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THE

## Revolution no Rebellion:

Or, Serious

# REFLECTIONS

Offered to the Reverend

## Mr. BENJAMIN HOADLY.

#### Occasion'd by his

Considerations on the Bishop of Exeter's Sermon, preach'd before Her Majesty, March the 8th, 1708.

By a CITIZEN of LONBON: A Lover of the present Establishment both in Church and State.

To which is added a POSTSCRIPT.

#### LONDON:

Printed and Sold by the Booksellers of London and Westminster. 1709.

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Need make no Apology for giving you this trouble, fince you have done it for me already, in yours to the Lock Bilhop of Exerce, occasion d by his Sermon one and before Her Majefly, on the 8th of March, 1708, and published by Her special Command.

I think the Truths therein of the utiness apportune to be Honour of Christianity, and the Security of Honour of Christianity, and the Security of Honour of Christianity, and the Security of Honour of the Selfon o

hade as I went along, which convince me that the Cauleyarhave been for some time sugar I in, an which you fill pro-

lecute, Letter, p. 1. 32. whot Good, however O'd icmer

You feem to infinuate, as if his Lordship had deliver'd something in this Sermon, incordiffent with a former; I don't find it, but if it had been so, that is not my concern, I am not vindicating my Lord Bishop of Except, (the I reverence him sincerely) I am only seeking for Truth, and in order to that, I come to your first Consideration, which is, That his Lordship argues, From the Magistrates being called the Minister of God by St. Paul, that he hath none above him upon Eath,

to question, censure, or punish him, and that he is accoun-

The is a natural Inference from these Verdances. Some no. 23. This is a natural Inference from these Verdances.

being God's Minister, set to govern in his Wall is it can Day to he obcedient and God having instituted this for the good of

Mankind, it is our Interest to be obedient; this I think the plain meaning of the Apostle, so that his inculcating God's gracious Design in appointing Government, and Governours, is not a Limitation of his Exhortation to Obedience and Submillion, but an Enforcement of it. That this Opinion is not new, I appeal to the Book of Homilies, which you did acknowledge, 'Contain'd a godly and wholesome Doctrine, " necessary for these Times, Article 35. when you took poffession of your Living. In this Book, (to which I think there is no Answer come out) it is affirmed, That Kings and Princes, as well the evil as the good, do reign by God's Ordinance, and that Subjects are bounden to obey them. Homily, p. 343. Many places of Scripture are brought to prove it; but two special places in the New Testament, may stand instead of all other; then after quoting at large Rom. 13. and 1 Pet. 2. it thus applies em: By these two places it is most evident, that Kings, Queens, and other Princes, are ordained of God, are to be obeyed and bonoured of their Subjects; that such Subjects as are disobedient, or rebellious against their Princes, disobey God and procure their own Damnation. Father, if Servants must obey had Masters, as well as good, much more must Subjects submit to evil Princes p. 344. Goes on, p. 345. to show the Happiness of being governed by good Princes, and the obligation Princes, lie under to imitate God their King. Afterwards it shows the Misery of being under evil Princes, from Eccl. 10. 16. and Prov. 28. 15, and 16. Verses, whence arises this Question, What shall Subjects do then? Shall they obey good Princes, and contemn, disobey, and rebel against indiscreet and evil Gover-nours? Godsorbid. Homily, p. 345. This is a perilose thing, so make Subjects Judges of their Prince, which Prince is good, and which had — And in p. 346. Is not Rebellion the greatest of Mischiefs? And who are most likely to do the greatest of Mischiefs, but the worst of Men? Rebels are aptest to rebel a-gainst the best of Princes, especially if they be young in Age; Women in Sex, or gentle and courteous in Government. Rebellion is worse than the worst Government.

God placeth as well evil Princes as good ones, p. 347. Will you procure or continue a good Prince? he obedient; would you be eas'd of the Missbiefs of a bad one? repent and amend.

St. Paul exborts Timothy to pray for those in Authority, which

was either Caligula, Claudius or Nero.

Were these bare Affirmations, they should not be contradicted by those who have acknowledg'd 'em to be godly and wholsome Doctrines, unless they do not continue to think them so, and then methinks they should relinquish the Advantage they reap by that Acknowledgement. But these are far from bare Affirmations, they are backt with fuch good Reason, and so many plain Texts of Scripture, that I don't doubt but they may be of good use to convince any impartial Reader, that the supreme Magistrate receives his Commission from God, and is to be obey'd and submitted to as his Vicegerent; and that to leave People at liberty, to disobey or relist. when he acts beyond, or contrary to his Commission, and to leave this to the People's Judgment, is to leave it to their Choice, whether they will obey or no.

2, You put his Lordship in mind, 'That every Person in the World, who is the Instrument of Good to us, is the Instrument of God to us for good. Letter, p. 19.

Now.

Though it should be so, it does not follow, but some may be entituled to a greater regard than others, as will further appear, in my Remarks on your third Answer. 3. Wherein 'You beg leave to shew, that the Magistrates receivto be an Argument, to prove that there is none upon Earth that may question, censure or punish him; and that his Lordship contends, p. 16. that his Commission is not absolute ' and unlimited.

'Tis true, the Magistrate is limited by God, whose Servant and Vicegerent he is; and therefore, as his Lordship argues, t. He ought to make God's Honour his main Defign : Sermon, p. 10, 11. And, 2. He should comply with the Defign of his Commission, remembring he must be accountable to God, for to him only he is a Servant; as is plainly proved in these Words, 'Twould be absurd to say, that he is their Servant over whom he bears rule, because that would be be in effect to lay, that it is all one to command, and to obey, to have power over, and to be subject to. p. 6. This & plain

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Retroring? fuch as becomes Truth, but Schemes that are naticularly Suppositions, need fifty Pages full of Words to ob-

The Magistate is appointed for this very thing, i, e. to givern, therefore the People must needs be subject: This Aigument holds very good, tho the Magistrate, (as such ) has no commission to preach the Gospel, or Minister the Sacraments.

· I am heartly forry his Lordship's Fourth Inference is so ve y seasonable, Sermon, p. 14. to 23. and much more so, to he any off the Clergy cavil at a Discourse, which clearly confines some of the most important Errors in one of the most permisious Buoks this Age hath produced, fruitful as it is of such mentions Productions: To make the Magiffrare's Superiority cease, when he acts beyond his Commissiot, and to leave the People to judge when he does for is to fet them above him, the Mischies and Incongruity of which are lively for forth in the First Part of the Hobidy againk R Solling The Cafe of a Mayor, Letter, p. 13. Sermon, p. 7. (b) which you tay his Lordship very unfortunately endeavour to Muffrate his Polition) do's what he brought it for Not ofthe the evit shows that an Officer may have his Nomiration flow one, and receive his Authority from anothere; iristrae, if he acts beyond his Commission, he is accountable, but ic is to his Superior, and fo the chief Magithate is ally, and who his Superior is, I need not remember " one; that (it he does his Duty) daily ackn w-

Dif Paris lellger, in a ferious feletan manner, that \* God'

effor the Queen lie the only Ruler of Princes.

Letter 1.4. As to your Fourth Answer, That St. Phil hight later I as Exhoration to have respect to despeted Magistrates as well as the supreme — pres. And that, It is observable, (what hath been often quoted by the Patrons of Passive Obedicare) that our Lord told Pilate, that his Power was from above.

I need only fromised voir, that inferior, subordinate Magistrates, receive their Power mediately, as the supreme do theirs immediately from God, and fare to be obey'd and reverent'd accordingly, this is, (I think a strong Argument for subjection : If Pilate's Power is to be submitted to because it is

from Aboye, much more is Cafar's.

5. Your Fisch Answer, at first tight, seems an Agreement, that the Magnifrate is not accountable, censurable, or punishable. If you were really of this mind, what need had you to contend at all? But you say, All that is contended for, with any Zeal, is this, That there should be a Right left in the govern'd Society, to preserve it self from Ruin and Definition, which is a Point his Lordship hath not touch'd upon. p. 15.

The Word Right is of an ambiguous Signification, (the Learned lay) if Lapprehend your Meaning, it must be here taken for a Power to secure it self, and a Privilege to use that Power. Again, by Right to secure it self from Ruin, you must mean, a Right to resist the Magistrate, when it judges it necessary so to do, in order to its preservation, or esse your contest with the Bishop had been needless; for I believe all agree in these two Things, 1. That all Persons and Societies, have a Right to secure themselves by all lawful Means. And, 2. That none have a Right to do it by unlawful Means. I look upon the the Thing in dispute to be, Whether resisting the Ma-

gistrate be a laruful means, or no?

The Negative his Lordship afferts in the Third Inference from his First General Head, p. 13. and proves it by two Texts of Scripture, p. 14. therefore it lies upon those who dissent from him, to prove that the govern'd Society hath a Power to secure it felf, and a Right to use that Power; for unless it hath both, neither of 'em single will be of any use ro it. It is very plain, that Right, without a Power to affert it, will do 'em no good, and it is as plain, that a good Man. though he have Power or Strength, yet if he have not Right to authorize him, cannot use it: I say cannot, for he lies under a moral, as the other does under a physical Inability. To illustrate this Matter, the Second Part of the Homily against wilful Rebellion, Himily,p 352. furnishes me with a very pat Example out of the First Book of Kings. David being perfecuted causelelly by Saul, and having it in his power to secure hisown Life, by giving consent only to Saul's Death; I Sam. 24. yet, though he knew Saul to be under God's Displeasure, and that he himself was anointed to succeed him, yet, not(8)

withstanding all this, he was so far from laying violent Hands on him, that he expresses an Abhorrence of so foul a Fact. From which History the Homily goes on to answer the most plausible Pleas for Rebellion, Homily, p, 354.

and proves plainly, \* (I think) that we may not Rebel, tho' the Prince be hated of God, and God's Enemy; hurtful and pernicious to \* Frons line 7. to the 19th.

the common-wealth; nor tho' he be unmindful of the Service of his faithful Subjects, negligent of the Welfare of them, and their Posterity; nay, though he were their known mortal

Enemy that fought their Lives.

Object. But notwithstanding this Instance, and the many plain Scriptures are named in the Homily, to prove that Subjects may in no case resist their Prince, yet some may think what Mr. Hoadly contends for, may nevertheless be the just Right of the govern'd Society; for tho' particular Persons may be oblig'd to submit to the supreme Magistrate, in actually obeying what his Laws enjoin and where that can't be com-ply'd with, in patiently submitting to the Penalty; yet Ma-gistracy being ordain'd for the good of the Society, if the chief Magistrate should so act as to endanger that Society, 'cis his Duty to secure, that then the govern'd Society may secure themselves, and this may be so, notwithstanding these politive general Prohibitions; and there is a Reason urg'd, P. 49. because several general Prohibitions in Scripture, are taken in a limited Sense; so all Separation is not Schism; all Church-Reformation is not Church Destruction; all Killing is not Murder, &c. In answer to this,

Answ. I pray consider what will be the consequence of this way of arguing, viz. because some Prohibitions, tho' expres'd in a general, are to be taken in a limited Sense, therefore all may be so; thus because all Killing is not Murder, therefore all Adultery is not Sin; and because all Evil speaking is not Slander, therefore all Stealing is not Sin. I think I need say no more to confute this loofe way of Reasoning; if it were neceffary, I could eafily flow, that in all the general Prohibitions you have instanc'd, there is in the Scripture either a Command, or an Allowance, which stands as an Exception to the general Rule, take one for Instance, Thou shalt not kill, Exod. 20. 13. yet in Rom. 13.4. it is faid of the Magistrate, that be, bearesb beareth not the Sword in vain: for he is the minister of God, arevenger, to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil: And in Gen. 9. 6. Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed; by which it is plain, that notwithstanding the general Command, Thou shalt not kill, the Magistrate may, and ought to punish Murtherers with Death.

in I must observe, That by thus pleading for a Limitation of this Prohibition of resisting Governours, you own, that without a Limitation, the general Prohibition is against it; therefore in order to prove that the govern'd Society have a Right to secure themselves, by resisting their Governours, (for such a Right you plainly contend for) in order to prove this, I conceive you ought to bring plain Texts of Scripture, which command, or at least allow this Privilege to all govern'd Societies, or else I can't see but this general Prohibiti-on binds the whole Society, and every individual Member, from resisting the Magistrate; moreover, in order to make use of this Right, there must be some Judge when is the proper time for it. Now whoever are Judges of this, whether the whole People, or chosen Representatives, they are in this point superior to the supreme Magistrate; which is in effect to say, that he is their Subject, over whom he bears Rule. In short, the general Commands and Prohibitions of Scripture, you own to be at least seeming against the Resistance we are treating of, and we have no Scriptures brought, that command or allow this Resistance to any Persons or Societies in any case therefore all must be concluded under these general Rules. But if this Resistance were allow'd in some Cases, I can't perceive the advantage of it, unless'twere known where the Right is plac'd, and who must judge when it is to be us'd, which neither this, nor any Book I have yet seen, gives me any satisfaction in; therefore how vain is it to contend with so much Zeal for an imaginary Right, which we know not where to find, nor when to affert ?

If there be any such reserv'd Right, surely it must be taken notice of in the Original Contract you mention, p. 22. and therefore it is to be hop'd, in the next Edition of your Measures, you oblige the World with what that Original Contracts says on this Head, and if it be back'd with as good Reason, and as many and plain Texts of Scripture,

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as the Homily bring to prove that the Magistrate's Power is from God, and that we Christians are bound to obey evil as well as good Princes; I don't know but it may do your Cause more good, than all the rest of Mr. Headly Works.

As for your Case of habitual or actual Madness, I think neither Divines nor Lawyers so proper to prescribe what is sit to be done in that Case as Physians: But, (by my Lord H—'s Rule, That what has been, may be) it is possible the People may be mad, how shall the Nation be securd from ruin then? Why, he that stills the raging of the Sea, can cure the Madness of the People, and of the Prince too, and will do it when he sees fir. This Thought should silence all our Complaints, when we reflect upon our inability to secure our'selves from r in; and make us adore the Wildom and Goodness of that All-wife and Gracious God, who hath plac'd us in this de-pendent State——. God, (lays the Homily) maketh a wicked Man reign for the fins of the People, Job 34. 10. Homily, p. 346. and again, God eiveth a Prince in his anger; Hos: 13: 6. meaning an evil One. If this be one of God's, ways of correcting us for our Faults, and reclaiming us to our Duty, will be better for us, to improve it to that purpose, than by contending for a Right to secure our selves from ruin, to harden our selves in Sin and Impenitency: for had we both Power and Right to secure our selves against this Stroke of divine Vengeance, God hath several other ways, no les severe, to punish finful and rebellious Man. Those Sacred Volumes, which the licentious witty Age treat with fuch Derifion, in-form us of exemplary Punishments inflicted upon daring Sinners enough to make us tremble at the thought of 'em : Fire and Brimitone rain'd down upon Sodom and Gomerrab, to punish the filthy Sins of their impure Inhabitants; and the Facili opening and swallowing up Corab and his Company, are Influences of God's Almighty Power and Justice, amazing in the million, and ought to be very awakening unto us, who The in an Anger's rein the Sin of the firmer is acted, and that of the letter determine with an unufual Impudence.

The I proceed not to examine your other Confiderations

The I proceed not to examine your other Confiderations all noting, is not because I think them unanswerable, but I don't think it processing, for in a rading this First, I have quoted places out the Homey and Scriptures therein mentioned,

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that (I think) answer the other Three but if you centinue of another, Mind, be pleas'd to read over the Homilies, concerning Obedience, and against wilful Rebellion, impartially, and it you are not thereby fatished, I may give you, and my felt fome further trouble, tho' I am not fond

As to your Address to his Lordship, p. 44. wherein you infinuate, as if the Doctrines preach'd by him, and which I hope I have prov'd to be confonant to Scripture, and the Doctaine of the Church of England, as by Law established, were

inconfident with the Revolution.

. Permit me to speak a little freely, with all the descrence due to your hely and honourable Employment. You do great Injustice both to the Revolution, and the whole Nation, in that unfair Infinuation: You cannot but know, that the Accession of King William and Queen Mary to the Throne, was founded upon the Abdication of King James, and not upon any Deprivation of him for Male-Administration, as will evidently appear by the Proceedings of the Convention. And as for what you affirm, without any proof, That 'those of the highest, as "; well a holiest Rank, and of the best Quality, invited over a Punce with armed Men, to awe their legal King, and "forcethimanto a Compliance; and this they did in their private Capacity, Litter, p. 45. These are your own Words, which i delire you well to note, for hil should fay fo. Ishould, be called an Enemy of the Revolution, and I think justiy my man

I mult observe to you, that you own this Intitation was not a National Act, but made in their private Capacity, so that your Interence drawn from it; in 47 and 43, that it was more a National Act, than the Morther of King Charles I is not well-grounded, tho, I think, there have been fone weekly Writers labouring of prove it to: But I don't to much wonder at them, they must write as their Millions distinct to them. But that a Glergymun of the Church of England thould to far forget the Docting of that Church, as to advance Notions contrary toher Lit. gy and Mundle, and in their confequence destructive not only of Madarchy, but of all settled Government; this peturic in mini of the Verris of the reamiff, He shat hath cores on bready have believed in the left of the

I believe those Persons of the bigbest and the boliest Rank, who, (as you say) sent to invite over the Prince, did not make you their Consident, tho' you so roundly affirm, it was to awe their legal King. Letter. p. 45. I must remind you, this is barely affirmed, therefore were any Consequence to be built upon it, it would be necessary to prove it.

I don't wonder, when you have thus endeavour'd to prove the Revolution a Rebellion, you proceed in p. 48. to call it so:

What I wonder at, is the Clemency of our Government, that takes no notice of it; for whether it be design'd to run down the Revolution, or to make Rebellion appear reputable, it must have an ill influence upon our establish'd Government: But the further Profecution of these momentous Points, is too large a Field to enter upon at the end of a Letter. (already longer than I design'd) were I equal to the Work; but Mr. Attorney-General is better able, therefore to him I leave it; only this I must take notice of, that by your thus making Revolution and Rebellion stand for the same thing, I am instructed what some Men mean, when they say, they are of Revolution Principles.

When all's said, let all judicious Men judge, who act most for the Honour of the Church and Christianity; Letter, p. 51. those, who after the Example of Christ and his Apostles recommend Obedience and Patience, Meekness and Submission, both by their Preaching and Practice; or those, who contrary to the Design of their Office, and to Doctrines which they themselves have assented to, encourage People to censure and oppose their Superiors by their Writings and Example

As for the Preachers of this peaceful Doctrine, which you very respectfully call, The Doctrine of Servitude, Letter, p50,51. I hope they are not startled at you Threats, when you tell 'em, there will be a Spirit to oppose 'em; they have always found it so, and I fear will, till that curfed Spirit, who first rebell'd-himself, and drew Man into the same Sin, be confin'd for ever to that difmal Abode prepar'd for him; but for their comfort, as they have a Spirit to oppose them, so going on in their Duty, they have a Spirit to affist 'em, and greater is he that is with them, than he that is in the World.

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SIR, Tho' I differ from you in Opinion, I have a respect for your Order, and desire to have so for your Person.

May the good God, who directed the Stone from David's Sling, and often effects great things by weak and contemptible Means, so prosper these my weak, though well-meant Endavour's, that they may penetrate not only into your Head, but into your Heart, that being converted, you may strengthen your Brethren, by putting them in mind to be subject to Principalities and Powers, to obey Magistrates; to be ready to every good work.

Iam

SIR,

Your-

N. B. The Book of Homilies I refer to, was printed in Folio, 1676.

The Bishop's Sermon is the Octavo Edition.

Mr. Hoadly's is the first Edition, three Sheets and a Quarter.

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# POSTS CRIPT.

T is objected, you say, That I had not read Mr. Hoadly's Measures of Submission, when I wrote my Resections
on his Considerations, &c. which I offer'd to him by your
Hand. It's true, I had not; and if that he a Fault, I hee
his pardon, and I hope I may the more easily obtain it, hecause it I had read that Book, I must have remark'd upon the
many Things he offers in answer to the
Twenty sixth Objection; \* and in doing \* Measures of
this, I conceive, I should have been, in Subm. p. 152. to
Justice, oblig'd to say some things which
would not have been for Mr. Hoadly's

Repuration. If it be a Fault not to have read Mr. Headly's Book, I believe some of his Friends are guilty of it, or else they would (for his sake) not make this Objection; for I dare leave it to any impartial Reader to judge, whether what I have quoted from the Himily, p. 343, 344, 345, and 347, be not directly opposite to Mr. Hoadly's Doctrine; and so, then the Ditto, p. 155. Homily do's conderns the Resistance he defends, and recommends the Submission he condemns, the he hath writ 17 Pages to prove the contrary; and that these who will may the easier judge in this important Assair, I shall briefly set down Mr. Hoadly's Doctrine, and the contrary, that by comparing them with the Himily, they may see which agrees with, and which contradicts it.

Mr. Hoadly's Doctrine, which he taught my Lord Mayor, and which he has writ so much in Defence of, is this, viz. That Ditto, p. 9. 'St. Paul don't recommend a passive Submission, when a Prince contradicts the Design of his Inflitution; and that so acting he may be opposed, without the shadow of a Crime; nay, with Henour and Glory

And further That Submission is due to Governours, meerby for the take or publick Happinets-and must degenerate into a Crime, when in forfakes the View of that, and betrays it into the Hands of Ambition and Violence. MOTO IN I witerlied of Sugn. ;

The contrary Doctrine is as follows, viz. It is our Duty to obey our Governours in whatfoever they command, that is not contrary to the divine Law and in case the Magistrate does so exceed his Commission, yet there is a Duty lying on Subjects, not to oppose or result, but quietly and patiently to suffer the Penalty of those Laws, which they can't, without sinning against God, yield an active Obedience to. Bishop's Serm. p. 13. 14. This is the Doctrine the Bishop of Exeter preach'd, which Mr. Hoadly opposes, and which I (in my manner) have bore Testimony to: not because his Lordship preach'd it, or because Her Majesty approv'd of it, but because I believe it agreeable to Scripture and Reason, and the Doctrine of the Church of England, as deliver'd in the Homilies, and confirm'd by divers Passages in her e rellent Liturgy. This is so evident, that I dare leave it with a impartial Jury, which of the Two Doctrines is contrary to the Doctrine of the Homilies, for, fure I am one of them must needs be so, unless the Homilies, like Answers from the Heathen Oracles, may be taken in contrary Senses. I beg no favour of those who will enquire further into this Matter, but for the Truth's fake, and for their own fakes, I do require this, that they will proceed impartially, and not rely on Mr. Hoadly's, or my Word, but read the Homilies themselves which they will find well worth their while, they teaching us in a very plain way, what we are to believe, as well as what we are to do, in order to our Soul's Health. I am forry to few of our Churches are furnished with this Book ; I am upon en-quiry while Church's in London have it, and which want it, in in order to inform the Publick, that good People may know where to go to lay in a Stock of uleful Knowledge; for the we have much good Preaching, there are some useful Truths treated of in that Book, which are but seldom heard of from some Pul-pits. 121 have another Design also in publishing what Churches have not the Book of Homilies, viz. That either the Pariffice, or some good People, may provide some for them,

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But not to digress any further: If either Mr. Hoadly, or his Friends, think I have not done him Justice with respect to the Homilies, I will, (God willing) go on to compleat my Remarks on his many Pleas he offers in answer to the Twenty Sixth Objection, with all \* Measures convenient speed, and communicate them to of Subm. p. him, either privately or publickly, as he and 152, you gree.

London. May the 23d.

### Advertisement.

THE Lord Bishop of Exeter's Answer, to Mr. Hoadly's Letter.

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