, that the *excluding all Papists from the Throne*, was no Part of *the known Constitution of the Kingdom*, at, or in Consequence of, the Reformation; nor ever was pretended to be among *the standing Laws of the Realm*, till after the late Revolution: And, will you say, it was then *made a Law by the People*? If not, ’tis vain and absurd, to talk of such an *inherent Right in them*: Especially to the Subjects of *Great Britain*, who never were such a *Free People*, in respect to the *making of Laws*: For that has always been the Prerogative of the King, tho’ now not exercis’d without the Advice and Consent of his Subjects, the Three Estates in Parliament. And surely, *Kings* have had a *Right to the Crown* long before the *People* had any thing to do with the *making of Laws*, but only to submit to (g) them. For the more particular and evident Proof of which we need not go to the Kingdom of *Judah*, or any other abroad; since

(f) Page 97.

(g) See the *Appendix*, No. iii.

since 'tis demonstrable from our own Authentic (*b*) Records, that the Kings of *England*

(*b*) Time was, when those in Power did gravely talk of *the Nation's just and ancient Right of being govern'd by its own Representatives!* (APPENDIX, No. iv.) But the Truth is, 1. That the *very first* Time that the *Representatives* of the Commons appear to have been call'd to *Parliament*, was 49 *Henry III.* And then they were not elected by the Freeholders; but summon'd by the Sheriffs, according to such Qualifications as the King was pleas'd to prescribe. (*Prynne's Plea for the Lords, &c.* 4to. 1658. p. 375.) 2. The Commons had not so much as a *Speaker* of their House till 51 *Edward iii.* (*Ibid.* p. 184.) 3. That the Reason of summoning them at first, and ever since, was only, to have their *Consent* to the Statutes to be made, &c. for the common Profit of the Realm; 'not to give them the least Share, ' Right or Interest in the Judicature, or Judgments of Parliament, as it is the Supreme Court of Justice.' (*Ibid.* & p. 197.) 4. That formerly the Laws were wont to run in this Stile, *The King unto his Justices, greeting; Know ye, that we have ordain'd, &c.* (Statute 21 *Henry. III.*) *The King commandeth, &c.* (Statute 51 *Henry III.*) *The King willeth and commandeth, &c.* (3 *Edward I.*) *Our Lord the King granteth, &c.* (13 *Edward I.*) *Our Lord the King, in his full Parliament, by a general Council hath ordain'd, &c.* (20 *Edward I.*) — *at the Instance of the Nobles of his Realm, hath granted and commanded, &c.* (21 *Edward I.*) *The King, at his Parliament, at the Request of the Commonalty of his Realm, by their Petition, &c. hath granted, &c.* (1 *Edward III.*) — 'The Prelates, Great Men and Commons, ' seeing the Mischiefs, &c. pray the King in this present ' Parliament — to ordain Remedy.' (43 *Edward III.*) *Our Lord the King, by the Assent of his said Parliament, hath ordain'd, &c.* (14 *Richard II.*) — *By the Assent of the Prelates, Lords and Commons, hath made, &c.* (20 *Richard II.*) — *By the Advice and Assent of his Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and at the Request of the said Commons, &c.* (1 *Henry IV.*) — and by Authority of the same Parliament. 11 *Henry VI.* ' Our said Lord the King, by the Advice ' and Assent of his Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and at ' the Request of his said Commons in the said Parliament ' assem-

land had an undoubted and inherent *Right to the Crown*, many Ages before the *People*, or their Representatives, were admitted to Parliament; and that even to this Day the *People* (as *free* as you would make them!) have no *Right* or Authority at all to *make Laws*, nor can so much as assemble to give their Consent to them, without the King's Writ of Summons: And even then too, they are all bound to separate and return home again, whenever it pleaseth the King to give the Word for their Dissolution or Prorogation. So that all your Conclusions from these Premises, for *Praying* and *Swearing*, are without Foundation.

Your Censure also of your Remarker, as 'if he intended to impose on his (*i*) Readers,' is too severe at least, if not unjust. 1. Because, tho' there does not appear the common Mark of *Quotation* (which they call *Turn'd Comma's*) to *distinguish* what he has quoted of *St. Chryssostom's* from what *he has added*

' assembled, and by Authority of the same, hath declar'd, establish'd and enacted in the said Parliament, &c. (1 *Edward IV.*) ——— To the King our Sovereign Lord, prayen the Commons in this present Parliament assembled, That where, &c. please it therefore your Highness ——— to ordain, &c.' (19 *Henry VII.*) ——— ' We your most humble, faithful and obedient Subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, ——— representing the *Three Estates* of your Realm of *England*, ——— most humbly beseech your Highness, that by the Authority of this Parliament, it may be enacted, &c.' (1 *Elizabeth c. 3.* § 1, 2.)

added of his own; yet you can't but know, that such Oversight frequently happen at the Press; and therefore it might reasonably have been expected, that a Gentleman of Candour would rather have imputed that slight Omission to the Carelessness of the Printer, than have charg'd it as a design'd *Imposition* of the Author! And that too the rather, 2. Because the very first Page of this your *Vindication* is the Proof of a like, or a greater, Inadvertency, where the printed Title might possibly be liable to the same Censure, as if you had *intended to impose it on your Readers* for the *Remarks* on your Sermon; whereas the necessary Addition of those Words inserted with a Pen [*Answer'd Paragraph by Paragraph*] shews, that it is not the *Remarks* themselves, but an *Answer* to them: And again, in a Recital of what you have mark'd for *Paragraph XI.* of the *Remarks*, there is a whole Line in the middle of it, with the same *Marks of Quotation*, and no way *distinguish'd* from the rest; tho' I find, on collating them, that these Words here next following [*and that on the very Day of their (k) Coronation*] are not in the *Remarks*, but an Insertion of your own. Nay, after all your Care to have *the Remarker's Arguments reprinted (l) Verbatim*, there is a very material one, concerning *Christ's Refusal of the Kingdom*

(k) Page 51.

(l) Preface & Page 145.

dom at the People's Hands, &c. (m) quite left out of your Quotation; besides many other less considerable Variations. All which Interpolations and Castrations, &c. I impute rather to the Printer's Oversight, than to any Intention in you to impose on your Readers; as you, with a little more Candour, might have done the other.

But, what if the Words here in Dispute are 'not (n) in St. Chrysofom?' Do they therefore deserve no other Notice but a mere Quibble about the Typography? St. Chrysofom, explaining that Text of St. Paul, Romans xiii. 1. does, even according to your own Translation of it, observe, that 'Government, taken in general, is indeed from God, but so is not every Governor' (as your Remarker has fairly cited him from the Original Greek.) (o) 'For there is no Authority, says he (St. Paul) but what is from God. What say'st thou? Is every Ruler then ordain'd of God? I say not this, says he: I do not now speak of every individual Person that governs, but concerning the Thing (p) itself (Authority) &c.' Which that Great and Learned Father illustrates by the Case of Marriage; saying, 'God hath instituted Marriage; not that God hath join'd every-Man that cohabits with a (q) Wo-

(m) Page 76.

(n) Page 98.

(o) Page 93.

(p) Page 98.

(q) Page 99.

Woman, &c.' Upon which your Remarker argues thus; 'As therefore all Property is from God, but not if it be obtain'd by Theft; and as the Union of Man and Wife is from God, but not if it be founded in Adultery; so neither is the Relation of a Governor and those govern'd by him, from God, if it be founded in Usurpation; because, tho' all just Possession be from God, yet unjust Possession is (r) not.' And what do you reply to this? Is not the Inference from St. *Chrysoſtom* just? Why, you say, *Chrysoſtom* speaks not a Word of the Relation between a Governor and those govern'd by him, or the relative Duties between King and People: He only distinguishes between the Thing itself (Authority, or Power establish'd by God) and the Persons who exercise it; as Mr. C. has also (s) done.' But, Sir, methinks, this your Reply is somewhat fallacious. For, 1. St. *Chrysoſtom*, having spoken of Government and Governors, by way of allusion to the Relation between Man and Wife, as is already noted, immediately subjoins these Words (as you have translated them) 'For we see many cohabiting together, not by the Law of Marriage, but in Sin; for we do not ascribe this to (t) God.' Now, would not any one fairly understand by this, as much, as if he had said,

(r) Page 94.

(s) Page 98, 99.

(t) Page 99.

said, in plain Terms, When we see Govern-
 nors actually possess'd of the Power by Usur-
 pation, *we do not ascribe this to God?* For,
 I presume, you will not yet dispute, whether
Usurpation is a *Sin!* And, 2. How can you
 say, that *St. Chrysoptom* only distinguishes *as*
you have done? When he plainly distinguishes
 between *Authority* and *Power*, using the
 Word *Εξουσια*, properly and distinctly, for
 the former; whereas you have translated it
Authority in one Sentence of this Quotation,
 and *Power* in another; and use them every
 where indifferently, as if they were (a) Syno-
 nymous Terms. And so likewise he does
 not say, that *every Ruler is ordain'd of God*,
 or that *there is no Ruler but what is of God*:
 But you have not only said this in effect, but
 endeavour'd to prove it; or else it will not
 be easy to understand the whole Drift of this
 your *Vindication*.

You say, ' It lies upon the Remarker, or
 ' those of his Opinion, to prove, by Law or
 ' Reason, or the Practice of all Nations, or
 ' the Word of God, that a Man's usurping
 ' an Authority or Power which he has no
 ' just Title to, does *ipso facto* dissolve the
 ' Relation, between the Power itself, and
 ' those who are under that Power;' *the con-*
trary of which you suppose to be (b) *evident*.
 But I cannot tell how to understand this,
 L unless

(a) See the Notes on p. 15.

(b) Page 100.

unless you could first *prove a Relation* between such an *Usurper* and the People under his Power; the contrary of which seems to be evident by all the Laws you have mention'd. To talk of *dissolving* a Relation which never properly subsisted, is an Absurdity not worthy of a serious Answer: For the *Relation* is between the Rightful Prince and his Natural-born Subjects (as the Learned in the Law teach us) which must still subsist and oblige, and cannot (c) be *dissolv'd* by any Usurper or Usurpation whatsoever; as I have also more particularly exemplify'd in the Case of an Intruder (d) into your own House and Family. 'Tis true, ' whoever ' has the Power, will be obey'd,' as you (e) say. But the Question is not about the *Power*, or the *Will*, to enforce Obedience; but the Right to that *Obedience*: Nor are we concern'd to enquire what *he may claim*, or his own mercenary Interpreters of Laws may pretend, to be *due* to him; but what is really due to such an one by the Laws of God and Man; neither of which can be fairly interpreted to favour mere Possession, (f) without

(c) See the *Appendix*, No. iii.

(d) See p. 60.

(e) Page 99.

(f) How little regard the Law had to the Title of *Possession* in the three *Henrys* of the Line of *Lancaster*, as well as to that of the Lady *Jane Grey*, and *Oliver Cromwell*, appears already (p. 53, 55, 107, 115.) But, because some People lay a great Weight upon the Statute 11 *Henry* vii. c. 1. which seems indeed to *favour the King for the Time being in Possession*, it may be proper to observe

out and against Right. And, as *hard a Task* as you may think it, 'to distinguish between 'those Kings who had their Authority from 'God, and those who had it (g) not;' the Distinction is easy enough, when we consider, that *Birth-right* itself is an Evidence of

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serve how that Statute was interpreted, 1. In the Case of the Duke of *Northumberland*, whose Plea for his Proceedings in favour of *Jane*, Queen *de Facto*, in Opposition to *Mary*, Queen *de Jure*, was grounded on this very Statute: But the Judgment of his Peers was, 'That the Great Seal he had 'for his Warrant, was not the Seal of the Queen of this 'Realm, nor passed by her Authority; but the Seal of an 'Usurper, and therefore could be no Warrant to him.' And accordingly, the said Duke, and several others, were attainted and executed. Which Judgment and Attainder was confirm'd by Act of Parliament (1 *Mary* c. 16.) as *just and legal*, notwithstanding the Statute 11 *Henry* vii. 'which extends only to indemnify those Subjects *who do their true 'Duty and Service of Allegiance* to their King and Sovereign 'Lord; which none certainly do who adhere and join with 'an apparent Usurper in Possession, against their Lawful 'and Undoubted King and Sovereign Lord; as they here 'adjudg'd, and the Parliaments of King *Edward* IV. long 'before, &c. (*Prynne's Plea for the Lords*, 1658. 4to. p. 497, 498.) And, 2. This Act 11 *Henry* vii. c. 1. 'could 'not secure — those Lords, Gentlemen, and other *English* Subjects, — who accompany'd, assisted our late 'King (*Charles* I.) in his Wars against the Parliament, tho' 'King *de Facto* and *de Jure* too, without any Competitor. -- 'How then it can totally indemnify any — apparent 'Usurpers of the Crown without Right or Title, who shall, 'per fas aut nefas, get actual Possession of the Royal 'Throne, and be Kings *de Facto*, or secure all those who 'faithfully adhere unto them (tho' to dispossess the King *de 'Jure*, or his right Heir, of their just Royalty and Right, 'against all Laws of God, Man, all Rules of Justice, &c.) '— transcends both my Law and Reason too.' (*Ibid.* p. 481, 482.) See also the Notes on p. 55, 115, & the *Appendix*, No. v.

(g) Page 199.

(b) a Divine Designation and Authority. However, as to the Kings of *Israel*, you say, 'They had their Authority from God, as much as the Kings of *Judah* had to the Throne of *Judah*, except the last four or (i) five.' But here you seem to have forgot, what you have before acknowledg'd, that the Kingdom of *Judah* was Hereditary, being entail'd on *David*, and his Heirs, by Divine (k) Appointment.' And every one who can read the Bible may easily perceive, that there was no such Divine Entail, and Hereditary Succession of the Kings of *Israel*, after the Revolt of the Ten Tribes under *Jeroboam*, as to warrant your Comparison. — But of this, perhaps, we may find another Occasion to treat more at large hereafter.

Your Remarker having charg'd you with endeavouring to *make God the Author of (l) Usurpation!* you screen yourself against this, under what you call a *Providential (m) Right*: In the Explanation of which you say, 'If the Most High ruleth in the Kingdom

(l) Bishop *Lloyd*, discoursing of *God's Ways of disposing of Kingdoms*, observes, 'that the Government being made Hereditary, there was no need of any other Human Act for the Continuance of it in their Family. There is nothing more sacred among Men than a Right of Inheritance, But for the Derivation of that Right to their Persons, they owe it only to God: For it comes to them by their Birth; and they owe their Birth only to God,' (Bishop of *St. Asaph's* Sermon 5 *November*, 1690. 4to. p. 15, 16.)

(i) Page 100. (k) Page 52. (l) Page 100. (m) Page 103,

‘ dom of Men, and giveth it to whomso
 ‘ ever he will, then he (to whomsoever he
 ‘ giveth it) hath an undoubted Right and
 ‘ Title to it, and doth no Injury or Injustice
 ‘ to any, because he receives it from him who
 ‘ has the Paramount Right to dispose of it
 ‘ according to his (n) Pleasure.’ But, Sir,
 without making the least Question as to
 God’s Prerogative to do this, may it not be
 reasonable to ask for some better Evidence
 of God’s Interposition, than that of bare
 Events or Success? For every successful Rebel,
 or Usurper, may plead such a Right as this:
 And if this be your *Providential Right*,
 then you must either be liable to the Impu-
 tation of *making God the Author of Usurpa-
 tion*, or else deny, that there is, or can be, any
 such thing as *Usurpation*. — For, where
 you affirm, that this *Providential Right* ‘ is
 all the Divine Right that any King in the
 ‘ World can pretend (s) to,’ you would
 make all actual Possessors of Kingdoms to
 have equally an undoubted Right and Title;
 notwithstanding the Preference is so evidently
 given to the Right of Primogeniture and
 Proximity of Blood, in the Law of God,
 as well as the general Laws of Nature and
 Nations: For the full Proof of which I re-
 fer to *the Prerogative of Primogeniture, &c.*
 by David Jenner B. D. in *Svo.* 1685. and

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the

(n) Page 103.

(s) Page 103.

the short History of the Regal Succession, &c. in the Holy Scriptures; 4th. Edit. in 8vo. 1731. which being fairly examin'd, and compar'd with your *Enquiry into the Right and Title of the Kings of Judah and Israel, &c.* will probably give all unprejudic'd Readers a much clearer *Light into this (p) Controversy*, than that in which you have set it.

But you seem to have furnish'd yourself with a very short Reply to all Arguments which do not suit your present Taste; by ridiculing them as 'wild and unaccountable Notions,' and representing their Authors as 'Enemies to the present Establishment,' and Men 'govern'd by their Passions or (q) Prejudices, &c.' Tho' your modern Zeal has transported you so, that you have not consider'd, that the *Notions* upon which you here pass so *rash* a Censure, were receiv'd and allow'd as ancient Truths, before *the present Establishment* had any Being: And therefore, before you had condemn'd them, you should first have clearly distinguish'd, in what *Cases* that inherent Right of Nature may be *broke in upon*; what is *the most urgent Necessity* for so doing; who are to be the Judges of that *Necessity*; and, after all this, who has a competent Authority to do it; as I have already intimated to (r) you.

You say, 'God prescrib'd no one Form of

‘ of Government to all Nations, in his
 ‘ Word, nor by any other way that we
 ‘ know of; but left them herein to their
 ‘ Choice and (s) Liberty.’ But, you will ex-
 cuse me here, if I put you in Mind of the
 Beginning of *Genesis*; where it appears, that
Adam, the common Father of *all Nations*,
 was invested with a Monarchical Authority,
 by God himself, over all who should proceed
 from him: And his eldest Son had the like
 Authority to rule over the younger. — But
 where we shall find the like Prescript for any
 other *Form of Government*, or where the
 People were left to their own *Choice and Li-*
berity, it lies upon you to shew us; for, all
 you have said of it, is but begging the Ques-
 tion.

You are offended at your Remarker, for
 answering one Text of Scripture with ano-
 ther. To prove your *Providential-Right*,
 you had quoted *Daniel* iv. 7. that ‘ *the Most*
 ‘ *High ruleth in the Kingdom of Men, and*
 ‘ *giveth it to whomsoever he (t) will.*’ And
 to shew you, that this is not to be under-
 stood absolutely, as if every Revolution of
 Government must of course be ascrib’d to
 God’s Approbation, because it cannot happen
 without his Permission, he very pertinently
 puts you in Mind (u) of *Amos* iii. 6. where
 ‘tis said, ‘ *Shall there be Evil in a City, and*
 L 4 ‘ *the*

‘ *the Lord hath not done it;*’ which must undoubtedly admit of a Distinction. — But you say, ‘ What is all this to the (x) Purpose? &c.’ Why truly, Sir, thus much, That *Revolutions* in Government, as well as other Things, may be *evil* and sinful, by means of ‘ sudden Insurrections, Convulsions, and ‘ Usurpations of wicked or ambitious Men;’ which, by your own Confession, ‘ are not to ‘ be ascrib’d to God as the Author; for ‘ he ‘ is not the Author of (y) Sin.’ And, if so, ’twill be a strange Stretch of Logic, to conclude it *lawful and a Duty* not only to submit to those wicked or ambitious Men, who may become *actual Governors* on such a Revolution, but to *pray* to God to *strengthen* and *prosper* them in their Usurpation! ’Tis true, God may permit them to succeed for a Time, to answer some wise Ends of his Divine Providence: But surely, the Subjects cannot be bound to *pray*, and *give Thanks* to God, for their Success in such an *Evil*, without looking upon (z) Him as the *Author* of it.

(x) Page 107.

(y) Page 105.

(z) ‘ To deny God’s Providence, is to shut him out of his own World; but to ascribe wicked Actions to the Divine Providence, is the greater Injury of the two. For, ‘ the *English* of God’s Providence is, *As God would have it.* ‘ Now, when this is apply’d to Usurpation, which is Robbery and Wrong in the highest Degree, and to the Conquest and Enslaving of a Free Nation, which is the most ‘ outrageous Oppression; to say, that these are by God’s Providence, is to say that Robbery is *as God would have*

it. I need not therefore enter here into a particular Examination of the Chain of absurd Consequences, which you endeavour to fasten upon your (a) Remarker. For, his *Objection* being thus pertinent to his *Purpose*, and fairly conclusive against your too-general Doctrine, will acquit him of your invidious Charge (b) of *Shuffling*; and whether he may not retort the Reflection back upon yourself, 'tis your Business, not mine, to consider.

As to the Case of *Absalom*, you say, it is *not at all to (c) the Purpose*. But after all you have objected, I cannot but be of another Opinion. For, tho' you say, 1. 'What *Absalom* might think or plead is nothing to the Purpose, but what he could in Truth and Justice (d) plead;' it is at least thus much *to the Purpose*, to shew, that wicked
and

'it, and Oppression is as God would have it. But this, all the World knows, is contrary to God's known and revealed Will: And therefore, as the Atheists deny God, so these Men make him to deny himself!' (*Samuel Johnson's Argument proving the Abrogat. of King James, &c. 4to. 1692. Preface, p. 39, 40.*) 'The Disposal of all other Things is attributed to God in Scripture, as well as Promotion; and if this Promotion be attain'd by wrongful and wicked Means, such as Usurping, Conquering, and Enslaving a Nation, plainly are, it is Blasphemy to ascribe this ill-gotten Promotion to God. For Instance, *Proverbs xvi. 33. The Lot is cast into the Lap; but the whole disposing thereof is of the Lord.* Now, I say, to apply this Text to a foul Throw and Cogging the Dice, is Blasphemy: And to say, that God has dispos'd and transferr'd the 100 l. Stake to this false Gamester, and that now he has a Divine Right to it, is repeated Blasphemy!' (*Ibid. p. 41.*)
(a) Page 107. (b) *Ibid.* (c) Page 139. (d) Page 109.

and ambitious Men may pretend a *Providential* Right, to justify them in the most illegal and unnatural Usurpations. And, supposing what you say, 2. ‘ That tho’ all the
 ‘ World knows now of the *Evil* threatned
 ‘ to *David* for his great Sin, yet it is a *Quef-*
 ‘ tion, Whether it was known at the Time
 ‘ to *David’s* Subjects, or even to his (e) Fa-
 ‘ mily:’ And if I should gratify you so far,
 as to admit it to be ‘ much more probable,
 ‘ that the Message from God was deliver’d
 ‘ by the Prophet to *David* himself, in pri-
 ‘ vate, and not divulg’d to (f) others:’ Yet,
 since there actually was such a *Message from*
God, threatning to raise up that Evil against
David, which *Absalom* afterwards executed,
 surely, he might have pleaded, ‘ that what
 ‘ he did was by the unerring Will of God,
 ‘ by a particular Providence, and even by an
 ‘ express (g) Prophecy, &c.’ at least as properly
 as the like can be pleaded in any other
 Case, where there is not any Pretence of
 such a Message, either public or private. 3.
 You justly observe, ‘ That had *Absalom* been
 ‘ a righteous Person, — he would have
 ‘ said, *Tho’ Evil is denounc’d against my Fa-*
 ‘ *ther, God forbid that any of his Sons, —*
 ‘ *much more that I, — should be the Au-*
 ‘ *thor of this Evil unto him!*’ Because it
 ‘ might as well have been fulfill’d by any
 ‘ other

(e) Page 109.

(f) *Ibid.*

(g) Page 108, 109.

' other Person, rather than one of his own
 ' Sons; who could hardly be thought capa-
 ' ble of so much Wickedness, as to (b) rebel,
 ' &c.' But yet, this does not prove *Ab-
 lom's* Case to be impertinently cited by the
 Remarker: Since even here, by your own
 Confession, tho' God's Denunciation of that
 Evil to *David* had been divulg'd, and *Ab-
 lom* had known it, he could not be a *Righ-
 teous Person* in the fulfilling it; the Thing in
 itself being a monstrous *Wickedness*, to rebel
 against, and usurp upon his *Father* and So-
 vereign! &c. And consequently, the Peo-
 ple of *Jerusalem* could not be bound in *Duty*
 at that Time, to *pray and give Thanks* to
 God for *Abalom*, when he thus became their
Actual Governor; which is the Point your
 Remarker has objected to (i) you. And,
 whereas you say, 4. ' *Abalom* could never
 ' think or plead what the Remarker has al-
 ' ledg'd for him, because he had no Com-
 ' mission from God to do what he did; no
 ' Prophet sent to him; no Anointing with
 ' Oil (k) before-hand:' 'Tis true, without
 these his Plea must have been unjust, and
 blasphemously prophane. But it does not
 necessarily follow, that a *wicked and ambi-
 tious Man* (such as you have describ'd to be
 most apt to engage in the like (l) *Revoluti-
 ons*)

(b) Page 110.

(i) Page 109.

(k) Page 110.

(l) Page 105.

ons) might not *think or plead* at this rate, however unjustly; for you admit, that such Men *may think or plead what they cannot in Truth and Justice (m) plead*. And, with great Submission, Sir, it seems well worthy of your Second Thoughts, whether your own Plea, here so strenuously insisted on, so far as it relates to your *Providential Right* of all *Actual Governors*, as such, may not lie open to the same Objection, and for the same Reasons which you have here objected to that of *Absalom*. And, tho' you are pleas'd to say, 5. 'That God did not give the Kingdom to *Absalom*, but soon brought his Rebellion and Usurpation to an End, and himself to an untimely (n) End;' Who could foresee this while it was in its flourishing State? Or what is it to the purpose, whether it was brought to an End *soon* or late? Your own Argument, that Kings 'hold their Crowns and Kingdoms of the Majesty of Heaven, by no other Tenure than *Durante beneplacito, or quamdiu bene se (o) gesserint*,' supposes it to be absurd, to object against any *Providential Right*, the short Time of possessing it. For, as 'they are only the Servants of the great God of Heaven, the Ministers of his Kingdom upon Earth, whom he may turn out at his Pleasure, and put others in their (p) room,' it would
be

be very absurd, according to your Scheme, to argue as if they had a Grant for a certain Term of Years! You cannot but know, that some have enjoy'd the Kingdom, and actually had all that which you term a *Providential Right*, fifty or sixty Years together, or more, who yet (for one single Defect in their Titles) have been confessedly as arrant Usurpers as *Abalom* was. Another of your Arguments is this, 6. ' *David* had given no Cause to the People to revolt from (q) him.' And I grant you, that there was *no Cause* to justify the People in their Revolt. For he, being their Sovereign, was not accountable to them; as he declares, even in his solemn Penitentials to God, saying, *Against Thee, Thee only, have I sinn'd, and done this Evil in thy (r) Sight*. But the Question is not, Whether *David* had given Cause to the People to revolt; but, Whether the People did not take occasion to pretend such Cause? Now, 'tis evident, that *Abalom* had insinuated many Defects of Justice, and other great Grievances, wanting Redress in his Father's (s) Administration: And that such his Insinuations were so effectual, among the giddy Multitude, that thereby he *stole the Hearts of the Men of (t) Israel; and the Conspiracy was strong; for the People increas'd continually*
with

(q) Page 111.

(r) *Psalms* li. 4.(s) 2 *Samuel* xv. 3, 4.(t) *Verses* 6,

with (u) Absalom. And, in Truth, when we consider, how *David*, having first defil'd *Uriah's* Bed, did, in a most illegal, arbitrary, tyrannical and wicked Manner, concert and procure the injur'd Person to be murder'd, 'twill not be very easy to shew, what could more justly possess the People with 'perpetual Fears and Alarms of destroying their Religion, Laws and (x) Liberties;' or what could be a more likely and natural Cause, to incite them to *revolt from him*, than such an outrageous Breach of the Laws both of God and Man, not only attempted, but actually executed. — But, because *Comparisons are odious*, I shall forbear to press this Point with all its hideous Aggravations.

In the next Place, you object to the Remark, that 'the Facts here are much misrepresented, and the Term, *Revolution*, very improperly apply'd.' For Proof of which, you say, 1. 'A sudden Insurrection, or Rebellion, which never acquir'd any Settlement or Possession, but was quell'd and suppress'd in its Infancy, was never call'd a (y) *Revolution*.' But, before they were quell'd and suppress'd, I suppose, even you (if you had liv'd within the Reach of their Power) would have thought it proper, and more prudent to give them the softer Term of *Revolutions*, rather than have bluntly call'd

(u) Verse 12.

(x) Page 112.

(y) *Ibid.*

call'd them by their proper Titles. As for Instance now in *Corfica*, if you were an Inhabitant there, under the Power of their new King *Theodore*, would not you be apt to call it a *Revolution*? Yes, surely; and acknowledge him to have a *Providential Right* too, upon your Principles (for he is in *Possession*, and not yet *quell'd and suppress'd*;) tho', if you liv'd under their Sovereigns at *Genoa*, no doubt but you would have call'd that whole Transaction a *Rebellion*, and him an *Usurper*! For so we commonly find the Terms *Revolution* and *Rebellion* to be convertible, and variously us'd, according to the Circumstances of Affairs, and the Sense of the Parties who apply them: As the Insurrection of *Monmouth*, being *quell'd and suppress'd in its Infancy*, passes under its proper Title of a *Rebellion*; which if it had succeeded, and continued till now, had been call'd a *Glorious Revolution*! However, if you rather chuse to have all Insurrections against Rightful Powers, call'd downright *Rebellions*, I shall not contend with you about it. But, you insist, 2. That '*Absalom* was never Actual
' (z) Governor.' And why so? Because,
' to be Actual Governor, a Man must be in
' the Actual Possession of the Kingdom; his
' Authority recogniz'd, at least, quietly sub-
' mitted to by the People; he must appoint
' the

‘ the Judges, Magistrates and Officers; the
 ‘ Laws, public Acts and Deeds must run in
 ‘ his Name; and he must imprint his Image
 ‘ on the current Coin of the Kingdom: Not
 ‘ one Tittle of all which was done, or could
 ‘ be done by (a) *Absalom*.’ But was not
Absalom in the *Actual Possession of the King-*
dom, and, as such, look’d upon by his Adhe-
 rents to be their *Actual Governor*? When he
 took upon him to (b) *reign*, and *the Hearts*
of the Men of Israel were *after* (c) him, and
 they attended him in his (d) *Army*; when
 he was recogniz’d by the People in general,
 under the Royal Title of *King*; as appears
 not only by *Hushai’s* Court-like Addresses to
 him, in Compliance with the Mode, even by
David’s own political Order; (e) (all which
 had been impertinent, and could not have
 answer’d the End design’d, if *Absalom* had
 not been generally look’d upon to be *Actual*
King and Governor over all *Israel*, in the
 Place of his dispossest’d Father *David*;) but
 also by *Shimei’s* Words, *The Lord hath deli-*
ver’d the Kingdom into the Hands of (f) *Ab-*
salom. To this last indeed you object, that
 ‘ what *Shimei* said, was without any Ground
 ‘ or Warrant, and proceeded only from En-
 ‘ mity to *David*, and his Friendship to the
 House

(a) Page 112 and 113. (b) 2 *Samuel* xv. 10.

(c) Verse 13. (d) 2 *Samuel* xvii. 24.

(e) 2 *Samuel* xv. 34. xvi. 16. and xvii. 11, 18, 19.

(f) 2 *Samuel* xvi. 8.

‘ House of (a) *Saul, &c.*’ But whatever it proceeded from, neither he nor *Hushai* had imputed that Revolution to the Lord’s Doing, if it had not been true in Fact, at least, that the Kingdom was turn’d from *David* to *Absalom*, and that he was look’d upon to be actually in Possession of it. And did he not appoint *Officers*, such as the State of Affairs then requir’d, when he call’d to his Council (b) *Achitophel*, and (c) *Hushai*, in the Presence of *all the Elders of* (d) *Israel*; and when he levied *all the Men of Israel*, and made *Amasa Captain of the Host*, instead of (e) *Joab*; issuing all such King-like Orders as Occasion requir’d? And if he did not also appoint *Judges* and other *Magistrates*, or imprint his Image on the current Coin, it was plainly not for want of Power (or *Authority*, as you are pleas’d to call it) but only because he had no occasion so to do. How then can you say, that *not one Tittle of all this* (which you make the Characteristic of an *Actual Governor*) was done, or could be done, by *Absalom*? — But you seem to be somewhat liable to your own Censure of *misrepresenting* (f) *Facts*, not only in what I have already noted, but also in what follows; where you add to all this, 3. That *David* was not *dispossess’d* (g) *of the Kingdom*. What you say,

M in

(a) Page 111.

(b) 2 Samuel xv. 12. and xvi. 21.

(c) 2 Samuel xvii. 5.

(d) Verse 4.

(e) Verse 24, 25.

(f) Page 112.

(g) Page 113.

in general, is indeed very plausible, that ‘ a
 ‘ King is never accounted *dispossess’d* of the
 ‘ Kingdom, who continues in the Kingdom,
 ‘ and has his Officers, his Friends and his
 ‘ Army about him, (b) strong enough to
 ‘ beat the Rebels.’ But whoever duly ex-
 amines the History of that *Revolution* (for so
 I think it may yet be call’d without any *Im-
 propriety*) as it is set down in the Holy Scrip-
 ture, may find, that *David* was reduc’d to so
 great Distress, that he was forc’d on a sudden
 to *flee* for his Life to *escape* from (i) *Absa-
 lom*; and to *go where he might* hope to be
 safe from his Enemies; being in doubt *wheth-
 er in Death or* (k) *Life*: That he *wept as*
he went up, and had his Head cover’d, and
went barefoot, and all the People that was with
 (l) *him*,: That it was accounted highly cri-
 minal to correspond with (m) him: And
 that he was driven to the Necessity of flying
 by Night *beyond* (n) *Jordan*; whither also
Absalom pursu’d, and *all the Men of Israel*
with (o) *him*. ’Tis true, this Army was at
 length remarkably defeated by *the Servants*
of (p) *David*: But this happy Event is not
 ascrib’d to any *Strength* that *David* had, in
his Friends and his Army about him; but
 wholly to the Providence of God, who was
 pleas’d

(b) Page 113.

(i) 2 Samuel xv. 14.

(k) Verse 20, 21 and 26.

(l) Verse 30.

(m) 2 Samuel xvii. 19.

(n) Verse 22.

(o) Verse 24.

(p) 2 Samuel xviii. 7.

pleas'd first to infatuate *Abfalom's* Counfels, in order to bring *Evil upon* (q) him, and afterwards to bring him to an untimely and exemplary (r) End, for a Terror to all fuch unnatural and audacious Rebels. And if all this may not be taken as a Proof, that *David* was, in the mean time, *dispossess'd of the Kingdom*, being fled out of the Land, while the whole Power appears to have been thus vifibly in *Abfalom's* Hand, whom the People had *anointed over* (s) them, it will not be eafy to know, how any *King* may have been accounted *dispossess'd of his Kingdom*, who has afterwards had the Happinefs of a Reftoration, as *David* had. For, as to your Affertion, that ' *David* was not fo much as oblig'd to leave *Jerufalem*, by the Rebels, but might have continued in it, if he would; for he was able to have defended it againft them; but he left it voluntarily, the more to humble himfelf under the Hand of God, chaftifing him for his Sins; and, by that means, to prevail with God the fooner to remove (t) the Rod: ' This requires fome better Authority, fince there is no Colour for it, but much to the contrary, in the facred Record. But fupposing it well vouch'd, what would it avail you? For if you would thence infer, even that *David*

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had

(q) 2 *Samuel* xvii. 14.(s) 2 *Samuel* xix. 9, 10.(r) 2 *Samuel* xviii. 9.

(t) Page 113.

had abdicated the Government, and left the Throne vacant, this however is evident, that such an Abdication was never accounted a Forfeiture of his Right, or any Bar to his Restoration. Upon the whole Matter, so clearly does it appear, that *David* was, for some Time, *dispossess'd*, and *Absalom* the *Actual Governor*, that, according to your Principles, it must have been the Subjects *Duty* to have *pray'd* for the latter rather than the former, *so long as the Power was in his Hands*. For this is the very Argument by which you hold it to have been lawful to pray for (u) *Cromwell*, whose Title was no better than that of *Absalom*, unless that the one *died in his Nest* (as your Remarker (x) expresses it) and the other on a Tree!

But now, that I have had this Occasion again to mention *Cromwell*, who certainly had all the Marks by which you denote an *Actual* (y) *Governor*, I shall turn back to take a Review of the *Reasons* which you have given for your extraordinary *Opinion*, that such an *Usurper* as he was, *is to be pray'd for as our* (z) *Governor! viz.* 1. ' Because
 ' the Higher Powers, under whom this, and
 ' all the other Precepts — were given, —
 ' were Usurpers, or those who deriv'd their
 ' Power from (a) Usurpers.' But your Mistake

(u) Page 51. (x) Page 114. (y) Page 112, 113.
 (z) Page 48. (a) Page 48, 49.

take in this has been sufficiently noted (b) already. 'Tis granted, however, that they *were Tyrants*; and particularly *Nero* by Name, under whom *all these Precepts were written*:
 ' And yet to him Submission, Obedience,
 ' Tribute, Honour, and for him Prayers are
 ' enjoin'd; under him did Christians serve,
 ' and to him take the Military (c) Oath.'
 And what is to be concluded from hence? Not that any of these are due to *Usurpers*; but that they are due to Rightful Princes, even tho' *Tyrants*, as *Nero* was. So that, if you had been an Advocate for King *Charles I.* or his Sons, this had been true Scripture-Doctrine: But to apply this to *Usurpers*, to a *Cromwell*, &c. is grossly abusing the Authority of *St. Paul* and the Primitive Christians, who were far from patronizing such Revolution Principles. Your next Reason is, 2.
 ' Because our Prayers, in this Case, —
 ' have no respect to the Titles or Rights of
 ' the Governor, but to the Person governing,
 ' and the End of (d) Government.' Which is begging the Question, and taking that for granted, which is a main Part of the Controversy: Whereas you very well know, you must prove this, if you can, before you draw any Inferences from it, in favour of all Actual Governors. But you say, 3. ' It is
 ' to be observ'd likewise, 1. That the Pray-
 M 3 ' ers

(b) See p. 35, &c. & 126.

(c) Page 49.

(d) *Ibid.*

' ers in the *English* Liturgy could not suit
 ' with *Cromwell*, nor his Title of *Protector*;
 ' they being all put up for *our King and*
 ' *Governor*, which *Cromwell* was (e) not.' —
 And, 2. ' That no Man was oblig'd to
 ' use the Prayers in the Liturgy for *Crom-*
 ' *well*: On the contrary, the Liturgy itself
 ' was suppress'd, and every Man was at
 ' Liberty to pray for him in what Terms
 ' he pleas'd, or were most suitable to the
 ' present Circumstances; and this (*you say*)
 ' he might lawfully do as long as the Power
 ' was in (f) his Hands.' But, in answer to
 this, give me Leave to observe, 1. That,
 tho' *the Liturgy itself* was suppress'd in *Crom-*
well's Time; yet you know, Sir, this Aposto-
 lical Injunction, in your Text (that *Sup-*
plications, Prayers, Intercessions, and Giving
of Thanks be made for all Men; for Kings,
and for all that are in Authority, &c.) could
 not be suppress'd, or dispens'd with, being
 a Duty ' at all Times (g) binding.' So that
 the Christian Subjects were indispensably
 bound thereto, whatever Difficulties or Dan-
 gers they had incurr'd in so doing. 2. That,
 according to your Doctrine, they could not
 pray for King *Charles* as their King and
Governor, while he was *dispossess'd* of (b) *the*
Government: Nor yet for *Cromwell*, because
 he

(e) Page 50.

(g) Page 45.

(f) Page 50, 51.

(b) Page 26.

he was not their *King* (i) and Governor. So that here an indispensable Duty could not be perform'd at all! But, 3. Not to insist on the strict Terms of the Liturgy, which indeed *could not suit with Cromwell, nor his Title of Protector*; Will you maintain, that, when *every Man was at Liberty to pray for him in what Terms he pleas'd*, they who presum'd to *pray for him, as Protector and Governor*, that he might *vanquish and overcome all his Enemies, &c.* or in other Words to that effect, and to *give Thanks to God for such his Successes and Victories, even over the King himself*, as was common for those wretched Time-serving Preachers (k) to do,

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(will

(i) Page 50. (k) Mr. *Thomas Speed*, in a Thanksgiving Sermon at *Bristol*, for *Oliver's* Victory over the King at *Worcester* (on *Psalms* 1. 15) opens his Discourse in these very Words; 'We are this Morning met together, to speak well of the Name of the most High God, for that which (next to the Redemption of lost Man through Christ) we may truly call the greatest Demonstration of Grace that ever Heaven made to any of the Sons or Daughters of Men; for that which is the Joy of all those Hearts that wish well to Zion, and the equal Terror of all its Adversaries; for that which is the Wonder and Amazement of all Neighbouring Nations; and which (through the Goodness of God) may prove a happy Preamble to the Establishment of Truth and Peace in this Common-Wealth!' After which, he gravely talks of the unspeakable Mercy of a Deliverance from 'that inevitable Rain that was coming upon our *Laws and Liberties, our Birth-rights as we are Men!*' — Of 'the Signal of *Heaven's* Approbation, Victory given in to the most Righteous Cause!' — Of their deep Blindness who 'cannot see the Hand of God, when it is so gloriously lifted up on the behalf of his People! &c.' And concludes thus; 'Let every Man when he comes home,

' write

(will you, I say, undertake to maintain, that those unfaithful Dispensers of the Word of God) were justifiable, as having done their *Duty*, or what they *might lawfully do as long as the Power was in his Hands?* Or that the Praying in such Terms as these, was not a *Praying against* their undoubted injur'd Sovereign? I hope not! And yet, this you must maintain, according to the whole Tenor of your Doctrines, however absurd in itself, or inconsistent with the Laws of God and Man, or the Principles of Right Reason or Common Sense! Upon the whole therefore 'tis plain, that the Case of *Cromwell* is not impertinently *urg'd again and again in the Remarks*, as you (l) would represent it. But your insinuating that it was done with a Design to draw a *Parallel* between that Case and (m) *the Revolution!* and charging the Remarker with '*supposing the present Government to be (n) Usurpation,*' is not only invidious as to him, but may be unserviceable even to the present Government; as if the present Government, and the Revolution upon which it is founded, could not be sufficiently vindicated, without the Help of your precarious Hypothesis, of the Authority

‘ write this Motto upon his Door-Posts; *Saved by God*; upon his Wife and Children, *Saved by God*; upon his Estate, *Saved by God*; upon his Liberty — — *preserved by God! &c.* (Sermon 24th. October, 1651. 4^{to}. p. 1, 16, 24, 25, 31)

(l) Page 45.

(m) Page 46.

(n) Page 103.

rity of all *Actual Governors* whatsoever; which is the main Point here in *Question*, and what no Man of sound Principles can ever agree to.

I have been the more particular in the Examination of these Cases, to shew, how little Foundation you have in Scripture, or any other authentic History, to support your Doctrine of the *Lawfulness and Duty* of praying for all present Powers, or *Actual Governors*, as such, without Distinction of their Titles, right or wrong. But I hope you will take notice, that I do not apply what I have here said, to any other of our present Controversies: Nor does it appear to me, that you, in so doing, have done much Honour to the Cause, for which you have enter'd the Lists as a Champion. Nevertheless, because you are apt to triumph over your Remarker, as if every thing in your Sermon which he has not directly objected to, were to be taken *pro confesso*; and that you may not have occasion to do the like to me, I find myself under a Necessity to take notice of some few Passages, in this your Vindication, relating to the *Revolution*, which otherwise I did not at all intend to meddle with: And from your Ingenuity in these, I shall leave it to the Reader to judge of the rest.

You tell us plainly, that you ' did not
' mean to justify every Person, or every Ac-
' tion,

' tion, that contributed towards it; nor do
 ' you affirm, that all the Persons, or all their
 ' Actions, were (o) righteous.' And what is
 this, but to suggest to your Reader, as if there
 had been some *Absalom* or *Achitophel*, or
 some other such-like *unrighteous Persons*, con-
 cern'd in the late Glorious Revolution, whose
Actions contributing towards it, could not be
 fairly *justify'd*! If so, you would have done
 well to have mention'd some Particulars, for
 the Honour of that great Event; that the
 Reader might be able to distinguish, which
 of the *Persons or Actions that contributed*
towards it are justifiable, and which are not;
 and thereby the more effectually convinc'd,
 that ' the Revolution was the Work of
 ' God's Providence: ' Whereas, only to *assert*
 this, in general Terms, as ' a Change just
 ' and necessary in the present State of
 ' Things,' and, after such very obscure Insi-
 nuations of somewhat *unjustifiable* in it, to
 talk of *the Wickedness of Man being over-*
ru'd by (p) God, &c. is not the way to con-
 vince the Consciences of People who are
 dissatisfy'd, as to the *Lawfulness and Duty*
 of such *Praying and Giving Thanks*.

You say, The Revolution ' was with the
 ' general Consent of the People of all Ranks,
 ' from the Highest to the Lowest, both in
 ' Church and State; whose Hearts the Lord
 ' turn'd,

‘ turned, as of one Man, to bring it about,
 ‘ and to establish (q) it.’ Now, this supposes
 such a Providential Unanimity and Con-
 currence in it, as is not consistent with what
 you tell us, immediately after, of *many*
Lives and Fortunes lost in Opposition to (r) it,
 and of *many Attempts made, many Designs*
deeply laid, and many times great Hopes con-
ceiv’d to overturn (s) it. Nor does this sup-
 pos’d Unanimity appear to be Matter of
 Fact, if we may believe how inconsiderable
 a Majority of Voices there was to carry it,
 in either House of a Convention summon’d
 even by the Party principally interested in it;
 or the seemingly credible Accounts which
 we have had from Persons deeply concern’d
 in the Secrets of that Time, that not one of
the highest Rank in the Church (the then Bi-
 shops) had any Hand in it: And ’tis well
 known, that many Men of all Ranks, both
 in Church and State, suffer’d a Deprivation
 of all their Preferments, and other Hard-
 ships, because they could not in Conscience
 comply with it. You say, ‘ They who op-
 ‘ pos’d it, as they did here in *Scotland*, and
 ‘ in *Ireland*, fell a Sacrifice to that Opposi-
 ‘ tion, and thereby lost their Religion, many
 ‘ of them their Lives and Fortunes, and
 ‘ brought Misery and Ruin on themselves
 ‘ and the Nation, as the Lord threatned to
 ‘ his

(q) Page 118.

(r) *Ibid.*

(s) Page 119.

' his People of old, if they refus'd to submit to the King of (t) *Babylon*.' And how could they expect any other, if they had then such an express Command from the Lord to submit, as the *Jews* had formerly to the King of *Babylon*? For this you seem willing to make your Readers believe, (or else why did you make the Comparison?) tho' you are indeed so modest, as not to offer any Proof of it. But I pray you, Sir, what do you mean by their *losing their Religion*? We know, the whole Episcopal Church of *Scotland* was then abolish'd, and Presbytery set up in its room. But this, we were told, was done agreeably to the Humour or Inclination of the Nation! If therefore you mean this, you must look upon Presbytery as *no Religion* at all (which some of your Neighbours, I suppose, will not thank you for) and at the same Time lay an heavy Imputation upon those who promoted such an *Alteration of the Constitution* there, as if they chose to have *no Religion* establish'd, rather than that *true Religion* which was of Divine Institution!— But, be that as it will, by whatever Means their *Religion* was *lost*, and the *Nation* brought to *Misery and Ruin* (as you here affirm) methinks 'tis like to be but a slender Motive to *Prayers* and *Tbanksgiving* for those who may be suppos'd to have been the

the Cause of it! Nor can all this be consistent with your other Affirmation; that the *Revolution* was brought about, ‘ without
 ‘ any Bloodshed, Confusion of the State, or
 ‘ Alteration of the Constitution in Church
 ‘ or (u) State:’ And that ‘ the Constitution
 ‘ was hereby preserv’d; the true Religion
 ‘ and Laws, the Rights, Liberties, and Pro-
 ‘ perties of the People, and the Lives of the
 ‘ Subjects were (x) secur’d;’ which I leave
 you to reconcile (if you can) with the fore-
 going, at your Leisure.

Again, among some more Arguments of the like kind, under Pretence of justifying the *Revolution*, as *the Lord’s Doing*, you observe, ‘ that the many Attempts and Designs
 ‘ to overturn it, have all been blasted, and
 ‘ come to nought; some of them by unex-
 ‘ pected unforeseen (y) Accidents.’ But the Fallacy of this is easily seen through. For, your Readers have not all forgot, that there were many *Attempts* to overturn a former Constitution, in order to the Restoration of King *Charles*, and namely at *Preston*, *Dunbar* and *Worcester*, &c. which were *blasted and came to nought*. And yet you cannot thence infer, that the Constitution then in being, was according to *God’s Will*, and had his *Approbation*; since you confess, the Restoration, which afterwards ensued, was *certainly brought*

(u) Page 118.

(x) Page 119.

(y) *Ibid.*

brought about by a wonderful Guidance of (z) Providence; unless you can believe, that God's Providence (a) was on both Sides of the Cause, in direct Opposition the one to the other!

After all this, and something more concerning *the Blessings of Religion and Liberty, preserv'd and secur'd by the Revolution*, you are pleas'd to raise an Objection against it, in these Words: ' We deny not, may some
' reply, that these are valuable Blessings, and
' highly to be priz'd; but we *must not do*
' *Evil that Good may come.* What Power
' or Authority had they to do this? Was
' not this done against Lawful Authority,
' and contrary to the Word of God, which
' enjoins Obedience to the Higher Powers,
' as well as against the Laws of the (b)
' Land?' And, lest your Readers should find it too hard for them to answer this your own
Objec-

(z) Page 96.

(a) The same unhallow'd Preacher, in his remarkable Sermon last quoted, among many more Expressions of the like Strain, says, ' If they ask us,
' *Where is our God?* We can answer them with Joy and
' Boldness, that our God is the Living God, who scatter'd
' them in his Displeasure at *Marston-moor*; whose Power
' brake them in Pieces at *Naseby-Field*; who smote their
' Great Ones in *Kent*; who, by a Handful, put Thousands
' to Flight at *St. Faggon's*; the Stroke of whose Terror they
' felt in the North; whose Strength made the Weak strong,
' to stain the Glory of their Pride at *Dunbar!* whose Hand
' was never drawn back, but was stretcht out still, untill he
' had put on the Top-stone of our Deliverance at *Worcester.*'
(*Speed*, p. 20.) See also the Notes on p. 38, 145, 152, and
167.

(b) Page 119.

Objection, you make a Show of answering it yourself. A *Show*, I say; because, to be free with you, it would incline those who do not know you, to suspect, that you have not yet got quite clear of your former Scruples, tho' you have thrown the Burden of them off your Back! The Substance of your Answer thereto is, in short, this. 1. ' That if we are commanded to *resist the Devil*, we may surely resist the Evil, in order to preserve the Good we enjoy, but is in Danger to be (c) lost.' I need not insist upon the Coarseness of the Comparison between *the Devil* and a Rightful Sovereign, which sufficiently exposes itself! The Weakness of your Argument is enough for me to shew; *viz.* That because, whenever he tempts us to Sin, we must *resist the Devil*; therefore we may resist God's Vicegerent, whenever we think ourselves *in Danger of losing any thing that is good!* To which you add a Common-Place Descant concerning *Self-preservation*; of which you immediately defeat us again, by this *Proviso*, that ' it be not forbidden by the Law of (d) God,' as you know *resisting the Higher Powers* expressly to be. 2. You heap up together a Parcel of strange Principles, concerning *Tyranny, Slavery, Popery, Arbitrary Power, Oppression, Coronation Oath, Forfeiture, Free-People, &c.* which are all

(c) Page 120.

(d) *Ibid.*

all so controverted, as not to be admitted in Answer to the Objection. For tho', as you observe, ' the People are a free People, not ' (e) Slaves;' you must remember, that they are all Natural-born Subjects; and consequently *bound to Allegiance and Obedience* to the Sovereign, from their very Birth, without the additional Tye of any (f) Oaths; on which account, the vulgar Notion of a *Free-born Subject* is a downright Absurdity and Contradiction in Terms.

For this is as much a *Law of Nature*, as your *Self-preservation* is: So that if you will put the latter in Opposition to the former, you will make the Law of Nature inconsistent with itself, and consequently of no Force at all. ——— That we may lawfully defend our Lives and Fortunes against all unlawful Attempts, is granted us even by the gracious Concessions of our Kings themselves, whose ordinary Judges are sworn to do equal Justice, between the King and every Subject, as well as between Subject and Subject. But your Objection supposes a Resistance of Sovereign Authority after another, and more extraordinary Manner; which the Answer you have made to it has not yet accounted for, and which even your own Author Dr. *Falkner* (g) utterly disallows.

Your Assertion, that *the People* ' are to
' be

(e) Page 120. (f) See the *Appendix*, No. iii. & v.

(g) See the *Appendix*, No. i.

‘ be govern’d by their own Laws, which they
 ‘ themselves (a) make,’ has been already (b)
 prov’d to be a Mistake too great to be excus’d
 in a Gentleman who talks so much of Law,
 unless you could produce some one Authentic
 Voucher to support it. Neither is it true in
 Fact, that ‘ the King is bound by Oath, —
 ‘ as much (c) as the People are bound to
 ‘ Allegiance and Obedience.’ For ’tis so well
 known, that I dare even appeal to your-
 self for the Truth of it, that the King’s
 Right commenceth immediately from the
 Death of his Ancestor; so that his Subjects
 are all *bound to Allegiance and Obedience* to
 him, (d) whether he is ever crown’d or not;
 and till his *Coronation* there is never any
Oath taken by, or tender’d to him. But, as
 to what you infer from these false Premises,
 that ‘ if a King of *Great Britain* shall break
 ‘ through the Laws, and his Coronation-
 ‘ Oath, endeavour to subvert and overturn
 ‘ the Constitution, introduce Arbitrary Pow-
 ‘ er, a false Religion, &c. — he may forfeit
 ‘ the People’s Allegiance, as well as the Peo-
 ‘ ple, by their Disobedience to his just and
 ‘ lawful Commands, may forfeit their Title
 ‘ to his (e) Protection;’ ’tis such a dangerous
 Conclusion, as may afford a Handle to more
Revolutions than you would be thought an
 Advocate for; since, if this be once allow’d,

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either

(a) Page 120.

(b) See p. 139.

(c) Page 120

(d) See the *Appendix*, No. ii. iii.

(e) Page 121.

either to be good Law, Reason or Equity, What may not some Fanatical Party or other construe to be a *Breaking through the Laws and the Coronation-Oath*, and a *Subverting and Overturning the Constitution*; or at least an *Endeavour* so to do? (For you leave them to judge for themselves!) And what will all we can say to the contrary avail us, if they have once got Power enough to maintain their Allegations by the all-convincing Sword and Gun? And, 3. Tho' 'tis true, ' there is nothing in the Word of God ' that forbids Men to preserve and secure ' their Lives and Liberties, their Religion ' and (*f*) Constitution;' that is to say, by any lawful Means; yet if this cannot be done without forcibly *resisting the Higher Powers*, you would do well to observe, that *the Word of God*, which expressly *forbids such Resistance*, has in the most effectual Manner, forbidden us so to *preserve and secure* ourselves here, under the Penalty of *Damnation* hereafter: And, likewise to consider with what Propriety, an Event brought about by such Means, so *contrary to the Word of God*, can ever ' be presum'd agreeable to ' his (*g*) Will!' — So that, whether you or your *Remarker* is more justly liable to the Censure of ' dazzling the Eyes of the Ignorant, and such as seek not Truth, but only ' to be confirm'd in their Prejudices and (*h*) ' Errors,

‘ Errors, &c.’ I shall not take upon me to determine ; but leave it, upon the Whole, to all *Men of Sense and just Reasoning*, to judge for themselves indifferently between you.

You confess, ‘ It is certain, God does not always approve what he permits: For he does not approve Sin, and yet he permits it; but is so far from approving, that he will severely punish (i) it.’ Why then, Sir, are you so highly offended with your Remarker for distinguishing in all the Events that happen between God’s *Permission and (k) Approbation, by his Word?* How can you affirm, that, ‘ in outward Events, — God’s Will of Permission, and his Will of Approbation, is one and the (l) same?’ And with what Sincerity can you suggest and insinuate to your Readers, that the Words, *Providence, Injustice, Punishment, Permission and Approbation*, are made use of by the Remarker to no other End, but ‘ to misapply Words, to call Evil Good, and Good (m) Evil!’

You are pleas’d very gravely to ask, ‘ Is the Preservation of God’s true Religion, of the Laws, Lives, Liberties and Properties of the People, &c. ——— a Punishment that proceeds from God’s (n) Wrath? &c.’ No, Sir! Not in themselves. But yet, the most notorious Usurpations having been

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(i) Page 127, 128.

(k) Page 125.

(l) Page 139.

(m) Page 126.

(n) *Ibid.*

sometimes brought about by the mere Presence of such *Preservation*, which nevertheless have prov'd the utter Subversion of *God's true Religion*, as well as of the *Laws, Lives, Liberties and Properties of the People*, (known Instances of which need not here to be repeated) such Usurpations, at least, may properly be look'd upon as *Punishments proceeding from God's Wrath*; ' and may be ' compar'd to Plagues, Hurricanes and ' Earthquakes, as the greatest Evil of the ' (o) two.' And again, you ask, ' Are Arbitrary Power, Oppression, Slavery, &c. on ' Pretence of Religion — Blessings and ' Mercies, which we ought to wish and pray ' (p) for.' Who supposes it, Sir? By this time, surely, all Men, who have not lost their Senses, must be convinc'd of the contrary. But yet, even these are not to be oppos'd in any way that is contrary to the Laws of God, the Laws of Nature, and the Fundamental Laws of the Land. So that the *wild and unreasonable (q) Opinions* which you exclaim against, may return, without a Compliment, to those, who looking through your Spectacles, may be more apt to *see all Things inverted!* and so learn to misapply Words, *calling Evil Good, and Good Evil!*

Among the other Arguments here brought to prove, that the Nation did not any *Injustice*

(o) Page 126.

(p) *Ibid.*(q) *Ibid.*

tice to King *James* (which I am not dispos'd to dispute with you) you mention this as one, that *both his Daughters reign'd successively after (r) him*. But your calling them ' the only Persons of the Royal Family who were of Age to (s) govern,' seems to be a full Concession, that there was some other Person of the same Family, who might have succeeded with less *Injustice*, had it not been for want of *Age to govern!* Now, whether our Laws have ascertain'd any particular *Age*, as the necessary Qualification to the Crown, or what it is, you have not told us; nor whether the Person you mean by this Distinction, did ever yet arrive to the *Age to govern*. You seem willing to make your Readers understand you, of the Child born the 10th of *June* 1688, whose Birth was then acknowledg'd and congratulated, by Addresses from the Prince and Princess of *Orange*, and all Ranks and Orders of M^{en}, as well as in the more solemn Prayers and Thanksgiving of the whole Church of *England*, for him, as undoubted Prince of *Wales* (as appears by the *London Gazette*, and those Original Offices, publish'd by *Authority*.) And that this was your Design, is the more probable, from divers other Passages in this very Book; where, speaking of the same Person, and of his Legitimacy, you have

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(r) Page 127.

(s) *Ibid.*

publish'd these remarkable Words: ' Howe-
 ' ver the Words of the Oath of Abjuration
 ' found, yet it cannot be suppos'd, or pre-
 ' tended, that they require any one, who
 ' takes it, to believe *The Pretender* to be Ille-
 ' gitimate, because that Point never came
 ' before the Parliament, but was carefully
 ' avoided; and because the chief and lead-
 ' ing Men — did own and suppose the
 ' Legitimacy of his Birth, at Dr. *Sacheve-
 ' rell's* (t) Trial.' And again, ' A generous
 ' Act of Favour and Respect to *The Pre-
 ' tender*, abstractly, as a *Prince royally de-
 ' scended*, is neither a Sin, nor inconsistent
 ' with this Oath: For, the denying him a
 ' Legal Title to the Crown, does not render
 ' him incapable of all Honour and Respect,
 ' due to his Dignity, Quality or (u) Merit.'
 With what Design you have publish'd such
 Expressions as these, God and your own
 Conscience can only know: But many Peo-
 ple will not be persuaded to believe, that a
 Gentleman of your Judgment could seriously
 propose all this, as any Motive to the taking
 Oaths to, and praying for, the present Go-
 vernment, whatever Zeal you may express
 for it.

And the like Objection may be made to
 the Arguments by which you say, ' We
 ' may reasonably infer God's Approbation of
 Dis-

(t) Page 208.

(u) Page 223, 224.

‘ Disapprobation ; ——— that, in this Case,
 ‘ there was not only Permission; but (x) Ap-
 ‘ probation, &c.’ For, 1. Granting, in ge-
 ‘ neral, that, ‘ where there is no Prohibition,
 ‘ by any Law of God, there certainly is a
 ‘ Permission ; and what we have Liberty to
 ‘ do, and transgress no Law by doing, that
 ‘ we may lawfully (y) do:’ Yet, what will
 you lay down for your Assumption, or Mi-
 nor Proposition, to ground a Logical Con-
 clusion upon? If you say, *there was no Pro-*
hibition, by any Law of God, nor any Law
transgress’d, in the Case in Question, you
 must expect to be told of the *Prohibitions*
 against *Subjects resisting the Higher Powers,*
 and *Children disobeying their Parents, &c.*
 And, if this was a *Sin, and only permitted by*
God, for wise Reasons (as he ‘ was pleas’d to
 ‘ permit *Satan* to bring all those Evils upon
 ‘ *Job*, which are recorded in that (z) Book’)
 then, by your own Confession, *God does not*
approve it; ‘ and yet he permits it; but is so
 ‘ far from approving, that he will severely
 ‘ (a) punish it.’ Nor can you reply, that
 there was no *Resistance* in the Case in Que-
 tion, since you have publish’d this, for an un-
 deniable Truth, that, ‘ in all preceding
 ‘ Reigns, *Resistance*, upon any Pretence
 ‘ whatsoever, was, by many Statutes, unlaw-
 ‘ ful ; but now the Lawfulness of it is main-
 ‘ tain’d,

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(x) Page 129.

(y) *Ibid.*

(z) Page 139.

(a) Page 127, 128.

'tain'd, and made the Foundation of the
 'present Constitution, as without doubt it
 'is: For, unless Resistance be allow'd in
 'some Cases, the Revolution cannot be (b)
 'defended.' And, unless you can fairly
 maintain this your first Argument, the next
 will not be thought worthy of any Consi-
 deration at all. For, where you say, 2.
 'What the Nation had thus a Permission to
 'do, or might lawfully do, without trans-
 'gressing any Law of God, may be pre-
 'sum'd to be agreeable to the Will of God,
 'and to have his (c) Approbation;' all this
 will be look'd upon to be (as indeed it is)
 but a Begging the Question, which ought
 first to have been prov'd; viz. that there
 was *no Prohibition, by any Law of God, nor*
any Transgression of any Law, in the Resist-
ance then made. For, 'tis not enough to
 say, that 'the Natural Rights and Liberties
 'of Mankind, Christ's true Religion pre-
 'serv'd, &c. — are Things certainly agree-
 'able to God's Will, and have his (d) Appro-
 'bation;' because the same has been plead-
 ed, with as much Confidence, in some other
 Cases, where the Means have been evidently
 unlawful; and which even yourself cannot
presume to have been agreeable to the Will of
God, and to have had his Approbation; as
 I have already observ'd. And, for the same
 Reason,

(b) Pages 206, 207.

(c) Page 129.

(d) *Ibid.*

Reason, I would not have said any more of what you offer, as the next Argument; *viz.* 3. 'The wonderful Manner in which it was brought about, the many signal Providences that have attended it, the Blasting all the Designs, and Bringing to nought all the Attempts that have been made from Time to Time to overturn (e) it:' But, since you are pleas'd to call these a *visible Approbation from Heaven*, and to declare, that you can see no reason, why they should not be allow'd to signify God's (f) *Approbation*; I beg Leave to say, this Argument proves too much, and therefore ought not to be admitted for any Proof at (g) all.

After this, as if you were (like *Ascham*, whom you have gravely (h) quoted) a profess'd

(e) Page 129, 130.

(f) *Ibid.*

(g) Bishop Burnet truly observes, That this from *Providence* is a *dangerous and deceitful Argument*, and therefore to be touch'd with *Caution*. And then he says, 'It is certain, that God, for the *punishing* of Nations, gives sometimes such a Torrent of Success to those who are the Instruments of their Correction, that this may be rather a Mark of his *Displeasure* against those who are to be brought low, than of his *favouring* those who are lifted up. There are also such Mysteries in the whole Conduct of the World, that, tho' our Partiality makes us apt to magnify all that we like; yet, if we carry it too far, we will be in danger to be often out of Countenance, when the same Argument turns against us: Therefore, before we can make any Comments on so doubtful a Text, we must be first sure, that the Ground-work is well laid, and that both the Cause itself, and the Means us'd to advance it, are good.' (*Sermon at St. James's the 23d. of December 1688. 4to. p. 9, 10.*) See also the Notes on p. 74, 152, 167, 174. and the *Appendix*, No. iv. v. (h) Page 90, 91.

fess'd Advocate for *Usurpation*, you treat your *Remarker* with an Air of Contempt, for his saying, that ' *in Usurpation there is always* ' *Guilt and Perverseness in the Will; it is* ' *founded in Injustice, and thrives by Perjury,* ' *Bribery and (i) Oppression!*' But, what do you answer to this? Is it not true? — Indeed you do not think fit to say that: But — ' Alas-a-day! good Man, how little he knows of (k) the World!' As if to *know the World* were only another Phrase for being a Friend to Usurpers! Or, as if the more that a Man *knows* of the World, he will see the less *Guilt* of *Perjury*, *Bribery* and *Oppression*, in *Usurpation*! If so, I fancy, few of your Acquaintance, or mine, do yet *know much of the World*. However, to shew, that *all these Crimes* are not confin'd to *Usurpers and their Reigns*, you are pleas'd to throw Dirt upon the Memory of our Rightful Kings; and, namely, to charge *Henry VIII.* with *Guilt and Perverseness in the Will*; and even the Royal Martyr, *Charles I.* with *Oppression*; and his Son, *Charles II.* with *Bribery and Corruption*; and all of them with (l) *Injustice*! Now, tho' it is not my Business here, to engage in the Vindication of these, or any other of our Rightful Kings; yet I may be allow'd to remind you, that the Church in which you officiate as a Priest, and whose solemn Offices I suppose you

(i) Page 125.

(k) Page 131,

(l) Page 132.

you punctually observe, does, at least once in every Year, solemnly pronounce one of these Kings to have been (*m*) *innocent*; which might well have screen'd him from your Aspersions: But, after you have said the worst you can of them all, it will not follow, that the Reign of any Usurper can be so free from these and such like Crimes, as that of a Rightful King may be; since a King, however personally vitious, may have a great many Public Virtues and Royal Qualities to counterballance his private Vices; whereas an Usurper, whatever personal Virtues may be ascrib'd to him, must necessarily be chargeable with the public Crimes here specify'd, which are essential to the very Nature of (*n*) Usurpation. So that, after all, your Remarker may be a very *good Man*, without an Irony, tho' he may *know so little of the World*, as possibly to prefer the Government of the very worst of our Rightful Kings, before that of the best Usurper you can name or patronize. For tho' 'tis true, as you observe, that even '*Oliver Cromwell*, after he became Protector, maintain'd the Honour and Interest of the Nation abroad, however tyrannical he was in his Government at (*o*) home;' and 'set himself to advance the Interest of the Nation, and its Power (*p*) abroad:' Yet, how popular or advantageous

(*m*) 30th of January.

(*o*) Page 70.

(*n*) See the Notes on p. 21, 22.

(*p*) Page 117.

tageous soever it might be, to curb the Depredations and Encroachments of the *Spaniards, Dutch,* and other insolent Foreigners, all this could not acquit him, or any other Usurper whatsoever, of the Guilt of Usurpation, or counterballance the many other heinous Crimes which necessarily accompany it: But if you will name any of our Rightful Kings, who were *tyrannical in their Government at home,* and at the same time careless of the *Honour and Interest of the Nation abroad,* tho' you should say, they were worse in that respect, than even *Cromwell* himself, I shall not dispute that Point with you.

A great deal more might be added, to shew the Weakness of your Arguments, by which you seem willing to support a strange and precarious *Hypothesis,* of the *Lawfulness and Duty of Praying* for all sorts of *Actual Governors,* for the Time being, without Distinction of their Titles, right or wrong; as well as the Unseasonableness of many things which you have here offer'd by way of Application thereof. But, I think, there is no occasion for more, to satisfy any *Man of Sense and just Reasoning,* provided he be disinterested as I am, and equally free from Prejudices; and to those who are not so, all that can be said, will be but lost Labour. However, I cannot but again take notice here, that you have made great and frequent Use of one Subterfuge, unworthy of your Character,

racter, where you endeavour to debar your Antagonists of a just Liberty of fair Debate, by representing them as Enemies to the present Government, only for controverting the Principles of Usurpation. Thus you are pleas'd to say, ' The Remarker here, and ' all along, supposes the present Government ' to be nothing but Usurpation; and upon ' this Supposition has founded all that he ' has said against the Sermon; — but has ' not offer'd one single Argument, or Shadow ' of one, to prove it (q) so.' How then, Sir, do you know, that he argu'd on that Supposition? Tho' I know nothing of him, more than he has discover'd of himself in those *Remarks*, which gave occasion for your *Vindication* and this Epistle, I cannot but think, he *has offer'd* divers substantia. *Arguments to prove*, what he undertook; *viz.* that there are *some strange Doctrines in your Sermon*, which are *capable to do harm*, and therefore ought to be (r) *check'd*: For to strengthen his *Proofs*, you have, in this your *Vindication*, justify'd all he had charg'd upon your Sermon, by defending and enforcing the *strangest* of those *Doctrines*, in such a manner, that the greatest Enemy of the present Government needs not to wish for more Advantage against it in Disputation, than you have here afforded him.

And

(q) Page 134, 135.

(r) Page 143.

And now, as you have honourably declar'd, that *if you was sensible, that you had deliver'd any Error in your Sermon, you* ' would think it no Shame at all to retract (s) ' it,' I am the more encourag'd to call upon you, Sir, in the most solemn manner, as a Gentleman, a Scholar, a *Briton*, a Christian, a Priest, and a Preacher of the Word of Truth, to *retract* the *Errors* which I have here prov'd in this your *Vindication*: And especially these which follow in your own Words; *viz.* ' That *Julius Cæsar, and Augustus*, were (t) but Usurpers; confessedly ' (u) Usurpers; in the very same Case with ' *Oliver (x) Cromwell.*' That the *Higher Powers*, under whom the Gospel-Precepts were all given, ' were Usurpers, or those who ' deriv'd their Power from (y) Usurpation.' That *Charles II.* during his Banishment, ' was not King, but in Name (z) only.' That the *King in Possession* is ' the Fountain of ' Authority and Honour, &c. and not any ' other Person, whatever his Right might ' (a) otherwise be.' That ' the Law has no ' regard to any Right, Claim or Title, but ' to that of the King in Possession (b) only.' That ' a Governor's Title, whether just or ' unjust, concerns not us, — as we are ' (c) Christians.' That ' Allegiance is not ' perfo-

(s) Page 144.

(x) Page 70.

(a) Page 61.

(t) Page 6.

(y) Page 48, 49.

(b) *Ibid.*

(u) Page 20.

(z) Page 25.

(c) Page 28, 65.

‘ personal, but (d) political.’ That, even in an Hereditary Monarchy, ‘ the Good of the People is the Supreme Law; by which all other Laws are to be directed, and to which they must (e) yield.’ That the People have ‘ a Share in the Supreme (f) Power; are to be govern’d by their own Laws, which they themselves (g) make; and ‘ have as much Right to make *Laws* (for their own Safety) as any King had a Right to the (h) Crown, &c.’

I forbear to mention any more Particulars of this kind; tho’ many may be collected out of this same Performance. Nor do I take upon me thus to call upon you for a Retraction, as having any Authority over you; but merely as a Friend to the Truth, to make that more evident, to the Glory of God, your own Honour, and the undeceiving of many pious, but misguided People. I know, Sir, you need not me to put you in Mind of the indispensable Obligations upon every good Man to endeavour all he can to reduce into the Way of Truth those especially, whom by any Mistake of his own, he may have been the Occasion of leading into an Error. As the *Proof* which you formerly gave to the World, ‘ that not Interest, but Conviction prevail’d with you, in the Matter now before us, when you voluntarily

(d) Page 72.

(e) Page 60.

(f) Page 63.

(g) Page 120.

(h) Page 97.

‘ rarely parted with All, rather than enter
 ‘ into Engagements contrary to *your* then
 ‘ (i) Sentiments,’ was a strong Argument of
 your Sincerity; so the Reputation of that
 Sincerity will be apt to make those of weaker
 Judgments give entire Credit to whatever
 comes from your Pen or Pulpit, without
 examining (s the Noble *Bereans* did by
 even St. *Paul’s* Doctrine, and whom he
 highly (k) commends for it) *whether those*
Things are so, as you teach them, or not.
 Which Consideration should not only prevail
 with you to be very careful of your own Doc-
 trine, but also, methinks, to be particularly
 tender of casting any Reflections upon those
 who still labour under the same Difficulties
 of your own former *Sentiments*, and are con-
 sequently as fairly entitled to the favourable
 Plea of Disinterestedness and Sincerity as
 yourself.

Instead of which, ’tis not a little Abate-
 ment to the *Character* which you have, ‘ of
 a good-natur’d and agreeable (l) Gentleman,’
 to find you, on every Occasion, charging
 those very Men, with whom you agreed in
Sentiments many Years, in the Strength of
 your Age and Judgment, with ‘ Ignorance,
 ‘ Prejudices and (m) Party-Notions!’ with
 being ‘ as obstinate as the *Jews* (n) were!’
 with pretending to ‘ be wiser than God (o)
 ‘ him-

(i) Page 145.

(k) *Acts* xvii. 11.

(l) Page 143.

(m) Page 35.

(n) page 37.

(o) Page 43.

‘ *himself!*’ with being ‘ *wilfully (a) blind!*’ with being ‘ *generally positive, and conceited of their (b) Opinions!*’ with ‘ *being bound down by false Principles and (c) Prejudices!*’ with ‘ *wilfully resisting that Power which God has set over (d) them!*’ with ‘ *wild and unreasonab!e Opinions,*’ and ‘ *seeing all Things (e) inverted!*’ with ‘ *misleading the People, and teaching them Things directly contrary to their (f) Duty!*’ with ‘ *standing in Opposition to, and directly gainsaying, an express Command in the Gospel, and the Practice of the whole Christian (g) Church!*’ with ‘ *hardening their Hearts (h) against the Truth!*’ And a great deal more of the like kind, much easier for the Reader to collect, than for the Writer to justify or excuse.

But if all these Characters were so plainly discernable in those whom you have left, as you would now represent them, ’tis somewhat strange, that a Gentleman of your Penetration could not discover them in less than ten or twelve Years! And stranger still, that few or none among those of that Sentiment, have yet been so effectually *convinc’d* as to follow your Example! I would not insinuate a Suspicion, that either St. *Dunstan’s* Lecture in *Fleet-street, London,* or St. *Paul’s* Chapel in *Aberdeen,* could possibly have such

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(a) Page 88.

(b) Page 89

(c) Page 94.

(d) Page 95.

(e) Page 126.

(f) Page 130.

(g) Page 138.

(h) Page 145.

a Charm as to open your Eyes at last ; nor yet do I believe, that you had an Illumination immediately from Heaven, as *St. Paul* had. But this, at least, I may be allow'd to say, that, since it requir'd so many Years Time, and so *much Pains*, as you tell us, to *examine Things, and weigh them impartially*, as you did, before you could be *convinc'd of your (i) Mistake*, great Indulgence ought to be granted to others, who, tho' not yet convinc'd of a Mistake, may be as sincere, and as far from *hardening their Hearts against the Truth*; as yourself.

After all, you are pleas'd to 'acknowledge
 ' the Remarker's Humility and Modesty
 ' here, and his good Nature, in having kept
 ' his Temper so well as he has done in the
 ' Remarks; a Thing (*you say*) not very usual
 ' in those of his Opinion, when their Sentiments
 ' are (*k*) oppos'd!' Whether you
 ' *have been behind-hand with him in (l)*
 ' *Civility*,' the Reader will now judge. But
 you seem to me to have given an ample
 Proof, that those of his Opinion, whom you
 condemn for it, are not the only Persons who
 do not *keep their Temper* very well, *when*
their Sentiments are oppos'd. Whether those
 many harsh Reflections which you have dealt
 about so freely, among those who *oppose*
 your present *Sentiments*, may suffice to apolo-
 gize

(i) Page 145.

(k) Page 147.

(l) *Ibid.*

gize for such seeming Want of *Temper* in any Expression that may have escap'd my Pen, I leave to your cooler Consideration. I own, 'tis natural to me, to feel a generous Warmth of Indignation and Resentment, whenever I see an Insult offer'd to any Party that is DOWN. And yet, so far am I from resting in the Confidence of this fair and reasonable Excuse, that if, contrary to my Intention, I have given Occasion of Offence to any unprejudic'd Reader, I heartily wish it unsaid, and sincerely ask Pardon for it.

To conclude all, in the Words of an Eminent Writer, ' God grant us the Blessing of
' benign Temper; and that while we differ,
' it may be done without Breach of Cha-
' rity; that we may at least reserve good
' Wishes for our Old Friends, and contribute
' our Prayers for the Benefit of each other!'

London, 29. May, 1738.



O :

P O S T-



P O S T S C R I P T.

HAD your Vindication come sooner to my Hands, it had found me more at Leisure, and met with a quicker Dispatch: But ever since it came to me, divers other Affairs have so much interfer'd with it, that I could not sit close to it; and therefore 'tis no Wonder, if, after frequent Interruptions and Avocations of many Days (and sometimes Weeks) some Repetitions may have happen'd, and possibly several Passages have escap'd my Memory, which otherwise had not pass'd me without due Notice.

This I think necessary to acquaint you with, that you may not take the Advantage of any such Oversight, and call it a *Concession* of the Truth of every thing which I have not particularly granted or denied.

I do assure you, Sir, I have not knowingly pass'd over any material Part of this Controversy, through any Difficulty that appear'd to me, or a Diffidence in my own Capacity (slender as it is) to give it a proper Answer. But, I believe, when the several Remarks contain'd in the foregoing Epistle (which have
swell'd

swell'd it to a Bulk much larger than at first I expected) are fairly consider'd, they will be found, at least, by rational Inferences, to furnish a sufficient Answer to every Part of your Vindication, so far as materially relates to the main Point in Question between you and me; viz. *the Lawfulness and Duty of praying for all Actual Governors*, as such!

As to your ' Enquiry into the Right and ' Title of the Kings of *Judab* and *Israel*, to ' their respective Kingdoms,' I would have taken it into a particular Examination, as ' being a Continuation of the Answer to the ' Remarks:' But, that Subject being fully and professedly treated of, in the *Short History of the Regal Succession*, &c. before refer'd to, there seem'd not to be any Occasion to enlarge upon it here; and the other *Papers relating to the Oaths*, not being a necessary Part of the Present Question, I contented myself with touching them occasionally by the bye. However, if it be your Pleasure to call upon me for a Continuance of this Correspondence, you shall find me willing and ready to supply what is defective, and to retract what is erroneous, as well as to maintain what is defensible, in the foregoing Epistle. In the mean time, if you think I am mistaken in the Points and Principles here controverted, you may perceive, that I have Choice of Authorities on my Side (and such as you cannot fairly except

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against)

against) by the Specimen here laid before you, in the foregoing *Notes*, and the following APPENDIX.



A P P E N -



A P P E N D I X.

N U M B E R I.

DOCTOR *Falkner* proves, That
 ‘ Temporal Dominion is not origi-
 ‘ nally founded in the entertaining the true
 ‘ Doctrine of Religion, or the Faith of
 ‘ Christianity.’ *Christian Loyalty*, 2d. Edit.
 1684. 8vo. p. 322.

That ‘ Doctrines allowing Subjects, or
 ‘ others, to depose, or murder Princes, are
 ‘ heretical.’ *Ibid.* p. 325.

That the Sense of this Clause, *That it is
 not lawful, upon any Pretence whatsoever, to
 take Arms against the King*, ‘ is nothing
 ‘ more, than what the Church of *England*,
 ‘ and the eminent Members thereof, hath
 ‘ constantly acknowledg’d.’ *Ibid.* p. 338.

That, ‘ if it be allow’d lawful, for Sub-
 ‘ jects, in any Case, to take Arms against
 ‘ their Sovereign, this must include a Right
 ‘ in them of *judging*, whether their present
 ‘ Case be such, in which they may lawfully
 ‘ *resist* or no: Otherwise, they must either
 ‘ have a general Power of Resistance and
 ‘ taking Arms, without Distinction of any

' Cases; to assert which would be all one as
 ' to declare them to be *no Subjects*, or under
 ' no Government; or else they must resist in
 ' *no Case* at all. But to assert, that the Peo-
 ' ple, or Inferiors, are of right *Judges* of
 ' the Cases, in which they may resist their
 ' Superiors, is as much as to say, they are
 ' bound to Subjection, only so far as them-
 ' selves shall think fit; and that they may
 ' claim an Authority over their Governors,
 ' and pass Judgment upon them, and de-
 ' prive them of their Dignity, Authority,
 ' and Life itself, whensoever they shall think
 ' it requisite and needful. But this cannot
 ' be otherwise than a Foundation of great
 ' and general *Confusion* in the World.' *Ibid.*

p. 365.

That ' it is against all Pretence of Reason,
 ' that the Rights of Superiors, which are the
 ' greatest, and *on which all inferior Rights*
 ' *have Dependance*, should be least regarded;
 ' as if it were fit, that the Interests of a
 ' Child, or Servant, should be preserv'd, and
 ' not those of a Father, or a Master!' *Ibid.*

p. 375.

That our Saviour ' took care of the Pre-
 ' servation of the *just* Royalty and *Right* of
 ' Princes, and did not intend to debase, lessen
 ' or diminish that Sovereignty and Autho-
 ' rity which they had a *Right* before to en-
 ' joy.' *Ibid.* p. 469.

That ' had the Holy *Jesus* intended to
 ' have

‘ have his Person rescu’d out of the Hands
 ‘ of the *Jews*, he could have effected this
 ‘ by *Legions of Angels*, who are under no
 ‘ Obligation of Subjection to Men. But
 ‘ God’s *Providence* can never be so at a loss,
 ‘ as to need the Help of any unlawful
 ‘ Means.’ *Ibid.* p. 478.

That as to *Self-defence and Preservation*,
 ‘ we must distinguish between the using that
 ‘ Right against Thieves and private Persons,
 ‘ against whom it may be us’d by the Au-
 ‘ thority of the Laws; and the designing
 ‘ any Violence against the Rule and Com-
 ‘ mand of the Sovereign Power.’ *Ibid.*
 p. 481.

That ‘ there is no *Heresy* more pernicious;
 ‘ the Precepts of Christ decrying this, the
 ‘ whole Life of Christ being opposite to it,
 ‘ the *Apostolical* Doctrine testifying against
 ‘ it; it being also rejected by so many Thou-
 ‘ sands of *Martyrs*, and contradicted by the
 ‘ Ancient Interpreters.’ *Ibid.* p. 482.

That, by *κριμα*, which we render *Dam-
 nation*, in *Romans* xiii. 2. ‘ the Apostle doth
 ‘ both understand the *Judgment of Man*, or
 ‘ Punishment by the Hand of Justice by the
 ‘ Magistrate, and also the *Judgment of God*,
 ‘ or the Sentence of his Condemnation.’
Ibid. 484, 491.

That ‘ the Spirit of God speaketh much
 ‘ in favour of *Monarchical Government*, tho’
 ‘ then *Pagan*; but gives no Encouragement
 ‘ to

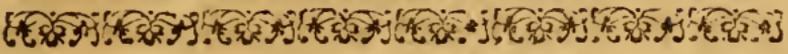
‘ to the Notion of them who would embrace a *Popular Sovereignty*. *Ibid.* p. 488.

That ‘ it is Matter of Wonder, that any Men should have the Confidence, to make Christianity a Foundation for the highest *Resistance* against Princes, to *depose* them from their Crowns, and forbid Subjects to yield them Obedience!’ *Ibid.* p. 489.

That ‘ the Examples of Arms taken against Kings, who govern’d, not by a precarious, but by their own *proper Right*, cannot be commended without violating Piety, whatsoever Pretence or Success they had.’ *Ibid.* p. 491.

That, whereas ‘ some have pretended, that where such Attempts have met with *Success*, this Success was a Testimony of *God’s Providence approving* them, such Pleas are of a very *dangerous and evil* Nature: Especially because, 1. They are in some Degree *Blasphemous*; as if the Holy God, who hateth all Evil, and hath given strict Commands against it, were to be esteem’d an *Approver* of all that Wickedness in the World, where he doth not either forcibly restrain, or immediately destroy, the Offender: 2. This Pretence is greatly opposite to the Principles of Christianity, both in despising and abusing the Patience and Long-suffering of God; and in building upon such Foundations as can bear no Weight, unless Men overlook and
‘ disre-

‘ disregard the future Account, and the Re-
 ‘ wards and Punishments of another World.’
Ibid. and p. 492.



N U M B E R II.

*A PROCLAMATION of both Houses of Par-
 liament, for proclaiming of his Majesty, &c.*

‘ **A**LTHOUGH it can *no way be*
 ‘ *doubted*, but that his Majesty’s Right
 ‘ and Title to his Crowns and Kingdoms, is,
 ‘ and was, *every way completed*, by the
 ‘ Death of his most Royal Father, of Glo-
 ‘ rious Memory, without the *Ceremony* or
 ‘ Solemnity of a Proclamation; yet, since
 ‘ Proclamations in such Cases have been al-
 ‘ ways us’d, to the end that all good Subjects
 ‘ might upon this Occasion testify *their Duty*
 ‘ and Respects; — We therefore, the
 ‘ Lords and Commons — do, *according*
 ‘ to our *Duty and Allegiance*, heartily, joy-
 ‘ fully and unanimously acknowledge and
 ‘ proclaim, That immediately upon the De-
 ‘ cease of our late Sovereign Lord King
 ‘ *Charles*, the *Imperial Crown* of the Realm
 ‘ of *England*, and of all the Kingdoms, Do-
 ‘ minions and *Rights* belonging to the same,
 ‘ did, by *Inherent Birth-right*, and *Lawful*
 ‘ and *Undoubted Succession*, descend and come
 ‘ to

‘ to his most excellent Majesty *Charles II*, as
 ‘ being lineally, justly and lawfully, *next*
 ‘ *Heir of the Blood Royal* of this Realm. ---
 ‘ And thereunto we most humbly and faith-
 ‘ fully do submit and *oblige ourselves, our*
 ‘ *Heirs* and Posterities for ever. Dated the
 ‘ 8th Day of *May*, 1660.’

‘ God save *the King*.’

And, long before this Time, particularly
 ‘ in the Case of *Watson* and *Clarke*, 1. *Jac. i.*
 ‘ it was clearly resolv’d by all the Judges
 ‘ of *England*, That presently, by the De-
 ‘ scent, his Majesty was *completely and abso-*
 ‘ *lutely King*, without any essential *Ceremony*
 ‘ or Act to be done *Ex post Facto*; and that
 ‘ *Coronation* was but a Royal Ornament, and
 ‘ outward Solemnization of the Descent.
 ‘ And this appeareth evidently, by infinite
 ‘ Precedents, &c.’ (*Coke’s Report of Calvin’s*
Case, fol. 11.)



N U M B E R III.

IN the Great Case of the *Postnati*, or
Calvin’s Case, 6. *Jac. i.* which was as
 elaborately, substantially and judicially argu’d,
 by the Lord Chancellor, and all the Judges, as
 ever was any; and which has this peculiar
 Character, that no one Opinion in all our
 Books

Books is against this Judgment; it was most solemnly adjudg'd, 1. 'That Ligeance, or 'Obedience of the Subject to the Sovereign, 'is due by the Law of Nature: 2. That this 'Law of Nature is Part of the Laws of 'England: 3. That the Law of Nature 'was before any Judicial or Municipal Law 'in the World: 4. That the Law of Nature 'is immutable, and cannot be chang'd.' *folio* 4. and 12.

That 'Ligeance is a true and faithful 'Obedience of the Subject to his Sovereign: ——— An Incident inseparable to 'every Subject; for as soon as he is born, he 'oweth by Birth-right, Ligeance and Obedience to his Sovereign.' *folio* 4.

That 'Ligeance doth not begin by the 'Oath in the Leet: For many Men owe 'true Ligeance, that never were sworn in a 'Leet.' *folio* 5.

That there is '*Ligeantia Localis*, wrought 'by the Law: And that is, when an Alien 'that is in Amity cometh into *England*; 'because, as long as he is within *England*, 'he is within the King's Protection: Therefore, so long as he is there, he oweth unto 'the King a Local Obedience or Ligeance; 'for that the one draweth the other.' *Ibid.*

That there is also '*Ligeantia Localis*, call'd *Suit Royal*, because the Ligeance of the Subject is only due unto the King. 'This is 'the Oath of Ligeance still us'd in Courts- 'Leet;

' Leet; the Effect whereof is; *You shall*
 ' *swear, that, from this Day forward, you*
 ' *shall be true and faithful to our Sovereign*
 ' *Lord King James, and his Heirs, and Truth*
 ' *and Faith shall bear, of Life and Member,*
 ' *and terrene Honour; and you shall neither*
 ' *know nor bear of any Ill or Damage intended*
 ' *unto him, that you shall not defend: So help*
 ' *you Almighty God. The Substance and*
 ' Effect hereof is due by the Law of Na-
 ' ture; — the Form and Addition of the
 ' Oath is *ex Provisione Hominis*. In this
 ' Oath — were observ'd, 1. That for the
 ' Time it is indefinite, and without Limit,
 ' *from this Day forward:* 2. Two excellent
 ' Qualities are requir'd, that is, *To be true*
 ' *and faithful:* 3. To whom? *To our Sove-*
 ' *reign Lord the King, and his Heirs: —*
 ' 4. In what manner? *And Faith and Troth*
 ' *shall bear, of Life and Member, &c.* that
 ' is, until the letting-out of the last Drop of
 ' our dearest Heart-blood: 5. Where, and in
 ' what Places? — In all Places whatsoever:
 ' *For you shall neither know nor bear of any*
 ' *Ill or Damage, &c.* so as Natural Ligeance
 ' is not circumscrib'd within any Place.'
folio 6.

That there is a two-fold Homage, *Lige-*
um, and *Feodale*; the latter of which, being
 by Tenure, may be respited: ' But *Homa-*
 ' *gium ligeum*, i. e, *Ligeantia*, is inherent,
 ' and inseparable, and cannot be respited.'
folio 7.

That

That ' Ligeance, Faith and Truth, which
 ' are here Members and Parts, are Qualities
 ' of the Mind and Soul of Man, and can-
 ' not be circumscrib'd within the Predica-
 ' ment of *Ubi*: For that were to confound
 ' Predicaments, and to go about to drive (an
 ' absurd and impossible Thing) the Predica-
 ' ment of Quality into the Predicament of
 ' *Ubi*.' folio 7. and 9.

That ' the Ligeance of a Natural-born
 ' Subject is not local, and confin'd only to
 ' *England*.' folio 8.

That it is to be observ'd, 1. ' That the
 ' King hath *Fidem and Fideles in Partibus*
 ' *transmarinis*: 2. That he hath *Protectio-*
 ' *nem in Partibus transmarinis*: 3. That he
 ' hath *Potestatem in Partibus transmarinis*.'. *Ibid.*

That ' *Ligeantia Naturalis nullis Claustris*
 ' *coercetur, nullis Metis refrænatur, nullis*
 ' *Finibus premitur*.' folio 10.

That Ligeance is ' due to the Natural Per-
 ' son of the King (which is ever accompa-
 ' ny'd with the Politic Capacity, and the
 ' Politic Capacity, as it were, appropriated
 ' to the Natural Capacity) and is not due to
 ' the Politic Capacity only; that is, to his
 ' Crown or Kingdom, distinct from his Na-
 ' tural Capacity.' *Ibid.*

That ' the King holdeth the Kingdom of
 ' *England* by Birth-right inherent, by De-
 ' scent from the Blood Royal, whereupon
 ' Succes-

‘ Succession doth attend: And therefore it
 ‘ is usually said, *To the King, his Heirs and*
 ‘ *Successors*; wherein *Heirs* is first nam’d,
 ‘ and *Successor* is attendant upon Heirs.’ *Ibid.*

That, ‘ by Queen *Elizabeth’s* Death, the
 ‘ Crown and Kingdom of *England* descend-
 ‘ ed to his Majesty (King *James*): And he
 ‘ was fully and absolutely thereby King,
 ‘ without any Essential Ceremony, or Act to
 ‘ be done *Ex post Facto*. For Coronation is
 ‘ but a Royal Ornament, and Solemnization
 ‘ of the Royal Descent, but no Part of the
 ‘ Title.’ As was clearly resolv’d, by *all the*
 ‘ *Judges* of *England*, in the Case of *Watson*
 ‘ and *Clarke*, 1. *Jac.* i. and appeareth evident-
 ‘ ly, by *infinite Precedents and Book-Cases*: —

‘ By which it manifestly appeareth, that, by
 ‘ the Laws of *England*, there can be no *In-*
 ‘ *terregnum* within the same.’ *folio 10, 11.*

That ‘ in the Reign of *Edward II*, the
 ‘ *Spencers*, the Father and the Son, to cover
 ‘ the Treason hatch’d in their Hearts, invent-
 ‘ ed this *damnable and damn’d Opinion*, That
 ‘ Homage, and Oath of Ligeance, was more
 ‘ by reason of the King’s Crown (that is, of
 ‘ his Politic Capacity) than by reason of the
 ‘ Person of the King; upon which Opinion
 ‘ they inferr’d *execrable and detestable Conse-*
 ‘ *quents*, — all which were condemn’d by
 ‘ two Parliaments.’ *folio 11.*

That ‘ it manifestly appeareth, that the
 ‘ Ligeance or Faith of the Subject is *Pro-*
 ‘ *prium*

‘ *prium quarto modo, to the King, omni soli,*
 ‘ *& semper.*’ folio 12.

That, where we speak of the Law of England, ‘ the same is the King’s Law.’ *Ibid.*

That ‘ our Ligeance is due to our Natural Liege Sovereign, descended of the Blood Royal of the Kings of this Realm.’ *Ibid.*

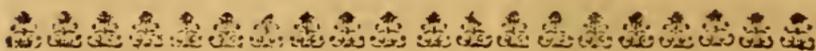
That ‘ *Jus Naturale est, quod apud omnes Homines eandem habet Potentiam.* — And the Reason hereof is, for that God and Nature is one to all; and therefore the Law of God and Nature is one to all.’ folio 12. and 13.

That ‘ it appeareth by demonstrative Reason, that Ligeance, Faith and Obedience of the Subject to the Sovereign, was before any Municipal or Judicial Laws; 1. For that Government and Subjection were long before any Municipal or Judicial Laws: For that it had been in vain to have prescrib’d Laws to any, but to such as ow’d Obedience, Faith, and Ligeance before, in respect whereof they were bound to obey and observe them—. Seeing then, that Faith, Obedience and Ligeance are due by the Law of Nature, it followeth, that the same cannot be chang’d or taken away.’ folio 13.

That ‘ tho’ the King be in a Foreign Kingdom, yet he is judged in Law a King there.’ folio 15.

That ‘ whatsoever is due by the Law or Constitution of Man, may be alter’d: But Natural Ligeance — cannot be alter’d;

‘ *Ergo*, Natural Ligeance — is not due by
 ‘ the Law or Constitution of Man. Again,
 ‘ Whatsoever is due by the Law of Nature,
 ‘ cannot be alter’d: But Ligeance, and Obe-
 ‘ dience of the Subject to the Sovereign, is
 ‘ due by the Law of Nature; *Ergo*, It can-
 ‘ not be alter’d.’ *folio 25.*

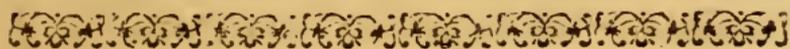


N U M B E R I V .

An Act *for the Abolishing the Kingly Office*
in England, &c. 1648.

‘ **W** H E R E A S *Charles Stuart*, late
 ‘ King ——— hath, by Authority
 ‘ deriv’d from Parliament, been ——— at-
 ‘ tainted of High Treason, whereby his Issue
 ‘ and Posterity, and all others *pretending Ti-*
 ‘ *tle* under him, are become *unable of the*
 ‘ *said Crowns, &c.* Be it therefore enacted —,
 ‘ That all the People of *England, &c.* —
 ‘ are *discharg’d of all Fealty, Homage and*
 ‘ *Allegiance — pretended to be due, &c.* —
 ‘ any Laws, &c. to the contrary hereof in
 ‘ any wise notwithstanding. And whereas
 ‘ it is, and hath been, found by Experience,
 ‘ that the *Office of a King* in this Nation —
 ‘ is *unnecessary, burthensome and dangerous to*
 ‘ *the Liberty, Safety and Public Interest of*
 ‘ *the People, &c.* ——— If any Person or Per-
 ‘ sons

sons shall endeavour — the reviving or setting up again of any *pretended Right*, -- every such Offence shall be deem'd and adjudg'd *High Treason*, &c. — — — And whereas — a most happy Way is made for this Nation — to return to its *just and ancient Right* of being govern'd by its own Representatives — , it is therefore resolv'd, — That, so soon as may possibly stand with *the Safety of the People* — , and with what is *absolutely necessary* for the preserving and upholding *the Government now settled*, — they will carefully provide for the certaining, meeting and sitting of the next and future Representatives, — *as of Right is due unto the Supreme Authority* hereby declar'd, &c.'



N U M B E R V.

Extract of the Proceedings on the Claim of RICHARD Duke of York, against HENRY VI. from the Parliament-Roll, 39 HENRY VI. n. 10, &c.

THE Duke's Counsel exhibited his Claim of the Crown, to the Lord Chancellor, to be open'd to the House of Peers; setting forth his Pedigree, as Son, and Heir to Anne, Daughter and Heiress to Roger Mortimer,

mer, Earl of *March*, Son and Heir to *Phillippa*, Daughter and Heiress to *Leonel* Duke of *Clarence*, Third Son of King *Edward* III. to whom the Crown of Right appertaineth, before any Issue of *John* of *Gaunt*, Fourth Son of King *Edward* III.

The Lords agreed, his Claim ought to be heard, but *not to be answer'd without the King's Commandment; the Matter being so high, and of so great Weight, &c.*

The Duke's Counsel desiring an Answer, the Lords went together to the King, to understand his Pleasure: Who commanded them all, to search *all such Things as might be objected against the Duke's Claim.*

The Lords sent for the Judges, to have their Advice: Who begg'd to be excus'd, *the Matter being above the Law, and past their Learning.* Whereupon the King's Serjeants, and other Counsel, being call'd, offer'd the like Excuse.

The Lords thereupon agreed, every one to say *what he could, in fortifying the King's Title, and defeating the Duke's Claim:* The Substance of which, together with the Duke's Answers thereto, here follows.

1. They objected *their Oaths made to the King, which they might not break.* To which he answer'd, *That every Man, under Pain of Damnation, is bound to obey the Law of God, whereby Truth and Justice ought to be preferred; of which Duty no Man may discharge him,*

himself by his own Act or Oath: That ‘ an
 ‘ Oath made by one Person to the Prejudice
 ‘ or Hurt of another, contrary to Truth,
 ‘ Justice and Charity, in the which standeth
 ‘ the Plenitude and Perfection of God’s
 ‘ Law, is void and of none Effect, neither in
 ‘ any wise obligatory ; and that the Virtue
 ‘ and Nature of an Oath is to confirm
 ‘ Truth, and in no wise to impugn it, &c.’

2. They objected certain *Acts of Parliament*, as of *Authority to defeat any manner of Title made to any Person: As also,*

3. *Divers Entails of the Crowns, made to the Heirs Male.* To both which the Duke answer’d, That there were *no such Acts and Entails made, but only 7 Henry IV.* who, if he might have obtain’d the Crown by *Inheritance*, neither needed, nor would have desir’d a Grant of it by such an Act ; ‘ which taketh no Place, neither is of any Force or Effect against him that is right Inheritor of the said Crowns, as it accordeth with God’s Law, and all Natural Laws, &c.’

4. They objected his bearing the Arms of *Edmund Langley, Duke of York*, and not those of *Leonel, Duke of Clarence*, under whom he claim’d. To which he answer’d, That tho’ *he might lawfully have borne the Arms of Leonel*, and even of King *Edward III.* yet he abstain’d for a Time, as he did also from pursuing his Right and Title, *for Causes not unknown to all: But* ‘ tho’ Right
 ‘ for

‘ for a Time rest, and be put to Silence, yet
 ‘ it rotteth not, nor shall perish.’ And,

5. That *Henry IV.* on his Taking upon
 him the Crown, said, *He enter’d as right Inbe-*
ritor to King Henry III. and not as a Con-
queror. Which (the Duke said) *could not be*
true; but was ‘ only to shadow, and colour
 ‘ fraudulently his unrighteous and violent
 ‘ Usurpation, and by that Means to abuse
 ‘ deceivably the People standing about him.’

After which it was thought, *by all the*
Lords, ‘ That the Title of the said Duke
 ‘ *could not be defeated:*’ But, in eschewing the
great Inconveniencies that might ensue, a
 Mean was found to save the King’s Honour
 and Estate, and to appease the said Duke, *if*
he would; viz. That the King might keep
 the Crown and Dignity Royal during his
 Life, and the Duke and his Heirs succeed
 him. Which Proposal was accepted by both
 Parties, and a Concordate made accordingly.

F I N I S.





