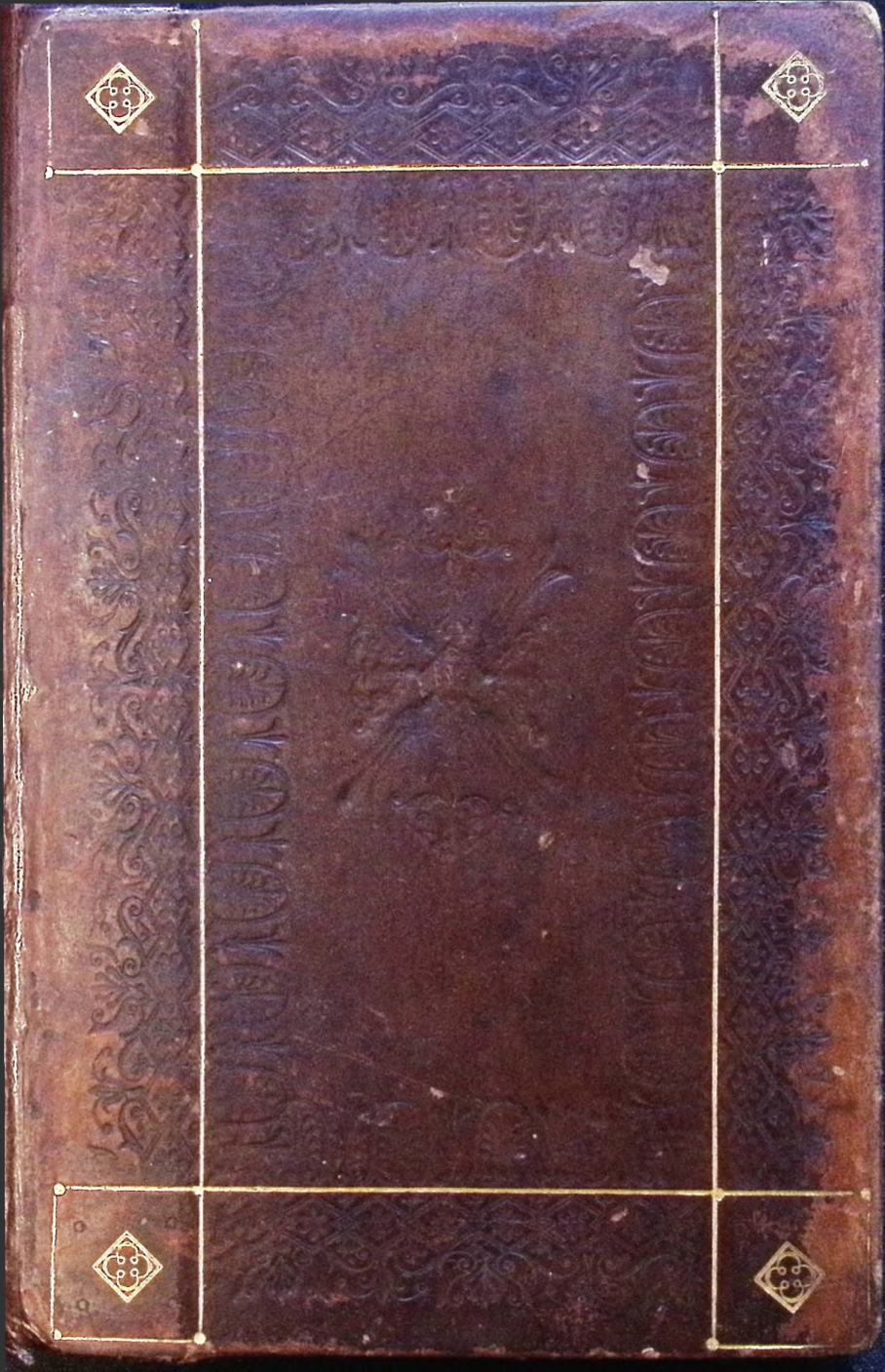


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The history of hereditary-right: wherein its indefeasibleness, and all other such late doctrines concerning the absolute power of princes, and the unlimited obedience of subjects, are fully and finally determin'd by the Scripture standard of divine right.
London: Printed for J. Baker, [1712?]





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THE
HISTORY

James O F Livingston
Hereditary-Right.

Wherein Its

INDEFEASIBLENESS,

And all other such

Late DOCTRINES,

Concerning the

ABSOLUTE POWER

OF

PRINCES,

AND THE

Unlimited Obedience of SUBJECTS,
are fully and finally Determin'd, by the
Scripture Standard of Divine Right.

Suet in Vita Tib. Neronis.——— *Regnabit Sanguine multo,*
Ad Regnum quisquis venit ab Exilio.

LONDON, Printed for J. Baker, at the Black
Boy, in Pater-Noster-Row. Price Sticht 2 s.

P R E F A C E.

By way of a Modest Challenge, and Address, to the British Jacobites to Answer what is here said.

Countrymen,

TH O' I be a declared Enemy to your Cause, yet I am so far from being an Enemy to your Persons, that I have on purpose Written the following Discourse, in order to promote your real and lasting Good. And therefore, tho' I have directed this Prefatory Epistle to you, by the Name of a *Challenge*, as well as *Address*; yet I have qualified that seeming roughness of *Stile*, not only by calling it a *Modest Challenge*; but by shewing you in what respects it is justly stil'd so; seeing I demand no more of you, than mere Civility and common Justice, do oblige you and all Men to, in all Cases, *viz.* to hear a Man and his Discourse out, before either he be Censur'd or Condemned, or the Cause he pleads for; and, in case, he be in the right, to do your selves, as well as him, that Justice, as to Assent to the Verity of what he says; especially if it relate to Matters of the Highest Importance, and such Points also, wherein we our selves, and all that is dear to us, both in reference to this World and the other, are deeply and immediately concerned.

As for such of you, as are real Protestants, and call your selves *High Church Men*, barely in opposition to those that you conceive ill Thoughts of, as Enemies to the Establish'd Church; either because they *Dissent* from it, in point of Rites and Government; or because, tho'

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Conformists themselves, yet they are not for *Persecuting* such Men, but for *Tolerating* them, upon the score of publick Peace: I would hope, that Arguments drawn from the horrid Principles and dreadful Butcheries of the *Romish* Religion and Party might have some influence upon you, and put a damp upon your Spirits, in driving too furiously in Conjunction with such Men, in order to settle one of that Religion on the Throne, merely upon the supposed Righteousness of his Title and Claim, by vertue either of a pretended or even real *Hereditary-Right* that way. For you cannot I think, but know, that it is an Universally received Principle and Rule among the *Romanists*, that no Faith ought to be kept with *Hereticks*; and the most *Wicked, Inhuman and Barbarous means*, that can be used to promote the *Ends of the Court and Church of Rome*, cease to be *Evil*, and become *Lawful, Laudable and Just*, when they are used for such purposes; for nothing is more Current among them, than this Maxim, which they thus express concisely, *A good end does always sanctifie the means*. And this I do not barely speak from hear-say, or from reading, but from Experience and Conversation with Noted Persons of that Communion, and particularly with their Priests; some of whom have roundly told me, *That could the French King destroy and extirpate all the Hereticks in the World, tho' he should even Massacre them in cold Blood, he would not only do the most Glorious Attion in the World, but the most Meritorious one also*. And I shall never forget what accur'd to me, in a Dispute which I once had, in the late *King James's* time, with an *English Jesuit* and a *German Fryer* of the *Augustin Order*, in Company of a *French Priest*, who seem'd to be a *Dominican*; viz. that they agreed in this Determination, that it was not only as *Lawful*, but much more so, for *Catholicks* to *Extirpate Hereticks*, if they had an opportunity to do so, than it was for Men to destroy *Vermin* that infected a Country. An Expression, which I have had the more reason to recall to my thoughts,

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thoughts, since the time, that I read it again, almost in the very same Words, in a Sermon of the Famous Dr. *Sacheverel*, tho' applyed by him to the *Protestant Dissenters* only, or rather principally. But, in Case he do not mean the *Protestant Church of England* tacitly also in that Horrid Sentence of his, (as I apprehend he does, seeing he has of late Represented those of the Church, under the Name of *False Brethren*, and as those that deserve *Exirpation*, on that account more than the very *Dissenters* themselves) I could wish that both he and his Party would allow themselves to think of the sequel of this Story, with some serious compofure of Mind. Now when I had this *Conference* with those Men, a Gentleman of *Cambridge*, a Master of Arts, who happen'd to be assisting to me, in this Dispute, asked them, if they made no difference between the *Episcopal Church of England* and other *Protestants*, seeing *Episcopacy* was retain'd in *England*, together with all the most *Decent Ceremonies* of the *Romish Church*. They answered, with Detestation, that a *Judas* was worse than a *Pilate*, and *False Brethren* more detestable than *Open Enemies*. And one of them scoffingly said, that tho' the *Ape* was a greater *mimick* of Human Actions than the *Curr* that snarl'd and bark'd; yet there was no *Creature* that Man despis'd and abhorred more.

Now in case you Dream, that your Young Prince will become a *Protestant High Church Man*, at last, after Two and Twenty Years Education in the *Romish* and *French Religion*; pray allow me to tell you Two short Stories more, both of them true, and such as many alive know to be so, and could easily be attested if need were. But indeed the *First* wants no Evidence at all, seeing the *French Court* and that of *St. Germans* have Authorized the Publication thereof. It is this, That the late *King James*, with his dying breath, charg'd his Young Names sake, *never to change his Religion, and always to look on the French King as his Father*. Unless therefore you can imagine, that his *French Father* or *Italian Mo-*

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ther, will countercharge him to turn Protestant, at this time of day, you can never hope that he will be a Convert of the present *Protestant Church of England*. And, as for his *Italian Mother*, take this second Story; which is as certain a Truth as the former, tho' not so generally known. A *St. Germans Gentleman*, having been long Resident in *England*, in the late Reign, in order to promote his Masters Interest, and having Travelled up and down for that end, and thus attained to make a tolerable Estimate of the strength of the several Parties, as things then stood, which was some Years before the *Assassination Plot* broke out; did, upon his return to that Court, tell that Queen, that he knew no way to bring her Son to the Throne but one, and that would effectually do it, *viz.* to send him over to the *Archbishop of Canterbury or York*, to be Educated in the *Religion Established* in the Nation. But how was this motion entertain'd by her. Why, the Colour rose in her Face, and her fury was such, as to make her vent her Sence with violent motions of her Body, and in Words to this purpose; *I had rather take him and dash out his Brains with my own Hands*. A saying very unlike that of the true Mother, in *1 Kings 3: 26*. but very like that of the other, that laid Claim to the Child falsely.

But, leaving this *Chimerical* hopes of yours, which yet many now are strangely gull'd, *viz.* that this young *French and Italian Gentleman* will become, in time, a true *Protestant* of the *Church of England*; I come to speak and reason the Case with you all, whither you be *Papists* or *Protestants*, upon another Topick and Head of Argument drawn from your selves, as you are all equally *Native Britains*. And this I had principally in my Eye, when I Inscib'd this Epistle to you, as *British Jacobites*, in opposition to the *French*, who intend only to make use of you, as the *Baboon* did the *Cats Foot*, to pull his Chestnuts out of the Fire. And, it was therefore with this view, that I saluted you in the front of this Preface, under the *Friendly Denomination*

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nation of *Countrymen*, tho' I could not, in reference to the present Controversy, add the Epithet of *Honest*, as I afterwards do to others; because, as I shall Demonstrate in the following Discourse, you are not really in the Interests of your Country, but imbark'd with its Old and Inveterate Enemies the *French*; in order to destroy it, and make it a poor Appendicle of that great Monarchy, to the perpetual Inslaving and Impoverishing your selves and Posterity, as well as all your *Countrymen* besides.

Now in order, if possible, to convince you of this, allow me to Copy out what you may find Publish'd, in a Pamphlet, Entitled, *A True History of the Horrid Conspiracy to Assassinate K. William, &c. Printed for John Salisbury, at the Rising Sun in Cornhill, 1696.* Where the Author give us this Story, p. 30, 31. 'About this time, says he, (i. e. about the beginning of April, 1696.) We had an Account by private Letters from *France*, of the following secret Scheme and Design against *King William* and his *Dominions of Great Britain and Ireland*, as laid down by the *French King* and his *Confidants*, (which *King James* and his *British Friends*, were to know almost nothing of) viz. That, as soon as the *Prince of Orange* should be Assassinated, that is, as soon as this should be known at *Calais*, by the Signal, which was agreed to be given from *Dover Cliffs*; Immediately *King James* was to go Aboard, and to Land with an Army of 10000 Men, and that soon after, without the least delay, *Twenty Thousand Veteran French Troops* (which were brought thither before hand) were immediately to Imbark, with all haste, and carried along with them 80 pieces of Cannon, with all other Accoutrements and Furniture, in a Fleet of 700 Transport Ships, under a Convoy of 28 Men of War, in order thus succesfully to Invade *England*, and that much about the same time 5000 Men were to Land in *Scotland* to joyn their Friends in that place. But how many the *Jacobites*

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bites were, that were to join them was not certainly discover'd. However this was known, that just as they should Land, the *Tower of London*, and the *Exchequer* should have been seized, by some Parties of the Conspirators here. And that after this, the *City of London* was to have been Burnt down and totally Destroyed; and the Country for at least Seven Miles round it, reduced into a Wilderness for ever. Some indeed of the *French Cabal* objected against the Destruction of *London* at first; alledging, that it would bring a vast Revenue to the Crown of *France*, by its Customs, but it was answer'd, That it was absolutely necessary that that City should be utterly destroyed; because the *King of France* could never otherwise securely hold the *British Kingdoms* in Subjection; and that, if *London* were suffered to flourish, it would not only be an overmatch for *Paris*, but might in time contend again with *France*, and even with the whole World, for *Empire* as well as *Trade*, as *Rome* did of Old. The total Destruction therefore of *London* being finally Concluded on, the next Resolution taken was, That all the Landed Men and Wealthy-Mony'd Men in *England*, (that were to be spar'd and not cut off,) *Papists* as well as *Protestants* should be Transported into *France*; but with this difference, that the *Protestants* should be made Slaves and Drudges, and the *Papists* should have *Equivalents* given them in *France* for their Estates in *England*. For these purposes, it was concluded, that the *French Officers* should have the Gentlemens Estates given them; and that an equal Number of *Day Labourers*, and poor *French Families* should have been brought over, instead of the *Transplanted British Captives*, in order to Inhabit and Cultivate the desolate Countries: Which was judged the only best and securest Method, to put the *English* for ever out of Condition to revolt, or to endeavour to recover their Liberties and Possessions, or to be any hindrance to the *French King* to Gain and

Pre-

The Preface.

Preserve the *Universal Monarchy of Europe*. And for the better securing the *French Monarchy*, and preventing the *British* from attempting any Change, An *Edict* was agreed upon, to be publish'd in due time, viz. That none of the *Transplanted English* should ever Return again to their own Country, on Pain of Death. As for King *James*, though his Title was speciously to be made use of, particularly at first, in order to divide the *English* among themselves, that they might all of them become the more easily a Prey to *France*; yet he himself (though he knew but little of the *main French Design*,) was brought under special Obligations, not to have meddled with the Government, any otherwise, than as he should be directed by the *French King*; until first the Crown of *France* should Receive *Sixty and Four Millions Sterling* [How many more are they now, after the Escaping of *Twenty Two Years*, when they were become so many in no more than *Eight Years* time?] to be paid him out of the Product of *Britain* and *Ireland*. But then, they had also secretly agreed, (which King *James* and his *British* Friends were to know nothing at all of) that, before this Sum could possibly be Raised, they would find means to get rid both of him and his Son, and thus secure the Possession of these Kingdoms for ever to the Crown of *France*, by virtue of the Relation that the Families of *Orleance* and *Savoy* had to the *Royal Family of Britain*, as the next in the *Lineal Succession* thereof in case of no Male Issue by King *James*; for a Daughter, whom they had in their Power, they could always dispose of, as they found it most for their Interest. So far our Author; in citing of whose words, I have here and there inserted some few things, wherein he is defective, as I had the Account my self formerly from an Eminent Person, that had the Perusal of some secret Letters of this kind. For indeed, even the *British Jacobites*, who had followed King *James's* Fortune into

France

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France, were horribly Chagreen'd, when they smell'd the *Ultimate* and *proper French Design*; of which they had not at first, the least Suspicion, nor yet *King James* himself, though he knew of the *Intended Assassination*, and had some general Idea of the *Invasion*, that he was to be at the Head of, with *Ten Thousand Men*, without any Suspicion, that his *Ten Thousand Men* were to be *Thirty Thousand*, and those not under his Command. But even of the *Ten Thousand Men*, and the *Invasion* in General, he knew so very little of that he was hurried from *St. Germain*s to *Calais*, without having almost 12 Hours time allowed him, after the Advertisement, to prepare for the *Imbarkation*: Which occasion'd many of his Friends to follow him with that precipitance, as hardly to have time to put on their Boots. But of the Grand Design of all, in Relation to the 30 Thousand Veteran *French Troops*, that were to be Ship'd off immediately, neither he, nor indeed any *British Subject* knew any thing at all, until it took Air in time; which occasion'd bitter Speeches afterwards, and even Letters (known to several at this day) from some of *King James's Countrymen* and Servants, who, though high Loyalists to him, yet were not at that time either so Foolish or Wicked, as to be willing that *France* should rise upon the *Funeral Pile* of their *Native Country*.

And now, *Countrymen*, are not these things of that Importance, as to deserve to be consider'd, before you put it wholly out of your own Power, to secure so much as your own Estates and Liberties, or indeed your Lives? Were I as zealous a *Jacobite*, as any in *England*, nay, were I a Thorow-Pac'd *Roman Catholick* too; yet I am sure, I should be very Cautious of having *King James* Restored, until I should be well secured, that he should neither come in with an over powering *French Army*, nor be under necessary Obligations to Refund the *French King* those Immense Sums; which the Nation can never pay, and which must for ever

Ruin

The Preface:

Ruin us, without the possibility of any Retrieve. No Religion sure, nor Loyalty whatsoever, could ever make me so barbarous and inhuman, as to betray my Country to utter Desolation for ever, as I must know my self to do, should I Act such a part, as this: And yet this is that part, which you are now visibly acting.

Think therefore, *Gentlemen*, I pray you, whether most Princes do not mind their own Interest and Glory, in the first place, and above all other Considerations? And whether any Prince ever minded these more, than the present *French King*? Can you then possibly think, that the *British Interest* is really at Heart with that Monarch, equally with his own? Or that he will ever think it, for his Interest, to leave *Great Britain*, in the same Capacity, that it has been of late, to Cope with him, both by Land and Sea, and to humble him, by beating his Armies, forcing him to give back his Conquer'd Dominions, and insulting him even, within his own Territories? If you can believe these things, and rest satisfied, that this *Leopard will thus change his Spots, and this Ethiopian wash himself White*; then you may believe any thing you please, and are indeed fit to swallow all the Legends of Popery. But, in case you cannot easily believe these things, then let me beg you to think again; whether the *Courts of France and Rome* will ever suffer your *Young Prince* to come in, without securing themselves in the first place, by the Bargain? And, if this will be and must be the Case, then let me beg you to think once more, whether you *Britains* are likely to dictate, and give Law, to *Lewis Le Grand*, or he to you? Answer, this to your own Reasons and Consciences, if you can.

But, if after all my Arguments in the *Following Discourse*, and the Conclusive Warning Annexed to it, and after the fair and kind Advice I now give you, in this *Prefatory Address*; you Resolve, Right or Wrong, and come what will, to joyn Issue with the *French King and Nation*, in order to bring in your *Young Pretender*,
together

The Preface.

together with *Italian Bigotry* and a *French Government*; then allow me, *Gentlemen*, to take leave of you, as *Jotham* did of old in his Parable to the *Shechemites* and *House of Millo*, in reference to their setting up *Abimelech*, *Judg.* 9. 19, 20. If thus you do indeed deal truly and faithfully with your *Native Country* and those that have been its true *Friends* and *Patriots*, and have rais'd its *Glory*, *Reputation* and *Influence* to so vast a pitch, as it has arriv'd unto, these *130* and *twenty* *Years* past; then do you *Rejoyce* in your *Young King*, and his *French Father*, and *Italian Mother*; and let them *Rejoyce* in you the *British High-Church* and *Jacobite Party*. But, if you are indeed *acting* and *contriving* to *Ruin* your *Country* and to *destroy* its best *Friends*, in concert with *France* and *Rome*; then let *Fire* come out from *Lewis* and *James* and *Destroy* the *Jacobite High-Church Party*; and let *Fire* come out from you, and *devour* them; until you be *totally* and *finally* *devoured* and *destroyed* one by the other. In the mean time, may *God* save our *Dear Native Country*, from such *Hellish Designs*; if indeed *France* and *Rome* shall, by your means, prevail over us, for a time; may the *Good God* *Restore* our *Native Country* again to its *Ancient Glory* and *Privileges*, if not in our time, yet afterwards, for the sake of our *Poor Posterity*, so fatally at present betrayed by you to perpetual *Slavery* and *Misery*. So prayeth an *Honest Brittain*, who ever has approv'd himself a *True Countryman*, and who, as such, and upon the wish'd for, rather than hop'd for *Supposition*, of your yielding to good Advice given you in the present *Addresses*, Subscribes himself,

Your Faithful and Friendly Monitor,

and thus your Humble Servant,

F. T.

THE

T H E

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- E R R A T A.

PAge 16. Line 3. instead of *Dathan*, read *Korah*. p. 18. l. 26. for *decreed* r. *decrycd*. p. 20. l. 33. for *Law* r. *Gospel*.

THE

THE SACRED
HISTORY
OF

Hereditary - Right
From *CAIN* to *NERO*.

Honest Countrymen,

IT being as Lawful for us *Britains*, as 'twas for the *Bereans*, to search the Scriptures, and by them to examine every Thing that is offered us as a Rule of Faith and Manners, I have chosen the following Passage of Sacred Writ, to be the Subject of my Dissertation.

I CHRON. V. Verses 1, 2, 3.

Now the sons of Reuben, the first-born of Israel, [for he was the first-born: but forasmuch as he defiled his fathers bed, his birth-right was given unto the sons of Joseph the son of Israel: and the Genealogy is not to be reckoned after the birth-right. For Judah prevailed above his brethren, and of him came the chief ruler, but the birth-right was Josephs.] The sons, I say, of Reuben the first-born of Israel were Hanoah, and Pallu, Hezron, and Curmi.

I N T R O D U C T I O N.

WERE these Words duly consider'd, and the Subject rightly understood and applied by the Bulk of this Nation, especially by our Leaders, I am satisfy'd, that all the late High-Flying

A

Noti-

Notions would soon vanish into Smoak, though now in such Esteem and Vogue: I mean, the Doctrines of the *Divine Right of Primogeniture*, or *Birth-Right of Princes*; such as *Hereditary and Indefeazable Right*, and *Patriarchal and Uninterrupted Succession*, the *Irresistible and Unlimited*, or *Arbitrary Power of Sovereigns*; together with the *Absolute Passive-Obedience*, and the *Indispensible Duty of Non-Resistance*, by Subjects.

In order, therefore, to set all these Points in a Clear and Scriptural Light, I made choice of the abovementioned Text; where we have the Determination and the Declared Sense of the United Jewish Church and State, under the Old Testament, in reference to all these Doctrines and Opinions, that are at present so Magnify'd and Cry'd up by so many of those who say, They are of the Church of *England*. Therefore, I would fain hope, that those Men who boast so much of the Conformity of their *Hierarchy*, with that of the Ancient *Israelitish* Church, will have some Regard to their Unanimous and Constant Opinion and Determination, in Reference to the Succession and Rights of Princes; especially since their Opinion in those Points, is founded upon God's own Procedure and Approbation; as being, indeed, part of his Reveal'd Will, Recorded in Scripture as a Sacred Directory, Inclusive of all Things Material and Essential, that relate to the Right Constitution of Civiliz'd Nations, especially where Scripture Religion prevails. As therefore I pretend to nothing in this Discourse, but to consider what God, and his true Vice-Gerents on Earth, have done and declared, in all Ages past, with the Approbation of the Church, both before Christs coming, and since that time: So I hope, all Men, that Call themselves Christians, whatever be their other Denomination, will consider what I say, before they pass Sentence upon this Innocent, Well-meant Performance; which, God knows, is Honestly and Affectionately calculated for
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the Good of my Native Country ; and towards the Perusal of which, no more is desired by me, but the Patience of Reading and Thinking it over, with due Candor, and without Prejudice ; which may easily be done in a short time.

As for our Text, the Reader cannot but see, that all that is memorable therein, and which I am to lay down as the Foundation of a Discourse of this Nature, is what is brought in; by way of Parenthesis in the 1st and 2d verses. And the Reason why it is brought in here, will be easily seen, if we consider that the Author of this Book, having copied out some of the Genealogies of the Tribes of *Israel*, as he found them in the Archives kept in the Temple ; and having given us the Title of the Roll of those ancient Genealogies, thus 1 Ch. 2. 1, 2. *These are the sons of Israel, Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah, &c.* doth yet immediately begin with the Genealogy of *Judah*, v. 3; &c. passing over the three elder Brethren. To Apologize therefore, for this seeming Fault, in preferring a younger Tribe, before the eldest of all, he tells us here, the Reason, *viz.* that *Judah* had obtained the Precedency, by a *Divine Revolution* of Things, directed by *God*, declared by *Jacob*, establish'd by *David*, and acquiesc'd in by the *whole Nation of Israel*, with the consent even of the *Reubenites* themselves. For the Text does sufficiently inform us, that it was by the Concurring Suffrage of the whole Congregation, or *Parliament of Israel*, that the Register of the Genealogies of the Tribes were made to run in the Order, wherein we see them in the first Chapter of this Book. And the Author refers, in v. 7, to some eminent Time, when a New Roll of the Genealogies of the Tribes was taken; which was, without doubt, in the Days of *Hezekiah*, who was contemporary, as to his Life, though not as to his Reign, with *Tiglath Pileser*, who began the Captivity of the Ten Tribes, as we read 2 King. 15. 29. in whose Days we are told, in the 6th Verse following our Text, that

Beer, the last Prince of the *Reubenites*, was made a Captive, and no doubt, all, or most of that Tribe, together with him. Now as *Shalmanezzer*, succeeding his Father in the Kingdom of *Assyria*, did succeed him also in Captivating the rest of the Ten Tribes, 2 *King.* 17. 3, 4. So we may well believe, that Good *Hezekiah*, in whose time this hapned, (for he began his Reign in the 3d Year of *Hoshea*, King of *Israel*, 2 *King.* 18. 1. who was Captivated, with his People, by *Shalmanezzer*, in the 9th Year of his Reign) could not but reckon it necessary to take the Genealogies of the Ten Tribes, in order to preserve the Memory of their Families, as well as of those of *Judah*, *Benjamin* and *Levi*, seeing the Ten Tribes were then in no Condition to preserve their own Genealogies. Besides these Circumstantial Hints, I shall venture to premise two more Circumstantial Observations, before I proceed to the principal Points; because I do think them to be of some Use to illustrate our Text, and to be no Impertinent Introduction to our main Subject. The *first Observation* is this; That, though the Time when this Roll of Genealogies was taken, was after the Captivity of the *Reubenites*, as is evident from v. 6. and though this Tribe was adjudg'd to have lost the Privileges of the *First Born*, as the Words of our Text declare: Yet, such was the Respect paid to the very Name of *Reuben*, and the Shadow of his *Primogeniture*; that, though the Tribe of *Judah* be adjudg'd the First Place in this Record, yet the Tribe of *Reuben* is preferr'd before that of *Levi*, which is not mention'd until the Sons of *Reuben* were reckon'd up; and, for their sakes, even those of *Gad*, and the Half Tribe of *Manassch* also, as we see in the Sequel of this Chapter, and in the following one. The *second Observation* is; That, as the Genealogy of *Reuben* is not reckon'd, according to his Birth-Right, in relation to his Brethren, so I apprehend, that the Headship of that Tribe was not intail'd upon his Eldest Son, but upon the Youngest of all. I will

will not affirm this, but I must be allowed to think it more probable than any other Conjecture, that has been made, or can be made. *Reubens Sons* were four, as our Text says, *v. 3.* and as we know from *Gen. 46. 9.* and *Exod. 6. 14.* Now who were the next Descendants of any of those four Sons, we read nothing any where in Scripture, but in our Context, excepting in *Numb. 26. 5, 6.* and that is in the General only, and after the Rebellion of *Korah* and *Dathan.* And perhaps it was from a Detestation of that Sedition, that *Pallu*, *Dathans* Grandfather, was reckon'd after *Hanoch.* It is true, we read also *Numb. 1. 5.* of *Elizur*, the Son of *Shedeur*, who was constituted Head of the *Reubenites*, as also of *Nemucl*, *Numb. 26. 9.* as an Elder Brother of *Dathan* who I suppose died without Heirs. But as for the Heads of the several Tribes, mentioned in *Numb. Ch. 1.* they seem to be made such by God, without Regard to Birth-Right; as might be rationally shewed in several Instances, were it not, that such an Inquiry would carry me too far. Let two Parallel Instances, therefore, serve to illustrate this. The First, is the choice made of *Kobath*, the second Son of *Levi*, before his Elder Brother *Gershom*, in whose Line the chief Priesthood was fixed, as well as the Supream Power, for a Time, seeing both *Aaron* and *Moses* were the Grandsons of *Kobath*, as we see *Gen. 46. 11. Exod. 6. 15.* and *Ch. 23. 6.* and *1 Chron. 6. 1. 2. 6.* For both *Aaron* and *Moses* were the Descendants of *Kobath.* See *Num. 3. 17. &c.* The 2d Instance, is the choice of *Elizaphan* the Son of *Uziel*, the Youngest Son of *Kobath*, to be Prince of the *Kobathites*, without Regard to *Izhar* and *Hebron*, the Elder Brethren, as we see at large, *Num. 3. 17, 19, 30.* And hence it was, as the *Jews* say, with the fairest Probability of Reason, that *Korah* took occasion to conspire against *Moses* and *Aaron*; for *Korah* was the Son of *Izhar*, the second Son of *Kobath*, who reckoned himself affronted, to have his Younger Cousin, the Son of his Father's Youngest Brother, made Prince over his Head,

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and over all the Families of the *Kobathites*; as we see he was *Numb. 3. 30.* And this, by the way, opens to us the Spring of *Korah's Conspiracy*; which was founded upon the Claim of *Hereditary-Right*. And therefore we have just Reason to conclude, that *Dathan, Abiram, and On*, (who were the Heads of the Conspiracy jointly with *Korah*, went upon the same Claim, as to the *Civil Headship* over *Israel*, in Opposition to *Moses*, as *Korah* went upon, as to the *Priestly Power*, in Opposition to *Aaron* and *Elizaphan*. For, as it is certain, that *Dathan, Abiram, and On*, were the Great Grandsons of *Reuben*, *Numb. 16. 1.* so I am apt to think, that *Eliab*, the Father of *Dathan* and *Abiram*, and *Peleth*, the Father of *On*, were the Eldest Sons of *Hanoch*, the First-Born of *Reuben*; or rather, that *Eliab* was the Eldest Son of *Hanoch*, and *Peleth* the First-Born of *Pallu*, the second Son of *Reuben*. And seeing those Head Conspirators drew in no less than *Two hundred and fifty Heads, or Princes* of the Congregation, we may very reasonably suppose, that *Elizur*, the Son of *Shedeur*, who was made Prince of all the *Reubenites* by *Moses*, *Numb. 11. 5.* was drawn into the Conspiracy also, and might probably be the Grandson of *Ezron*, the third Son of *Reuben*, and reckon it reasonable, that his Cousin *Dathan* having a Prior Right by Succession, to be Head of the *Reubenites*, ought not to have been excluded from it. So much, however, is certain, that we read no more of the Successors or Sons of *Elizur*, than of any Posterity left by *Dathan, Abiram, and On*; who did all Perish together, with *Korah*, *Numb. 16. 24. 27. 30.* And this I take to be the Reason, why we read nothing here of the Posterity of any of *Reuben's* 3 First Sons, but only of *Carmi*, his Fourth and Youngest Son. For when we read *v. 3. 4. &c. The Sons of Reuben, the Third-Born of Israel, were Hanoch and Pallu, Ezron and Carmi*: And when it is immediately added, *The Sons of Joel, Shemaiah his Son, Gog his Son, &c.* We cannot rationally

tionally fix upon *Joel* as the Descendant of any of the Three First Sons; for the Connexion will not bear it. Therefore, *Joel* must either have been the Son of *Carmi*, or *Carmi* himself. And indeed, this last Opinion I embrace, as the most probable of the Two; for it is a very usual Thing, (as all Men know, who are Conversant with the Bible,) for one and the same Man to have two Names, and to be alternately called sometimes by one Name, and sometimes by the other, almost in the same Breath; of which I might produce many Instances. But two or three shall suffice now, which we have in the very next Chapter; where we read *v. 2.* and *18.* that the Name of the Second Son of *Kebath*, was called *Izbar*, and yet in *v. 18.* he is called *Amnidab*. In like manner, they that are called *Joah* and *Jaddo*, *v. 21.* are called *Ethan* and *Adajah*, *v. 42.* and *41.* Now, should we lay any Stress upon the *Syriack* and *Arabick Versions*, no doubt would remain, as to the Certainty of this my Opinion, that *Carmi* and *Joel* are the same Person, under two Names; seeing both these Ancient Versions leave out the Word *Joel*, and place *Carmi* in its stead: for instead of *Joel*, they render the 4. Verse thus. *The Sons of Carmi; Shemajah his Son, Gog his Son, &c.* And indeed so much veneration I must be allowed to pay to the Antiquity and Reputation of those Versions, especially the *Syriack*, that I cannot think the Authors of 'em would have altered the Text itself in this particular, (for what Temptation could they have to do so) had they not found in the Copy or Copies of the Septuagint, extant in their Days. And, if it was then in the *Greek Copies*, we may also conjecture, that the Seventy Interpreters, or whoever were the Authors of the Old *Greek Translation* of this Book, might have read *Carmi* also, instead of *Joel*, *v. 4.* in the *Hebrew Copy* of this Book of *Chronicles*, which was then in their Hands. However, so much is Certain, that the Persons named as the Sons of *Carmi*, or *Joel*, *v. 4. &c.* are not mention'd any otherwise, than as a successive List of
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the Heads or Princes of the *Reubenites*, down to the Captivity of that Tribe. For the Succession is made to run thus. *Joel* (or *Carmi*, the Son of *Reuben*) *Shemajah* his Son, *Gog* his Son, *Shimei* his Son, *Micah* his Son, *Reajah* his Son, *Baal* his Son, *Beerah* his Son, whom *Tiglath-Pileser*, King of *Assyria*, carryed away Captive ; he was Prince (at that time) of the *Reubenites*. So far reaches the Line of the Princes of that Tribe, down to their Captivity, and the time of *Hezekiah*, when this Genealogy was taken, says the Author of this First Book of *Chronicles*, v. 6. 7. 8. And he adds, that the Heads of the Chief Families of *Reuben*, who were Coetemporaries with *Beerah*, the Last Prince of that Tribe, were *Jeiel*, *Zechariah* and *Bela*. Now, after this Catalogue, the Author subjoyns a Brief Account of the most Memorable Action, that it seems was ever performed by this Tribe, and which happened in the Days of *Saul*, v. 10. And, with this, I take Leave of what relates to this Tribe, as it is treated of in our Context.

But now, that I have touch'd upon the Conspiracy of *Korah*, in Conjunction with the Princes of this Tribe, in the Days of *Moses* ; I cannot forbear to consider that Memorable Passage, before I proceed to the main Subject I am to treat of. For, besides that it will tend to confirm and illustrate what I have principally in view, it is necessary to set it in a true Light, now that Mr *Lestey*, in his Rehearsals, and many others, have set it in so false a Light, and made such a Noise about it, canting out the Words Rebels and Schismatics from thence, with an Application to *Revolution-Men*, as well as *Dissenters*, in order to serve a *Jacobite High-Church* Delign ; wherein it is hard to say, whether the Ignorance, or the Confidence and Malice of such Writers, is most to be admired.

Now, to understand the Foundation of the Conspiracy of *Korah* and *Dathan*, let us remember a few Things that are necessary to be premised, besides what

I hinted before. Let it be then considered, (1.) That God erected the *Israelitish* Nation in the Days of *Moses*, into a *Theocracy*, or Divine Government, wherein he himself Acted as King, both in giving Laws, and putting them in Execution, in determining Suits and Controversies, and in adjusting whatever related to Peace and War, &c. This is made so Evident, by *Dr. Spencer*, that I think all Learned Men acquiesce in the Truth of his Notion, as to the Main. (2.) Now, in order to erect this Constitution, He first set up his *Standard* in a Pillar of Cloud and Fire, and called *Moses* to be his *Lieutenant-General*, and *Prime Minister* of State, and to him he joyned his *Elder Brother Aaron*, (having no regard to the Privilege of the *First-Born*, even in this Instance,) as the Prophet of *Moses*, or his *Deputy*, *Moses* being God's own Vice-Gerent, and therefore called God, *Exod. 4. 18. and 7. 1.* (3.) After this, the Tribe of *Levi* have the Priesthood adjudg'd to them, and are taken in to enjoy this Privilege, which before, was part of the Privilege of the *Birthright* of the *First-Born*; and by this, as the Heads of Families lost one Branch of their Prerogative, so *Reuben* was a double Looser: For, as all the Heads of that Tribe were equal Loosers with the Heads of the other Tribes, in this Point; so the First Head, or Prince of the whole Tribe, and consequently, the whole Tribe itself, lost this Part of the Honour and Dignity, Privilege and Authority, that properly belong'd to him. by the Right Primogeniture. And, as the *Levites* were, in this respect, prefer'd before the *Reubenites*, and all the other Tribes; so *Aaron* was set over all the other *Levites*, and the Higher Priesthood appropriated to his Family; and *Moses*, his Younger Brother, was *Prince* and *Supreme Legislator*, and General over *Aaron*, and all the Princes of *Israel*, as well as People: which we may be sure was a Constitution that many of the Princes of the other Tribes, and particularly of *Reuben*, were very uneasy under. (4.) But this Uneasiness was, no doubt, highly increas'd,

when *Moses*, by the Advice of *Jethro*, *Exod.* 18. 25. 26. made a new Regulation of the Government of *Israel*, by making choice of such Men as he saw fit, to be *Heads of the People*, in such a Subordinate Method, that some were *Rulers of Thousands*, some of *Hundreds*, some of *Fifties*, and some of *Tens*, and all these Subordinate to *Moses* himself. Now, though *Moses* did this, both with God's Approbation, and by a popular Election, according to the Suffrages of the Tribes, as appears *Deut.* 1. 13. 14. yet we may well suppose, that as *Moses's* Authority and Power was vastly strengthened this way: The Princes and Great Men who were not Elected, but pass'd by, were extremely enrag'd at this New Constitution. (5.) And this was, no doubt, farther encreas'd, by *Moses's* choosing *Twelve Men*, to be Princes of the several Tribes, without any nice Regard, (if indeed any at all) to the Right of the *First-Born* ; as I might sufficiently shew, were it not, that it would carry me out too far, upon lesser Points, and detain me too long from the chief Heads of this Discourse. Let the Instance therefore, mention'd before, serve at present, *viz.* That, whereas *Korah* was the Prince or Head of the *Kobathites* (excepting only *Aaron* and *Moses*, and their Families) He being the Eldest Son of *Izhar*, the second Son of *Kobath*, next Brother to *Amram*, Father of *Aaron* and *Moses*, (if indeed *Amram* be reckoned First, from his being the Eldest Son, seeing he may perhaps be reckoned the *First*, from Honour only to his Posterity, as *Shem* was before, in regard to *Japhet*, and *Jacob* in reference to *Esau* ;) now, I say, whereas this was the Case of *Dathan*, it need not be wondered at, if he swell'd with Rage, to see *Elizaphan* the Son of *Uziel*, the Youngest Son of *Kobath*, placed Chief, and Prince over his own Head, and over all the Famillics of the *Kobathites*, as we see he was, *Numb.* 3. 30. (6) But, besides all this, perhaps it did add no small Fuel to the Flame of *Korah's* Rage, against *Moses* ; that, when the *Twelve Princes* of the Tribes made their Rich Offering

fering to the Tabernacle of the Lord, mention'd *Numb.* 7. 2, 3. It is expressly said, v. 6, 7, 8, 9, that he committed the Charge of those Rich Presents, chiefly to the Sons of *Merari*, giving no part of the Charge of them to the Sons of *Kobath*, the Elder Brother, and but a small part comparatively of the Charge to the Sons of *Gershon*, the Eldest Brother of all. This must needs have affronted such a Man as *Korah*, and have given him an Handle to Irritate and Incense, not only the *Kebathites*, but the *Gershonites* also. And here, by the way, it might have been no small Argument made use of by *Korah*, and the other Heads of the Conspiracy, to draw many Princes, and others of the several Tribes of Israel, to Joyn with them against *Moses* and *Aaron*, that in the Order of the Days appointed to the Princes of the several Tribes, wherein they successively Offered up their Presents, no regard at all was had to *Birth-right*, or *Hereditary Right*. For, whereas the Order of the Sons of *Jacob*, according to their Birth, and which their Father observ'd, when he Blest them, *Gen.* 49. runs thus; *Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Zebulon, Issachar, Dan, Gad, Asher, Nephtali, Joseph, and Benjamin*; *Moses* did wholly alter this Order. For, besides the omitting *Levi*, (upon the Reason that every one knows,) and the dividing *Josephs* Posterity, to keep up the Number of *Twelve Tribes*, which *Jacob* himself laid the Foundation of, *Moses* Ordered, *Num.* 7. 12, &c. That the Princes of the Tribes should make their Offerings thus; The Prince of *Judah*, the 1st day, v. 12. The Prince of *Issachar* the 2d day, v. 18. The Prince of *Zebulon* the 3d day, v. 24. The Prince of *Reuben* the 4th day, v. 30. The Prince of *Simeon* the 5th day, v. 36. The Prince of *Gad* the 6th day, v. 42. The Prince of *Ephraim* the 7th day, v. 48. The Prince of *Manasseh* the 8th day, v. 54. The Prince of *Benjamin* on the 9th day, v. 60. The Prince of *Dan* on the 10th day, v. 66. The Prince of *Asher* on the 11th day, v. 72. The Prince of *Nephtali* on the 12th day, v. 78.

Now what can we imagine by this Regulation, but that God had a mind to put a Brand of Infamy for ever, upon any Claim of Precedency, Founded upon Indefeasible *Hereditary Right*. And yet, if we consult the Order that *Moses* followed in Blessing the Tribes afterwards, *Deut. 33*. And the Order of God himself afterwards, in disposing the Land of *Canaan* to the Tribes, by *Lot*, we shall find as little Regard had to *Hereditary Right*, as before; which, to be sure, was not done by chance, but on purpose; to cut off all Foundation for any afterwards, to Found a Claim to *Sovereignty*, merely on this Pretence, or from a pretended *Patriarchal Succession*, either from *Adam*, *Noah*, *Abraham*, or *Jacob*. (7.) One thing more which I do rationally suppose, might add yet further Fuel to the Rage of *Korath*, *Dathan*, and the other *Princes*, Confederated against *Moses*, was the Institution of a *Sanhedrim*, or *Supreme Court* of Justice, consisting of 70 *Stated Elders* or *Judges*, *Numb. 11. 16, 17*. who were constituted Assistants to *Moses*. Now these being chosen by him, with a regard to Worth, and not to Birth, and without any regard to the Old Elders of the People, who were so by *Succession*, and in the Right of being the *First-Born*; and this Court being of a Formidable Nature, especially to Men of Great Birth, and of High Spirits: We cannot but think that it would be Improved and Represented, by *Korab*, *Dathan* and *Abiram*, in the worst sense, and in the most Odious manner, to the engaging multitudes of Men to their Party. (8.) I shall only add this further, That the terrible and dismal Report, that Ten, of the Twelve Spies sent into *Canaan*, brought back of the impossibility of Conquering the Inhabitants, *Numb. 13*. And the mighty Ferment into which the whole Body of the Nation was put, by this Report, *Ch. 14*. Administred a fair Opportunity to *Korath*, *Dathan*, and their Party, to ripen their Plot. For the People did not only speak openly against *Moses* and *Aaron*, but talked of making

a Captain to carry them back to *Egypt*, *Ch.* 14. 3, 4. And when *Joshua* and *Caleb* attempted to still their Fury, they narrowly mist being stoned to Death for their pains, *v.* 6, 7, 8, 9, 10. And, tho' the People seem'd to repent of this, upon the sad Sentence past, *v.* 23, 29, 33, 34, &c. viz. *that they must wander in the Wilderness 40 Years, until all they of that Generation should Die*; yet they improv'd this no otherwise, than by Murmuring, and by a presumptuous Attempting to go into the Land of *Canaan*; in which they were defeated, by the *Amalekites* and *Canaanites* with dreadful Slaughter, *v.* 40, 44, 45. And, no doubt this Sentence, and this following Misfortune, tended exceedingly to sower the Temper of the Israelites in General, and so to render them more easily susceptible of the Impressions, which the Conspirators made upon them, by Complaints, Stories, Calumnies and Assurances.

Let any Man therefore duly consider these things, and he will soon see, that the *Schism* of *Korah*, as the *High Church Jacobite Authors* call it, was an *Open Rebellion* against the *National Revolution* and *Constitution* of *Israel*, both in *State* and *Church*; and that this *Rebellion* was founded upon the *Doctrines* of *Hereditary* and *Indefeazable Right*, and the specious Pretences of the *Jure-Divino Precedency* of *Birth-right*, and of a *Lineal Descent*, and *Uninterrupted Succession*. So that our *Modern Jacobites*, *Non-Jurors*, and their *Confederates*, who go upon the same Principles now, as those did of Old; are the only *Koraites* among us, in the very same sense, and that in the utmost propriety of Speech; this being an exactly parallel Case to the former. For the *whole Constitution* erected by *Moses*, was a *Revolution-Erection*, founded on *New Laws* and *Regulations*: Tho in this it was peculiar, and different from all other *National Constitutions*, that it was instituted by an *Immediately Divine Revelation*. But then, seeing this was not to be the *Privilege* of other Nations, God thought fit to give us a sufficient *Warrant*,

rant, to make Laws in relation to the main end of Government; which is *Salus Populi*, or the general Good of the Community, without any regard to the real or pretended Claims of *Birth-right* and *Succession*, and far more without any regard to the Tyrannical Doctrines of the *Absolute Will* of *Princes*, and the *Unlimited Obedience* of *Subjects*; Pretences to these being a Blasphemous Invasion of the Divine Prerogative, and that Submission which he only Claims from us; tho' yet he chuses to Rule us by a mild Law, Calculated wholly for our Interest, and not by a mere Arbitrary *Sic Volo, Sic Jubeo*, or so I command you, without telling us why, or annexing encouragements to our serving him; for he delights not in the Death or Ruin of his Subjects, as Satan and Tyrants do; which last are for that reason ever to be excluded Heaven, into which no Princes ever enter, by *Birthright*, but by *Election* and *Grace*. Now as the Ancient *Koraites*, were for throwing off *Moses* and *Aaron*, and this Revolution Law and Constitution, which the Nation was then blest with, under pretence that *Moses's* Law was Subversive of *Hereditary Right*; and were for making a *Captain*, to lead them back to *Egypt*, who to be sure was to be *Dathan* the *Firstborn* of the *Reubenites*, and consequently the *Lineal Successor* of *Jacob*: So our *Modern Koraites*, are for overturning our *Legal Revolution Settlement* in Church and State, and for chusing a *Young* pretended *Hereditary Prince*; that under his Conduct they may go back to the *Modern Egypt* of *France Papal*, where we and our Posterity are to be made Happy; in that House of Bondage, just as the *Israelites* were of Old; by being oblig'd to refund the *French* above an Hundred Millions, without being allowed to have Straw to make Bricks of; as being then under the Power of Two Arbitrary Task-masters *Pope-ry* and *Tyranny*, who are to Teach us *Implicit Faith* and *Passive Obedience*, by the *Arguments* of *Sovereign Will* and *Pleasure*, and the *Cudgells* and *Racks* of *Irresistible Power*, and *Military Force*.

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Now, that this Application may not seem to be, in the least, strain'd or forc'd, but a just *Conclusion* drawn from the *Premises* laid down; Let the Reader only closely Review them, and then he will readily confess, that the Exact and Literal Account of the History of *Korah's Conspiracy*, as deliver'd by *Moses*, in the 16th and 17th Chapters of the Book of *Numbers*, amounts to this short History, which I shall now give you.

“ *Korah*, the *Hereditary Prince* of all the *Kobathites* (excepting *Aaron* and *Moses*) being Degraded from his *Birthright*, by having *Elizaphan*, a Younger Branch of the Family, placed over him; and knowing that a vast Number of the other Princes, of the Congregation, were equally Disobliged and Affronted, upon the forementioned Accounts; reckons that a fit Opportunity was offered, to Revenge himself of the Indignities put upon him by *Moses* and *Aaron*. For which purpose knowing, that the *Birthright* of all the Tribes was *Hereditarily Reubens*, He joyns with him *Dathan*, the *First-Born*, and *Prince* of that Tribe, together with his Brother *Abiram*, and their Cousin *On*; who were all of them as much, or more than he Degraded, in Point both of Honour and Power.

“ This *Quadrumviate*, or Tory-Council of Four, having Concerted Preliminaries, Communicated their Grievances to a Club of 250 Princes of the Assembly, who as *Moses* himself says, Ch. 16. 2. were *Famous in the Congregation, and Men of Renown*. This *Vast Body* of Princes, reckoning themselves equally Degraded and Affronted by the Constitution, Laws and Management of *Moses*, having Influenc'd a vast Number of the *Israelites* of all Ranks and Degrees, who seem to have been the far greater part of all the Tribes, and having thus Ripened their Plot, resolve to Proceed against *Moses* and *Aaron*, after this manner. *Korah*, at the Head of the 250 Princes, as their Orator, is pitch'd upon to give the

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“ Challenge to *Moses* and *Aaron* ; which they do so, as
 “ to Declare War against them, and their party, v. 3.
 “ whilst *Dathan* and *Abiram* are, at the same time,
 “ left in the Camp, as General and Liverenant-General
 “ of the Forces of the Party, to keep them United, and
 “ in Heart ; and to draw them out in a Military man-
 “ ner, as soon as *Korah* and the *Princes* should come
 “ back, and Concert things with them ; for that *Da-*
 “ *than* and *Abiram* were left in the Camp, is evident,
 “ v. 12, 13.

“ Now the Sum of the Charge, which *Korah* and
 “ the 250 *Princes* lay against *Moses* and *Aaron*, is this,
 “ v. 3. That, whereas the whole Congregation of Israel
 “ was Holy, as well as they, and own'd by God to be his
 “ People ; they had Ambitiously lifted up themselves a-
 “ bove all the Tribes and Princes, and shared between
 “ them, Two of the Chief Prerogatives of the Birth-
 “ right, viz. The Princely Power, and the Priesthood ;
 “ and that so, as to take upon them to Manage all
 “ things, as they themselves pleased, without Consulting
 “ the Heads of the Tribes ; nay so Arbitrarily and Un-
 “ justly, as to Rob the Princes of the Hereditary Privi-
 “ ledges and Prerogatives, that by the Course of Nature
 “ it self, and therefore by Divine Right, were Inde-
 “ feasable and Inseparable, from their Birth Right.

“ And, as this was the General Charge of all the
 “ Princes, and consequently of the whole Party, put
 “ up in the Name of all Israel, v. 3. so *Korah* had
 “ his particular End, to pursue also, viz. To be made
 “ High Priest, in the stead of *Aaron*, as we see, v. 10,
 “ 11. And, for any thing we know, he might have
 “ Hereditary Right to Plead in this Case also, (as I
 “ said above) notwithstanding, that *Amram* is placed
 “ before *Izhar*. But, if he had not this plea, yet he
 “ had this to go upon ; That *Moses* and *Aaron* had
 “ Acted Unjustly towards him, in Degrading him
 “ from his Birthright, by placing a Younger Branch
 “ of his Family above him ; and that by this and their

“ other Acts of Unjustice, they had Forfeited their
 “ Right to their places, in Case they ever had any
 “ Right to them.

“ But, whether or not, *Korah* aim'd at the Priest-
 “ hood, on the Foot of *Primogeniture*, certain it is,
 “ that *Dathan* and *Abiram* went wholly upon this
 “ Ground. And therefore, having agreed to yield the
 “ *Priesthood* to *Korah*, their Charge is wholly against
 “ *Moses*, whom they Challenge as an *Usurper*, who
 “ had Invaded the *Kingly Power*, which belonged, by
 “ Right of Birth, to *Dathan*, as the Eldest Son of
 “ *Reuben* and *Jacob*. Now the Charge laid against
 “ *Moses* by *Dathan*, being somewhat different from
 “ the former, laid against him and *Aaron* Conjunctly,
 “ and being a more Explicite Accusation against *Moses*,
 “ as an *Usurper*; deserves to be specially Considered
 “ here. It amounts to this, as is to be seen, Ch. 16.
 “ v. 12, 13, 14. *Moses* having sent for *Dathan* and
 “ *Abiram* to come up to him, they refuse, saying,
 “ *We will not come up*; giving this Answer. It
 “ seems it is a small Matter, that thou hast Trickt us
 “ out of our Lands and Possessions, in the Fruitful Land
 “ of *Goshen*, with a Wicked design to Kill all of us, in
 “ the Wilderness, that stood in the way of thy *Usurpa-*
 “ *tions*; unless thou be also Submitted to, as a *Sove-*
 “ *reign Prince* over us; who are Born thy Superiors.
 “ Of this thy *Pride* and *Usurpation*, thy *Command*, for-
 “ sooth, sent to us, to come up to your Majesty, is an
 “ evident Proof; but which we scorn to Obey. Thou
 “ didst indeed Promise to bring us into a Land, flowing
 “ with Milk and Honey, and a finer Land than *Goshen*.
 “ But now every one sees, that thou art an *Arrant*
 “ *Cheat* and *Lyer*, seeing we are now *Doom'd*, all of
 “ us, to Die in the Wilderness, and never to see that
 “ fine Promised *Canaan*. Where are our rare *Vineyards*
 “ and *Cornfields*, that thou wast to put us in Possession
 “ of, without any *Trouble* or *Danger*. Canst thou put
 “ out the Eyes of these Men now, as formerly, who have

“ all of them fully seen thro’ thy Impostures? No, no,
 “ we Scorn to come up to thee, or own thee, any
 “ more.

Now, seeing this was the Case of *Korah* and *Dathan*, in Opposition to *Moses* and *Aaron*: I beg the Reader to think, whether ever there was any thing more parallel to the same, than that of our late *High Church Jacobite Party*, in Opposition to the *Revolution Settlement* and *Maxims*. Are not *Dodwell*, *Lesley*, *Hicks*, *Sacheverel*, &c. The very same, both in Principle and Practice, that the *Koraites* were of Old? Is not the *Oxford Decree*, a Compendious System. (I mean, as to its First Articles) of the Principles of *Korah* and *Dathan*? And are not our late *High-Church Addressers* Materially of the very same strain, that those of *Korah* and *Dathan* were? This is so evident, in point of *Hereditary and Indefeazable Right*; and its Sister Principles, that I defie all the Learning of the *Oxonians*, and the Sophistry of the *Jesuites*, to shew any real difference, (for I suppose they will not pretend that there is any Opposition) between our late Magnifyed Doctrines, and those of *Korah* and *Dathan*.

I might say much more, as to the History of the Old *Koraites*, and their *Modern Successors of Great Britain*; were it not that I am unwilling to Inlarge too much, at a time, when Moderation is so much Decryed, that it is not easily allowed of so far, as to hear out a Discourse to an end, in case it favour of Judgment and Exactness; which always require some length, in the Survey of Controverted points, especially where *Darling Ignoramus Notions* come to be exposed by so doing. I shall therefore Content my self, with one thing further, *viz.* A Consideration of the *Ancient Priest-hood*, which our Modern High Flyers still Cant upon, as the Model of the *Christian Ministry*. which last Office, they do as Ignorantly, as Impiously, call by the Name of *Christien Priesthood*: And I dare venture to say, That the *Leitical Priesthood* and *Christian Ministry*, are just such
Parallel

Parallel Lines, as Dr. *Sacheverels*; and that they will meet as soon in the same Center; that is, when the *Greek Calends* happen.

In Order to Demonstrate this, Let us only Remember that which I mention'd before, *viz.* That the *Jewish Constitution* being a *Theocracy*, wherein God Acted Openly, and Publickly as King; we are to consider, that the *Tabernacle* was his *Imperial Tent*, while his Subjects were in a Military, and Travelling State; which was afterwards alter'd into a *Fixed Pallace*, called the *Temple*. Thus all things, relating to that Oeconomy are easily understood. For, Suitable to the Majesty of so great a King, all the *Utensils* and *Furniture* of his *Pavilion* first, and *Palace* afterwards, were to be Rich and Sumptuous; and seeing he Liv'd and Convers'd with them, he was to have a *Table*, with *Bread* upon it; and all manner of *Sacrifices* and *Oblations* to Feast (as it were) upon'em; together with perpetual Fire, Lamps lighted, and Incense, and sweet Odours for Smell; as well as a *Throne* or *Chair* of State, *viz.* The *Ark* and *Mercy-Seat*. And a vast *Revenue* must be settled to Support all this State and Expence; which was to be raised by *Taxes* and *Impositions*, such as the *First-fruits*, *Tenths*, and such and such *Sacrifices*, upon particular days and Occasions; besides *Voluntary Offerings*, expected from Rich Men.

Now, these things being Considered, we easily apprehend, that the *Priests* of Old were no other, than the *Menial* or *Household Servants* of the *King of Israel*; the *Common Levites*, being the *Ordinary Servants*, distributed into *Four Ranks*, or *Orders*, under their proper Heads; whose Work was principally to take care of the *Furniture* of the *House*, and to Serve the *Priests*; who were over the *Levites*, to direct, and inspect, and order things, appertaining to the *Kings Table* and *Service*; and over all these was the *High Priest*, as *Lord High Steward*, and *Lord High Chamberlain*, all in one, who received his Orders from the King himself.

Therefore, as this *Priesthood* was Typical of Christ, so it ceas'd for ever, with the *Temple*, upon which it depended; as soon as Christianity was fully erected. And, they must needs have never understood St. Pauls Design, in his Epistles to the *Galatians* and *Hebrews*, particularly *Gal. Chap. 3.* and *Heb. Chap. 8, 9,* and *10.* Who do not know that there neither is, nor can be any *Priest* now but Christ, nor consequently any proper *Priesthood* but his own Eternal One, which he still Exercises in Heaven, as to the Intercessory part thereof, as he did the Oblationary part on Earth. Seeing therefore all *Priesthood* is run in to our Saviour, who possesses it intirely, and will do so for ever; it is equally Nonsense and Blasphemy for any now to lay a Claim to *Real Priesthood*, as to pretend to his *Regal Office*, as he is *Supreme Head of the Church*.— So that Ministers of the Gospel are nothing more than *Teachers and Doctors*; who if they must be supposed to Answer to any of the Orders or Sorts of Men under the Old Testament, do most properly Answer to the *Ordinary Prophets*, who were *Doctors* or *Teachers* in the *Synagogues*, and had no relation to the *Temple*, but were *Rulers of Synagogues*; which were just like our *Parochial Churches*, where they Read and Expounded the Scriptures of the *Law* and the *Prophets*. And hence it is, that tho' *Preaching* is called *Propheying* in the New Testament, yet the *Office* of a *Minister* is never call'd *Priesthood* Nor are *Gospel Officers* ever call'd *Priests*; tho' Christians in General are Honour'd with the Title both of *Priests* and *Kings*. Let this suffice to shew, how vastly different the *Priestly Office* was under the Law, from the *Ecclesiastical Office* under the

Gospel: For whereas the *Gospel Ministry* is a *Spiritual* or *Moral Office*; the *Priestly Office* of Old was a *Civil* or *Oeconomical One*, which was peculiar to that Ancient National Establishment, and was to cease for ever with it. When therefore the *Schechinah* that dwelt in the Old Temple, remov'd and dwelt in the Temple of Christ's

Christ's Body, and when that was removed to Heaven, where Christ remains a Priest for ever; all the Orders of Priests ceased for ever.

I come therefore now to the main thing in our Text; upon which I need not insist long, seeing, tho it be the principal part thereof, yet it is so easy to be understood, that I need not dwell long upon it. The Sum therefore of what is here Included within a Parenthesis, is this. " *That Reuben, tho he was the First Born of Israel, yet by reason of his Incest with Bilhab, his Fathers Concubine, mention'd Gen. 35. 22. and 49. 4. forfeit his Birthright, both for himself, and his Posterity. So that Jacob disposed of the Priviledges of the Birthright, as he saw fit, and as he was Prophetically directed by God, in his Blessing his Sons, Gen. 49. Now Jacobs disposal of the Birthright was thus. He adjudg'd it to Joseph, during Life; and the double Portion, which was one Branch of the Prerogative of the Firstborn, he gave to his Posterity; according to which, his Posterity made Two Tribes of the Twelve, and had Two Shares in the Distribution of the Land of Canaan, which no other Tribe had. But, at the same time Jacob Prophecyed, that the Dominion, or Princely Power, should belong chiefly to the Tribe of Judah, and that from him the Messiah should Descend, whom he Prophecies of, under the Name of Shiloh, or the sent King and Saviour.*

Now, all these things having been accomplished, before that time, when this Book of *Chronicles* was Written, excepting only the coming of Christ; the Author of this Book thought fit, in this substantial Parenthesis, to give us not only the Reason of the *Abdication* of Reuben, the *Hereditary Heir* of Jacob and *Prince* of Israel; but likewise to shew us, by what *Revolution Steps*, the Main Prerogatives of his Birthright were afterwards disposed of, in the Providence of God. For tho Joseph got the *Birthright*; yet this was not suffered to descend Hereditarily to the Eldest Son; for Jacob

himself

himself adjudg'd the Precedency and chief Blessing to *Ephraim* the Youngest Son, very contrary to *Josephs* intention and desire, as we see, *Gen.* 48. 17. 18. 19. 20. But this was not all; for God snatched the *main Branches* of the *Birthright* afterwards, both from *Ephraim* and *Manasseh*; giving the Priesthood to *Levi* the Third Son, and the Dominion to *Judah* the Fourth, together with the Honour of having the *Messiah* to Spring out of that Tribe; which was the *First and Radical Part* of the *Great Blessing* of the *First-Born*.

And now, that I have mention'd this, I come to prosecute my Main Design more Briefly. And I hope I shall raise the Superstructure the more Firmly and Orderly, that I have laid the preceeding Foundation so Deep and Strong, that my Work seems to be almost half done already.

The Discourse It self.

IN order to treat distinctly of *Hereditary-Right*, it will be necessary to consider three Things. The 1st is, *The Foundation of its Claim to Sovereignty*: For this being once done, it will be easy to run through other Things that relate to it; tho' these will take up most time and pains. For the 2d Thing, that I shall do, will be to give a *Brief, but Critical History of Hereditary Right*, down from *Adam to Christ*. And then, in the 3d place, I shall consider what account is had of this Doctrine, and what relates to it, in the New Testament.

I. *An Inquiry into the Foundation of the Claim, that Hereditary Right pretends to Sovereignty and Indefeazableness; together with its Annexed Prerogatives of Absolute Power and Irresistable Authority, &c.*

He that pretends to prove the *Divine Right* of the eldest Son, to Rule necessarily and indefeazably, over his younger Brethren, (for a Claim to Arbitrary and Unlimited Sovereignty, is a downright Rebellious and Blasphemous declaring War against God himself, as shall be proved) must of necessity fetch his Proofs, either from all, or from some of these Things following, *viz.* either 1st from some open and explicit Declaration to this purpose, given by God, by a distinct Revelation, and that so universally, as to bind all Nations and Societies of Men, at all times, in all places, and under all circumstances; or, 2dly, It must be proved by Fundamental Principles of the Law of Nature, and the Self-evident Principles of Reason: Or, 3dly, it must be prov'd from Facts, in the course of Divine Providence, *viz.* from this, that God has established the Rights of the First-born to be indefeazable, and that

that he himself has always acted by this Rule; especially then, when he acted most immediately and explicitly, in the Government of Men, and Families, and Nations.

Now, if from none of these Topicks *Birth-right* can lay any just or rational Claim to *Indefeazableness*, as to the Privileges mention'd; it is certain it can have no Pretence at all to lay Claim to it, in any Respect, that can be called a Foundation of *Divine Right*.

A *Human Right* it may indeed have. But then *Indefeazableness* can never be the Property of a *Human Right*, in any proper Sense: For, as I have all the Power and Right to dispose of what is mine, that my Father had to dispose of what was his; so every Society or Imbodied Nation in the World, has the same full Power to make Laws and erect Constitutions, for their own Good, that their Fathers had in their Days. The *Roman Consular Government* had all that *Human-Right* to support it, that the *Regal Government* had before; and I dare be bold to say, that it had at least as favourable a Pretence to *Divine Right*, as either *that*, or the *Imperial Government*, which succeeded it: But it is not a *Human-Right*, that I am now to discourse of. However, in case any Man designs to be fully acquainted with what relates to the Rights of Human Constitutions, he needs only consult the never to be Answered, *Sidney* on Government, not to mention other Authors, who never were Answered otherwise, than by Railing, and Arbitrary Decrees, (to supply the Defect of Reason, Scripture and Honesty,) I mean, such others as *Lock* and *Hoadly*. I come, therefore, to the *Three only Topicks*, (for I cannot conceive, that a *Fourth* can be found out,) from whence any Argument can be drawn for the *Divine Right* of the *Primogeniture*, in Point of Indefeazable Dominion and Power. And,

I. I do presume, That no Man can shew any such Open and Explicite Declaration or Determination, as I have mention'd, to have ever been given by God, in this Case:

Case: So that, untill such a Declaration be produced, I need say nothing on this Head. I know, indeed, that something supposed to be such, or at least, of a like Nature, is alledg'd from some Words of *Paul* and *Peter*, under the New Testament. But, seeing these Passages relate to the Third Part of this Discourse, I must remit the Consideration of them to that last Branch of our Discourse.

2. As for the Law of Nature, and the Self-Evident Maxims of Reason, I never yet heard of any such Method of Reasoning in the present Case. Indeed, if Man had never sinned, and if Mankind were now in the same State of Innocence, wherein he was made at first; I know not but that the Law of Nature, in Point of *Birth right*, might have always gone on without Alteration; so as that the Eldest had been still the Wisest and Best of all the Sons of the same Bed, and that to such an Eminency, as to cut off all Competition. But there is no arguing from that Supposition now, seeing Reason and constant Experience tell us, that it is most commonly otherwise; as was evident in the very first Pair of Brothers, *Cain* and *Abel*; where the Younger Brother, as the Common Proverb is, was certainly the better Gentleman. If then *Tyranny* does not render the *Right* of an *Elder Brother Indefeazable*, as the *Worshipful Oxonian Decree* most sagely Determines; and if it be *Sin in itself*, and what no Circumstances can ever render Lawful, though it were necessary for the Salvation of all Mankind, *viz.* To *Resist a Tyrant*, as the Right Reverend *Bishop Sanderson* Religiously Determines: Then I beg, that such Learned Casuists would tell us, what Subjects are to do, in case their *Hereditary Prince* be born a mere Idiot. Must we imitate him in all his Freaks and Brutal Actions? And must we obey whatever he Commands, though he himself understand not what he says, but speaks, what perhaps, some crafty Fellow teach him to say, as Men teach Parots, or make a Speaking Brazen-head, or Block-

head, to speak out. Unless, therefore, such Divines be Idots themselves; or take all others to be such, they had best let Arguments, drawn from Reason, alone; which they seem so little to understand.

3. It remains therefore, that they draw their Arguments for the *Indefeasableness* of *Hereditary Right* or *Birth-Right*, from Gods Government of the World and Church in General; or of the Special and most Illustrious Families and Nations thereof in particular. For if this fail them, I know not what they will do; unless they have recourse to *Mobbs* and *Club-Laws*, even in spite of their darling Doctrine of *Passive Obedience*, which indeed is their *Dernier Resort*, and which yet they never intend to practise themselves, tho they would fain knock it into the Brains, and dart it into the Hearts of all others.

But let us see what can be pleadable, under this Head, in the present Case. Now, for my part, I cannot conceive of any Thing, so much as supposable here, that can be Argued from, in defence of *Indefeasable Hereditary-Right*, excepting these two Considerations come to be *unitedly* urged, (I say *unitedly*, because the first will avail nothing in this Case, unless the second can be proved,) *viz.* 1. The *Original* and *Extent* of the *Patriarchal Blessing*, which belonged to the *First-Born*: And 2. The *Uninterrupted Succession* of such *First-Born Princes*, without having the Entail of that Blessing cut off, by any *Divine Determination*; that cuts off the *Birth-Right* of the *Elder Brother*, and Entitles some *Younger Branch* to this Privilege.

The *1st* Thing, that calls for our Consideration, is the *Blessing* of the *First Born*, both as to its *Original* and *Extent*.

Now *2dly*. If we Inquire into the *Original* of the Blessing of the *First-Born*, we shall find it be laid not barely in *Nature*, but *Gratuitously*, in the *Original* and *Radical Promise*, made by God, immediately after the Fall of *Adam*; concerning *Christ* or the *Messiah*; who

was to be the *Seed of the Woman*, and was to *Bruise the Serpents Head*, i. e. *Satan*; who was the Head of the Material Serpent, whom he used as an Organ or Tool, in deceiving our First Parents. As therefore *Adam* and his Family were, by this Promise brought under a New and Gratuitous *Dispensation of Grace*, or Covenant of Promise, of which the *Messiah* promised; was the Foundation, and Center, and the Essence or Soul: So seeing the *Messiah* (who was to be a *Second Adam*, or *Parent* of Mankind, as *Paul*, shews at large, *Rom. 5. 12. &c.* and *1. Cor. 15. 25 &c.*) could not descend from any more than one of the Sons of *Adam*; consequently, it must follow, that from *whomsoever* of *Adams* Sons the *Messiah* was to proceed, the *First Blessing* was to be, on this account, intail'd upon that *Person*. For *Christ* was himself to be the *First-Born among many Brethren*; or, of *all his Brethren*, as it is said *Rom. 8. 29.* and therefore it is, that *those whom God Fore-knew*, he is said to have *Fore-ordained to be Conformable to the Image of the Messiah*, who was the *True and most Peculiar First Born*. And, with this View, the *Israelitish Nation* are expressly called *God's First Born*, *Exod. 4. 22.* although it was far from being so by a *Natural Hereditary Right*, as being neither descended from the Eldest Son of *Noah*, or *Shem*, or *Arphaxad*, or *Isaac*. And hence it was, that the *First-Born*, both of *Man* and *Beast*, nay, the *First Fruits* of the Earth were peculiarly appropriated to *God*, *Exod. 13. 2. 12. 29.* And from hence it is likewise, that the true Church of *God* in General, even *Saints glorified in Heaven*, as well as militant on Earth, are call'd, *The Church of the First-Born*, *Heb. 12. 23.* Now, from these Considerations, we may easily see, That *Christ*, being most properly the *First Born* of all Mankind, though not by a *Natural Hereditary Descent*: Hence it was that he, from whom he was to Descend, though a Younger Brother, was always intitled on this Account, and with this View, to the *First Blessing*, and consequently to the

Birthright, and to all the *Benefits* thereof. And this was one great Reason therefore of God's chusing *Seth*, after *Abel*, before *Cain*; *Shem* before *Japhet*; *Arphaxad* before his Elder Brethren; and *Jacob* before *Esau*. If therefore it be asked, why God pass'd by the Elder Brethren, in this respect. I Answer, for these Ends, as I apprehend.

(1.) Because frequently the Elder Sons forfeited their Right, by some Overt Act of Wickedness or Folly, as was evidently the Case of *Cain*, *Esau* and *Reuben*: So that the *Abdication* of these Three *Hereditary Princes* is an evident Proof, that *Hereditary-Right* never was *Indefeazable*. (2.) Because God would, this way, lay *Priority of Virtue* and *Worth*, instead of *Priority of Birth*, at the Bottom of all Government, as the Essential Property of a true Governour, in relation to the reaching and securing the End of all Government, *viz. The Good of the Community*. This is evident in the Case of *Cain* and *Abel*, *Gen. 4. 7. If thou dost well, shalt thou not be accepted, — and to thee shall be thy Brothers desire, and thou shalt Rule over him*. So that had *Cain* been as good a Man as *Abel*, he had not lost his *Birthright*, but had continued *Prince* over *Abel*, and all the *Adamites*; whereas by Wickedness, he forfeited this, and by Goodness, *Abel* obtain'd to be *Prince* in his stead. For, that this was the Case of the two Brothers, is evident; as shall be proved afterwards.

(3.) God order'd Things thus, with a View to *Christ*, who, as Man, was a *Younger Descendant* from the Stock of *Adam*, *Noah*, *Abraham*, *Jacob*, *Judah* and *David*. Which, no doubt, was order'd by God on purpose, to confirm the Former Reasons, as well as the following One. For, (4.) I cannot but, from sad Experience conclude, that God order'd Things thus, (as if he had a Mind to put a Contempt upon what the World calls *Indefeazable Birthright*, and an Honour upon *Elective* and *Revolution Princes*,) advanced for their Virtue, on purpose to prevent Men from being Ruin'd, by setting up; right or wrong, for Monarchs, merely, forsooth, because

because of their Seniority in Point of *Birth*, tho' perhaps born Fools, or with Tyrannical Dispositions.

But, (2.) We come to consider the *Extent* of the *Blessing* of the *First-Born*. And in doing this, seeing according to that certain Logical Maxim, *Perfectissimum in omni Genere definitur*, That every Thing ought to be describ'd according to its highest Perfection; I shall consider the Prerogatives and Rights of the Birthright, according to its greatest Extensiveness, and as it was possess'd, *pleno jure*, in its fullest Ampitude by *Seth*, *Noah*, *Shem*, *Abraham*, *Isaac* and *Jacob*, and before it was divided and split, after the manner that our Text speaks of. Now, though Innumerable Authors have written of the Blessings of the Primogeniture; yet I must be allowed to say, That I have not seen One, who has not Treated of this Subject defectively. And though I shall not pretend to Perfection my self, either in this or any thing else: Yet I dare pretend to give the Reader a more full and exact Enumeration of the Advantages and Prerogatives included in the Patriarchal Blessing of those, on whom the *Birthright* was fully confer'd, than has yet been done by any other; though my designed Brevity obliges me only to enumerate those Privileges, without enlarging upon them.

The Extent then of the *Great Patriarchal Blessing* of the *First-Born*, (*i. e.* of him to whom it was adjudg'd by God, and by the Patriarch then possess'd thereof, whether his Declared Successor were Elder or Younger Son) will be clearly seen thro', by considering these Six Prerogatives, or Eminent Advantages thereof; *viz.* That this Blessing intail'd upon the Successor, and the Death of the Father, contain'd, (1.) The *Assurance*, That the *Messiah* was to descend from him; (2.) That he was to have a *Double Portion* of the Father's Inheritance, above his Brethren, to support the Honour of the *Primogeniture*; (3.) That he was the *Prophet* or *Supreme Teacher* of his Family, in Point of *Morals* or *Spiritual Truths* and *Duties*, in Relation both to God

and

and Man; (4.) That he was to be *High Priest* of his Family; or Master of all *Externals* and *Ceremonies*, that related to the *Allegiance, Tribute, Service and Oblations*, which were due from the Family to God, as their Supreme King; all which bore a Typical and Prefigurative Relation to the Messiah, and were Emblematical of him, as the most eminent *First-Born*; who, though he was to descend from such *Patriarchs*, had even then, the Supreme *Patriarchal Government* on his *Shoulders*, and was afterwards visibly to assume it, so as to Act *Adam's Part* over again, though in a different Manner, in order to regain all those Advantages to Mankind, which the *First Adam* had lost. (5.) Besides the Prophetical and Priestly Offices, the Blessing of the *First-Born* carried along with it the Office of *Legislation*, or *Supreme Lawgiver* and *Judge*, in all *Civil Points*, and in Relation to the *Circumstances* of those Duties and Actions that concerned the *Prophetical* and *Priestly Offices*; so as to appoint the Times and Places, and the Order and Manner, of performing both Moral or Spiritual Solemn Worship, as also of the Ceremonial or External Worship, consisting in Sacrifices, Oblations, Feastings and Washings. (6.) The *Princely* or *Regal Authority* and Power was also intail'd upon the *First-Born*; which I take here in a limited Sence, for the *Executive Power*, which was lodg'd in his Hands, viz. To put the Laws of God and the Community in Execution; so as to be Arbitrer of Peace and War, and to be an Encourager and Rewarder of those that were Good, and the Corrector and Punisher of those that did Amis.

Now, That the First of these Blessings belonged to the *First-Born*, is evident from what I said before. *Thy Seed*; says God to *Eve*, (i. e. *The Messiah* who was to descend from her,) *shall bruise the Serpents Head*, Gen. 3. 15. Which Blessing is renewed to *Abraham*, Gen. 22. 18. *In thy Seed shall all the Nations of the Earth be blessed*. On which take the Apostles Comment, Gal. 3.

16. He saith not, and to Seeds, as of Many, but as of One; to thy Seed, (in the Singular,) as of Christ. He alludes to the frequently repeated Promise made to Abraham, *To thy Seed will I give all this Land, &c.* Gen. 12. 7. and 13. 15. 18. and 17. 8. and 24. 7. &c.

2. That the *Double Portion* was part of the Blessing of the Birthright appears from *Jacob's Gift to Joseph*, Gen. 48. 22. *Moreover, I have given thee One Portion above thy Brethren, &c.* which was given, as a Deed of Conveyance, or as a Pledge, not of Favour only, but of the Certainty of his Prophecy, *That his own name of Israel should be named upon both his Sons*, and that they should have *Two Portions* in the Land of Canaan. And, upon this Account, our Text says, that the Birthright was given to *Joseph*. And this was ever accounted so Essential to the Birthright, that *Moses* expressly provides for it, by a Special Law, Enacting, That it shall be unalterably and universally so, even though the Father had a mind, by reason of greater Affection, or the Influence of a beloved Wife, to act otherwise. For, says he, *Deut. 21. 16. 17. He may not make the Son of the Beloved Wife First Born, before the Son of the Hated Wife, who is indeed the First-Born: 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 he is the Beginning of his Strength, and therefore the Right of the First-Born is his.* This, as it bears an evident Reference to *Jacob's* giving the *Double Portion*, and thereby the Birth-Right, from the First-Born of his Hated Wife, to the First-Born of his Beloved Wife, tho' the Younger Son; so it does expressly forbid all the *Israelites*, to draw that Action (which God over-ruled for just and weighty Reasons) into a Precedent or Example in their Private Families.

3. As for the *Prophetical Office*, it was so Inherently the Property of the *First Born*, by the Law of Nature it self, that we cannot but ascribe it to the *First-Blessing*, and that too, as the First Office of all others. For, as the

the Elder must be supposed to be ordinarily the Wisest; so Understanding being the First, and Directive Faculty, God's Way was always to bring in Light to the Mind, in the First Place, in order to Mens acting a Rational Part, in all Respects, both in Serving God and their Country, and Friends; a Blind Obedience, and an Implicit Faith, being what God did ever Caution against, as we see *Deut. 4. 1. Prov. 2. 3. and 13. Isai 27. 11. Hos. 4. 6. Eph. 1. 17. Col. 3. 10.* Now, seeing it is Rational to suppose, it is said as *Job, Chap. 12. 12. That in the length of days is understanding*; and seeing there is little need of Revelation, to tell us, that Parents ought to instruct their Children, or that their *First-Born*, if he be not under a Natural or Moral Incapacity, is his Fathers Successor to instruct the Younger Branches of the Family: Hence it is, that the Scripture insists less on this Office, than on the other Parts of the First Blessing; and the rather, because this was not the Object of the like Emulation, as the Priestly and Princely Powers, which had greater Temporal Splendor and Advantages attending the same. I speak not here directly of the *Extraordinary Prophetical Office*; though the Great Patriarchs generally had something of this Spirit, because there was no written Canon of Religion, before *Moses*. But I speak of *Ordinary Instruction*, such as *Abraham* was Eminently Faithful in, *Gen. 13. 17. 18. 19. Shall I hide from Abraham the thing which I do; seeing that he shall become a great and mighty nation, and all the nations of the Earth shall be blessed in him, (i. e. By reason that the Messiah is to descend from him) For I know him, that he will instruct (so the Word is in the Hebrew) his Children and his Household after him, and they shall keep the way of the Lord, &c.* And in this respect, as well as in regard of extraordinary Revelations, he is called a Prophet, *Gen. 20. 7.* And no less Faithful was *Job*, who, as he was Prophet, or Supreme Teacher, over his Family, as well as Priest and King, so is he particularly celebrated for his Care this way, *Job. 1. 1.*

5. For he was not only Faithful as *Priest*, to offer Sacrifices for his Children, but likewise as a *Prophet*, to instruct them in the Ways of God, and to go before them in a good Example. — Now, though the *Prophetical Office* was never taken from the Heads of Families, but is inherent in them still, in the ordinary Sence; yet when *Israel* was brought into a Publick National State, in the Days of *Moses*, it was necessary to have *Publick Prophets* and *Instructors* likewise. When therefore the *Priesthood* was given to *Aaron* and the *Levites*, and the *Princely Powers* to *Moses*, the *Prophetical Office* was likewise given to the same *Moses* also, in the *Supreme Sence*; for he did not only give *Israel* their *Civil and Juridical Laws*, and their *Ceremonial Ones*, but their *Moral and Spiritual Rules* too; and therefore in this Sence, as well as by Reason of his extraordinary Gifts, he is Called, by way of Eminency, the *Prophet of Israel*, Deut. 34. 10. But, seeing he was rather *Legislator* in this Case, than an *Instructor, Teacher or Prophet*, and seeing the *Instructing* of all actually was impossible for him to accomplish; hence it was that he appointed *Seventy Elders*, by *Jethro's* Advice. For, though I readily grant, that the *Seventy Elders* were *Magistrates* and *Civil Judges*, to Judge, *Instruct* and *Determine*, in *Juridical Cases*, even as the *Priests* in *Ritual Points*; yet it is evident, that they were *Prophets* also, to *Instruct* and *Determine* in *Moral Cases*, nay, that sometimes, they had an extraordinary *Afflatus* of the *Prophetical Spirit* upon them, as is expressly told us, *Numb.* 11. 25. &c. When therefore one told *Moses*, that two of those *Elders* *Prophefied* in the *Camp*, and *Joshua*, from his *Zeal* for *Uniformity of Worship*, desired *My Lord Moses* to *forbid them*, v. 27. 88. Meek *Moses* check'd his fiery *Zeal*, with the *Grave* and *Mild Sentence*, that became him, as a *Servant of God*, and which was the very same *Spirit* with that of *Christ*, by which he check'd his *Apostles*, when they desired him to ratify their *Prohibiting* the *Man* to *Preach*

any more, or *Cast out Devils in his name*, because, forsooth, *he followed not them*, Mark 9. 39. 40. *Forbid him not, for there is no man, which shall do a miracle in my name, that lightly can speak evil of me; for he that is not against us, is on our Part; or as Luke has it, 9. 50 Forbid him not, for he that is not against us, is for us.* So also says, the Meek Moses, v. 29. to Joshua, *Enviest thou for my sake? Would to God that all the Lord's People were Prophets, &c.* And, to put Honour on Eldad and Medad, and what they had done, *He himself, with all the rest of the Elders of Israel, went immediately into the Camp*, v. 30. to confirm and help them, in their preaching to the People. Alas! How little have either of those Glorious Examples of *Moses* and *Christ* been considered or followed, in latter Times, by many of those that boast to be Successors of the Apostles; which indeed they have been in nothing so eminently, as in forbidding those to Preach, who did not in all Things, even in silly Trifles, nay, even frequently in gross Errors and Superstitions, follow them. But to proceed, we read that there were, in after Times, *Schools*, or *Societies of Prophets*, where young Men were trained up, as in *Colleges*, in order to Teach the People the Spiritual and Moral Part of Religion, who were called the *Sons of the Prophets*, 2. King. 2, 3, 7, 15. Chap. 4. 38. And over such, the *Judges of Israel*, as were themselves *Prophets*, were *Presidents*, as was the Case of *Samuel*, 1. Sam. 9. 6, 9, 12, 13, 14, 15. And it appears, that there were at that Time, several *Companies* or *Schools of Prophets*, fixed in several Parts of the Land of *Israel*, as may be collected from Chap. 10. 5, 10, 11, 12. Now, that *Samuel*, the *Judge*, was *Head and President* of the Prophets, is expressly told us, Chap. 19. 10. Where it is said, that, *whilst the Company of the Prophets were Propheying, Samuel stood at their Head, as appointed over them, i. e. as their Preses, to Moderate, Direct and Instruct them, in their Holy Exercises.* So, that we are not to look upon those

Prophecies

Prophecies to have been always so extraordinary; as that Order and Discretion was not to be kept stately among them. And this may be rationally collected from the Distribution of God's Revealing himself of Old, mentioned *Chap. 6. 6.* where it is said, *that when Samuel inquired of the Lord, the Lord answered him neither by Dreams, nor by Urim, nor by Prophets.* Now, by Dreams, (which is a general Word here, inclusive of Visions, Extasies, and Impressions,) God usually answered any Person, that inquired of him, in those Days; for this was the most usual Method of Old, as *Eliphaz* tells us expressly, *Job 33. 15, &c.* And, when this fail'd amongst the *Israelites*, the stated Recourse was to the *High-Priest*, to whom God answered by *Urim and Thummim*, compendiously called *Urim* sometimes, for *Brevities* sake. Now, as this was God's Method of answering in the *Tabernacle* and *Temple*, so he often signified his Mind to the *Prophets*, by inspiring all, or some of them, to give Answers to those that inquired of God this way. But neither Judges, nor Kings, were, as such, Presidents of the Prophets, and therefore, though *David* was a *Prophet* himself, yet *Nathan* and *Gad* seem to have been the Joynt Heads of the Prophets, during his Time; for which consult, *2. Sam. 7. 2, 17.* and *12. 1, 25. 1. King. 1. 10.* comp. with *2. Sam. 24. 11, 19.* However, certain it is, that during the Reigns of Wicked Princes, the Societies of Prophets had other Heads, seeing none could be their Heads, but proper Prophets. And of these Heads, *Elijah*, and his Successor, *Elisha*, are illustrious Instances. In whose Days, we read of Two large Colleges of Sons of the Prophets; the One whereof was at *Bethel*, *2. King. 2. 3, &c.* of which Society Fifty were so concern'd to know the fulfilling of the Prediction, concerning the Translation of *Elijah*, (with which they and all the Society were acquainted, as we see, *v. 3.*) that they followed *Elijah* and *Elisha* as far as *Jordan*, near *Fericho*, *v. 7, 15.* And it would

seem, that this Society was very numerous, consisting of some Hundreds, when they had Fifty strong Men ready at hand, (who seem to have been Servants attending them,) to send out upon a Three Days Journey, to gratify their Curiosity. v. 16, &c. The other College was at Gilgal, where we read of an Hundred Sons of the Prophets, at once, in the Company of *Elisha*, and treated by him, 2. King. 4. 38, 43. And, besides this, we read of an Hundred Prophets hid in a Cave from *Jezebel*, by the means of *Obadiab*, 1. King. 18. 13. And, if the Prophets of *Baal*, in the Days of *Abab*, were Four hundred and fifty, and the Prophets of the Groves Four hundred, as we read 1. King. 18. 19. no doubt, but the true Prophets of God were very many, especially under good Kings. And, though the number be not mention'd, yet, seeing we read of the Society of all the Prophets, as well as of the Priests, assembled at *Jerusalem*, to assist *Josiah* to reform the Nation, 2. King 23: 2, 3. we cannot doubt, but that they, as well the Priests, were a Regular and Considerable Body of Men. And it may not be incredible, that there was at that very time, a School of Prophets in *Jerusalem*, from what we read, 2. King. 22. 14. and 2. Chron. 34. 22. Where *Shallum* is called Keeper of the Schools, (as the Hebrew may be render'd, though our Version render it *Wardrobe*, and others, the *Cloaths*,) seeing his Wife *Huldah*, an eminent Prophetess, dwelt then in the Second School, or Second Part thereof, (as the Hebrew properly signifies, and which we render the College.) But, seeing *Misnah* signifies not only the Second Part, but also the House of Wisdom, and seeing the Chaldee Paraphrase renders it so ; we may very well reckon it a College, as our Version has it. So that it would seem, that there was a School or College of Prophets then at *Jerusalem*, and, perhaps, it was divided into Two Parts ; one for instructing young Men, over whom *Shallum* was President, and another for young Women, under the Oversight of his Wife *Huldah* ; to whom *Josiah* sent *Hilkiah*,

Hilkiah, the *High Priest*, she being very famous then. For, that there were *Women Prophets*, or *Instructors*, we have no reason to doubt, though the *Instances* of these were not many. Such was *Miriam*, *Exod.* 15. 20. *Deborah*, *Judg.* 4. 4. and *Hannah*, 1. *Sam.* 2. And such were afterwards the *Virgin Mary*, *Elizabeth*, *Anna*, and *Philip's Seven Daughters*. And I doubt not, but there were *Schools of Prophetesses*, as well as *Prophets* of Old, though not so frequent or numerous. — I have insisted on the *Prophetical Office* the more largely, because I have observ'd, that it is, for the most part, wholly omitted, as if it had no relation to the *Primogeniture*; so that it seems to be very little understood; most Men dwelling so upon the *Surface* of the *History* of the *Old Testament*, as if there were no other *Publick Offices* then, but such as related to the *Princely* and *Priestly Powers*; which, from *Modern Notions*, they imagine to have been the same as *Civil and Ecclesiastical Persons*. Whereas, indeed, the *Priests* of Old, were rather *Civil*, than *Spiritual Persons*; the *Prophets* being the proper *Spiritual Officers* of God, in relation to *Spiritual Concerns*. However, the *Priests* were a *Set* of Men, adapted to that *Time* and *Dispensation*, and are now for ever abolish'd. — Had I *Time* for it, I could shew, that what the *Schools of the Prophets* were, before the *Captivity*, that were the *Synagogues* after them; and that *Christian Churches* were, under the *New Testament*, modell'd almost exactly, after the *Form* and *Manner* of the *Jewish Synagogues*. So that from hence, I might shew how justly I insist on this *Notion*, that *Ministers* of the *Gospel* are the same now, that the *Prophets* were of Old, as to their *stated and ordinary Work*; and therefore, the very same, that the *Rulers* and *Teachers* of the *Synagogues* were afterwards. But, seeing I cannot do this now, let the *Reader* consult *Vitringa de Synagoga*, &c. and he will find this *Subject* copiously treated of. In the mean time, I shall only say this, that to go to the *Antiquated Hierarchy* of the

Temple,

Temple, for a Pattern of a *Christian Hierarchy*; is as Absurd, as it were to set up real *Altars* in our *Cathedrals*, &c. To *Sacrifice Bullocks* or *Rams* upon them, with all other such *Rituals*; or as it would be to Convert the *Lords Supper* back again into the *Supper* of the *Pascal Lamb*.

4^{ly}. As for the *Priestly Office*, I need only mention it; seeing it is evident to every Body, especially after what I said before, that this was part of the Prerogative of the *First-Born*. For God says expressly, *Numb. 3. 12, 13. and Chap. 8. 16, &c. and Chap. 18. 6, 7. That he had taken the Levites into the Priesthood, instead of all the First Born Males of Israel; and that he had given the Birth-Right of the Levites, as to the point of Precedency and Authority, to Aaron and his Sons.*

5^{ly}. The *Legislature* or *Legislative Office*, was also a Prerogative, and an eminent one, of the *Primogeniture*. And indeed, in the nature of things, it ought to be considered before the three Offices of *Prophecy*, *Priesthood* and *Dominion*; seeing *Legislation* preceeds these Three: For all these suppose Laws already made, as being properly *Offices*, that relate only to the Execution of Laws, in reference to a threefold distribution of them, into *Moral*, *Ceremonial*, and *Judicial*: For, the Absolute and Tyrannical Governments, confound the Making, and Execution of Laws; and jumble both together, as if they were one, or rather, as if all Law were a mere *Chimera*, excepting only, the Arbitrary Will of the Prince; yet certain it is, that these two are altogether distinct things, in their Nature; and that therefore the Offices that relate to them, even then, when they are possess'd by one and the same Person, are equally distinct likewise. And this is so very certain, that even God himself has ever acted towards Men, so as to observe a *Decorum*, in relation to both these; seeing God did never require Obedience to himself, in any thing, without premising some open Declaration of his will, by Publishing some System or compend of Laws,

to be observed; and this he has always done likewise, in so condescending a manner, as not only to shew the Reasons upon which his Laws are founded, but to add an encouraging Sanction to them. For, whereas other Law-givers do only Corroborate their Laws, by Threatning severe Punishments against the Transgressors of them, without any promise of Rewards to the Observers of them, unless the Implicit-supposition of bare Protection or Impunity, be reckoned a Promise: God; upon the other Hand, does not Command any thing to be done, to the faithful Observance of which, he does not annex very encouraging assurances of Rewards and Advantages.

Now, tho' God was the *Supreme Legislature* of the World and Church, in all times, yet he always made use of proper Persons, to Act as his Deputies this way, that Order might be observed amongst Men, and Confusion avoided. And certain it is, that the Heads of Families were naturally such *Subordinate Lawgivers* to their Children and Servants. The *Six Adamical Precepts*, which the *Jews* speak of; and which from their Renovation under *Noah*, with the addition of *One* more, concerning *the Eating of the Blood of any Creature whilst Alive*, (for so the Words *Gen. 9. 4.* ought to be understood) are called the *Seven Noahical Precepts*; I say, these Precepts, so admirably cleared up by *Selden*, *De Jure Naturæ & Gentium*, &c. are an eminent proof of the Legislative Office, in the First Times; *these having* been just such a *Compend* of the *Ancient Patriarchal Polity*, as the *Decalogue* was afterwards of the *Jewish Constitution*. The *Legislature* therefore, was certainly an eminent part of the *First-Blessing*, which belonged to the *First-Born*: So that wherever the *First-Blessing* was lodged, that Person, tho' the *Youngest Brother*, had the *First share* in the *Legislative Power*. I say, the *First share*, because I shall afterwards prove, that in *Ordinary Cases*, the Father of the Family, did not Arbitrarily make Laws, at least had no Authority

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de Jure, either from God or Nature, to make Laws, without the Advice and Concurrence of the *Primores Familie*, the Men of Note, and Discretion, that were of the Families, unless where such were not to be found. For all the Power, that ever God gave to any Father, or Prince whatsoever, was only Accumulative, *viz.* To do good and not hurt, to the Society. And this is so evident, that the Apostle *Paul*, even in that place, where he seems to screw up the Power of Princes to the highest pitch, and to nail down the Obedience of Subjects to the lowest step of submission, *viz.* that Text, *Rom.* 13. 1, 2, &c. yet lays this very maxim as the Foundation, both of the Authority of the one, and the Obedience of the other. *v.* 3; &c. For, says he, *Rulers are not a Terror to good Works, but to the Evil*, (*i. e.* they are not to be reckoned Rulers at all, but when they Act thus.) *Do that which is Good, and thou shalt have Praise of the same. For he is the Minister of God to thee for Good*, (so that if he Command Evil, his Command is null, and we owe him no Obedience,) *but, if thou dost Evil be afraid*, &c. Never certainly was there a plainer Scripture against Passive Obedience to Tyrants; and never therefore was there a Generation of more *Sottish Scrich Owls* than our late *Passive Obedience Men*; who, forsooth, because this Epistle is thought to be Written in the days of *Nero*, to a few Christians at *Rome*, (who perhaps were not above an Hundred in all, at that time) to Obey the Emperor and Senate, and other Rulers, in all their Lawful Commands; that therefore a whole Christian Nation, such as *Great-Britain*, ought to give up their whole Constitution, with all their Laws, Liberties and Properties to the Arbitrary will of a *Cain* or *Nero*, meerly because he is the Supreme Ruler, or pretends to be so by Descent. And yet this worse than Brutal Notion, prevails now to that height, that we cannot but conclude, that God, for our many and great Sins, suffers us to be thus fatally Infatuated, to our own Ruin, and to the future Infamy

of this Generation and Nations; to be branded as a parcel of Men, equally sunk in Sence and in Goodness, by the common Vote of all other Nations of the World, and that down to all Posterity, to the very end of time.

6ly and Lastly, The *Blessing* of the *First-Born* did include the *Princely Authority and Power*. This is so evident, and has been so much insisted upon, by all Writers, that I have no more to do, but barely to Name it. And I believe, that of Old time, before National Constitutions were formally Erected, every Father had the same Power over his Children and Servants, (for before Christianity was Establish'd under *Constantine*, there were no other Servants known in the World but Slaves, over whom and their Posterity for ever, the Master had the same Power, as over their Cattel; which was the Rule that obtain'd even among the *Jews*, tho' with some Alleviations as to the *Hebrew* Servants, for which see *Exod.* 21. 1, &c. *Lev.* 25. 39, &c.) that Supreme Magistrates have now, in rightly Constituted Governments. So that I question not, but that they had power of Life and Death committed to them, by the *Noaichal Law*. And of this, I think we have an Instance in *Judab*, *Gen.* 38. who Condemned *Tamar* his Daughter in Law to be Burnt to Death, *v.* 24. and afterwards remitted the Punishment, *v.* 25, 26. I know indeed that our Commentators usually suppose, that *Judab* had no such Power, but that he Commanded her to be brought before some Magistrate or other, and they alledge that he could have had no power over her, she being then in her Fathers house. But, all these suppositions amount to nothing; for by her Marrying into his Family, she became his Subject. Nor will the Text allow of any Form of Procces, in this case, before any Magistrate. The whole Procedure was; *Judab* Commands her to be brought forth and Burnt; she desires the Messengers first to deliver his Three Pledges; He sees his sin discovered, and confesses it, and so remits her Punishment.

And thus I have done with the Priviledges of the *Birth Right*, which I have carried as far, as the *Oxford Decreeers* themselves can possibly desire.

2. And now in case they can prove, that the Right of this Birthright, and the Priviledges thereof, have been Conveyed Indefeazably down to this Day, and have, by an uninterrupted *Patriarchal Succession*, descended always to the Eldest Sons, in a *right Line*, from *Adam* or *Noah*, to our present times, (which is the second Consideration mention'd before, and without which the former can be of no use at all, in the present Controversy :) I shall then readily yield up the Cause, and become as great a Zealot and Bigot for *Hereditary Right*, as *Dr. Sacheverel* himself.— And, yet this is but a very reasonable desire ; seeing, according to the Universally receiv'd Rule of disputing, *Affirmanti incumbit Probartio*, he that asserts any thing, ought to prove it too, it being no ways reasonable to expect that the Antagonist should be put to the proof of the Negative part.

But yet, to shew a generous concern for Truth, in the present Case, I shall, out of pity to my deluded Antagonists, venture upon this unusual part of a Disputant. For, being fully assured of the Impossibility of finding out the *Uninterrupted Succession*, of any one Prince in the World, which were an undertaking fitter for none than *Don Enrico Maniaco*, or an *Olivers Porter* ; who yet was never perhaps so Mad, as to pretend it, in favour of his old Master, without some sort of fairer pretence to Premises, than our late *Sa——tes* do : I shall proceed to demonstrate (over and above what I have said already) that it is Apparent from the Scriptural Account of things ; that a *proper Hereditary Succession* of *Princes*, was never kept to, in *Fact*, either by God or Men ; and that consequently it was neither Lawful, in all Cases, nor possible, to keep to it.— And therefore I am now brought to the Second General Head of this Discourse, which is

The II. *Inquiry*, viz. Into the *History* of the *Hereditary Succession* of *Patriarchal Princes*, who have been Possessed of the *Grand Blessing*, and *Privileges* of the *Birth Right* ; either in *whole*, or in *part*.

Now, in order to Treat *Historically* of the *Succession* of *Princes*, who have been Possessed of the *Great Blessing* and *Privileges* of the *Birth-Right* : I shall, for *Orders* sake, divide this *Inquiry* into *Two Periods* : The *1st.* of which shall Treat of this *Succession*, before the *Privileges* of the *Birth Right* were *Divided* : And the *2d.* shall be of the *Succession* of those *Princes*, that had the *Dominion*, but not *all* the *other Prerogatives* of the *Birth-Right*. Which *Two Periods*, in respect of *Time*, reach, the *one* from *Adam* to *Moses*, and the *other* from *Moses* to *Christ*.

The *1st.* Period of the *History* of *Hereditary Right*, and of the *Sacred Line* of the *Succession* of *Jure-Divino Princes* ; viz. Of those who were Possessed of the *Intire Birth-Right*, before *any* of the *Prerogatives* thereof were *Alienated* from the *Princely Power* : Which reaches down from *Adam* to *Moses*.

Now, for *Methods* sake, and with regard to the *series* of *time*, without being tyed up to the *niceties* of *Chronology* (which my intended *brevity* allows not of) I shall distinguish this *General Period*, into *Three lesser Periods* : Which for the sake of distinction, I shall call *Ages*. The *1.* is the *Antediluvian* one from *Adam* to *Noah* : The *2.* shall be from *Noah* to *Abraham* : and the *Third* from *Abraham* to *Moses*.

The (*1.*) *Age* of the *Succession* of *Patriarchal Princes*, viz. The *Ante-Diluvian* ones, from *Adam* to *Noah*.

It is the General Opinion of Learned Men, of all Denominations ; that the *Son of God*, who since his Incarnation in the days of *Augustus* is known by the Name of *Jesus Christ*, was he, who Acted of Old, in the name of God ; in the Works both of Creation and Providence. In reference to which consideration, he was Anciently spoken off, both by *Jews* and *Christians*, and particularly by *St. John*, in the beginning of his Gospel, under the Name of *the Word*, who made and did all things ; the *Greek Word*, *Logos*, which some render *the Word*, and others *the Reason*, being a *Periphrasis* equivalent to the *Hebrew Word* *Schechinah*, which signifies the *Expressed Glory of God* ; or as *Paul* in the beginning of the Epistle to the *Hebrews* calls it, the *Brightness of Gods Glory* : so that this Title arose from Gods appearing to the *Israelites* of Old, at *Sina*, and in the Temple, in *Flames of Fire*, and *bright Clouds*, which was called the *Appearance of Gods Glory*.

But, however these Things be, certain it is, That God intended at first, by making Man perfect, and after his own Image, to erect the Human Government into a Theocracy or Divine Government, under the Conduct of his Son, by whom he had made the World, and particularly this Inferiour One, over which he had set Adam, as Vice-roy, under the *Logos* or Word, even him, who has since taken the Government of Mankind upon himself, in another manner, and of whom we own our selves Subjects, as he is our Saviour, and immediate Lord and King, in a Spiritual Sense.

“ But, it was not long (as a certain Author says, in
 “ his *Divine Right of the Revolution*,) before Satan pre-
 “ vail’d by Subtilty, upon our First Parents, to joyn
 “ Interests with him, against their Natural and Rightful
 “ King ; by which Christ’s Design, of Erecting the Hu-
 “ man Family into a *Theocracy*, or Divine Government,
 “ seem’d to be wholly frustrated ; as, indeed, it brought
 “ Things into a quite different State, from that where-
 “ in they were at first. But Christ, who could neither
 “ be

" be Outwitted nor Defeated by the Grand Apostate,
 " grafts a new Plan on this very Occurrence; a Con-
 " trivance so Admirable and Noble, as swallows up all
 " Human Thought, and which, therefore, I dare not
 " launch out into at this Time. — All that I shall
 " say here is, That *the Logos*, mov'd with Pity to poor
 " lost Man, with just Indignation against Satan, and a
 " deep Concern for the Father's Honour, and his own
 " Reputation; resolves to make Human Nature Tri-
 " umph over the Diabolical; and for this End, engages
 " to become the *Foederal Head of Men*, and thus
 " to Act *Adam's Part* over again, though another way,
 " in order to regain what he had so soon, and so shame-
 " fully lost.

" Man being thus in a *lapsedor sinful State*, but ren-
 " dred *Salvable*, by vertue of the Undertaking of *Christ*
 " the *Logos*: hence a perpetual Struggle and Conflict
 " followed, between *Him* and *Satan*; the Usurping
 " Tyrant labouring to preserve his new Conquests, and
 " the *Logos* to regain them. Both these Competitors
 " had their several Advantages in this Conflict: for
 " Satan had on his side the Corruption of Human Na-
 " ture, since the lapse, with sensual Temptations, as
 " strong handles, in order to make Men fond of his
 " Government: Whilst *Christ* had all the Arguments,
 " on his side, which Reason, Duty, and Interest could
 " furnish Men with; enough, if duly considered, to
 " engage all Men to quit the *Tyrants* Interest, and fall
 " in with their True and Rightful *Lord*.

" In what manner, and with what various Success,
 " the Kingdom of *Christ* and *Satan*, have struggled and
 " gone on in this World, History may in part inform us
 " if wisely considered. I shall, at present, content my
 " self with a few Strictures; and such only I shall
 " confine my self to, as bear a Relation to our present
 " Subject.

" *Adam*, and his Posterity being brought under a
 " *New Dispensation*, and a *Gratuitous One*, by reason
 " of

“ of this undertaking of the *Logos*, discover'd in the
 “ first Declaration thereof, *Gen. 3. 15.* which is com-
 “ monly called the *First Promise* : The offer of *Christ*
 “ appears to be plainly this ; *viz.* to take Men under
 “ his *Protection* and *Guardianship*, in order to *Govern*
 “ and *Save* them. For which end, as he was to *Rule*
 “ them, as *Reasonable* and *Free Creatures*, and such
 “ consequently that were *Salvable*, tho' *Sinners* ; so
 “ likewise to erect them into *Regular Societies*, under
 “ the immediate Government of those, whom he should
 “ judge most proper to Act under him, as his *Vice-Ge-*
 “ *rents* on Earth.

“ Whilst *Adam* Liv'd, there could be no Competiti-
 “ on ; and had God been for a *pure Divino Uninter-*
 “ *rupted Lineal Succession* of Princes down from him,
 “ there could have been as little Competition, as to
 “ his Successor ; seeing his *Eldest Son Cain*, must have
 “ been lookt upon by all Men, to be *Indefeazably* the
 “ next Prince and Monarch of the whole World, not-
 “ withstanding his *Impiety*, and consequently *Moral*
 “ Incapacity, of being a fit Person to be *Gods Vicege-*
 “ *rent*, or a *Ruler over Men, for their Good.*

But, seeing *Cain* was of a *Wicked Life* and *Bloody*
Disposition, we need not doubt but that *Adam* and his
Family were in *Perplexity*, to have him succeed as
Head of the *Human Family* ; especially seeing his *Bro-*
ther Abel was so good a Man, so proper to promote
 the *Salus Familie & Populi*, the common Good of the
Society, which Reason and Interest must have told them,
 was the *Suprema Lex*, the *Supreme Rule*, *First Founda-*
tion, and *main End* of all Government.

In this strait, *Adam* being cautious of acting *Rashly*,
 in a Case where he had no *President*, thought fit, that
 the *Two Candidates* should appeal to God, for a *Deter-*
mination of this Controverly, between the *Hereditary*
and Indefeazible Right ; which *Cain* went upon, and
 the *Plea of the General Good of the Community*, which
 was pleaded on *Abels* part, and which was thought to be

an *Over-Ballancing Consideration*, sufficient to set aside a bare Plea of Birth-Right, which *Tyranny*, equally as *Madness*, or as *Species of Madness*, must be supposed to render wholly Precarious.

Now, in Case of any Doubt that may arise, as to this Supposition; that the Offerings of *Cain* and *Abel*, related *Gen. 4. 3, 4, 5, &c.* were a solemn Appeal to God, for his Determination, which of them should be owned and submitted unto, as the *Prince Elect* of the *Adamitical Family*, and the *next Head* thereof, after *Adam*; I shall render this evident beyond Controversy, to all equitable Judges, by the two Considerations following. And (1.) What less, than Gods Approbation of *Abel*, as the *Head or Prince Elect* of Men, could have made *Cain* so *Wroth*, and his *Countenance thus to fall*; which as the Text says, was to that height, as to contrive after this, to Murder his Brother? Was *Cain* so Holy and Devout, as to value a mere Spiritual favour, or to grudge *Abel* on this bare Account, to such a desperate degree of Rage, as we find he was brought to? No, no, it is evident the *Appeal* was *Solemn*, for no less than all the *Prerogatives* of the *Primogeniture*; and that the Rejection of *Cain*, and the Election of *Abel*, was declared publickly by a visible Sign: which I doubt not was materially the same, that was common afterwards in *Israel*, even in less important Cases, *viz.* Gods *consuming the Sacrifice* of him whom he *Accepted*, &c. as by Fire from himself, and *letting that alone*, which was offered by the *other*, whom God *Rejected*. And indeed this is the general Opinion both of *Jews* and *Christians*. The *Appeal* of *Elijah* against the *Prophets of Baal*, (not to mention other instances, such as *Moses* his *Rod*, in opposition to the *Egyptian Magicians*; and *Aarons Rod*, in opposition to the *Heads of the other Tribes*) may justly be lookt upon as a bright Illustration of this First Appeal; for I look upon it to be in many respects, a parallel Case. But (2.) The thing that determines the Case finally, is, Gods own express

express Declaration thereof, v. 5, 6, 7. *Why art thou Wroth, ——— If thou dost well, shalt thou not be accepted, ——— And unto thee shall be his desire, and thou shalt Rule over him, or thou shalt be the Ruler over him.* Now these last Words determine the Point. For they contain a final Determination of these Three Essential Maxims of Government. 1. That, *Ceteris paribus, i. e.* where the Scales hang even between Two Competitors for the Rights of Sovereignty; that in that Case, *Birth-right* or *Hereditary Right* ought to take place. For God declares here to *Cain*, that had he been but as good as his Brother *Abel*, the Intail of Succession had not been cut off; but that he should have been, in course, and according to *Natural Right*, prefer'd above *Abel*. 2. But then, it is equally plain here, that *Birth-Right* is not *Indefeazable*, in point of Succession, but an *Alterable Thing*; seeing it is evident here, that *Cain* was rejected both *de jure* and *de facto*, and *Abel* preferred above him. For, as God pronounces, that if an *Hereditary Prince did Evil*, i. e. so as to render himself unworthy to Govern, *Sin should be laid at his door*, i. e. he should be Punish'd for so doing, and Depos'd from being Prince: So God did, in Fact, *Abdicate Cain*, and forc'd him to seek shelter elsewhere, for his Wick-edness. 3. Therefore it is evident here, That the *true Foundation of Preference*, in regard of *Empire* and *Command*, is not *bare Birth Right*, far less *Bodily Endowments*, but *Goodness* and *Aptitude* for promoting the *Publick Good*: for I pretend not to make private Virtues the proper *Characteristick* in this Case, seeing every such good Man is not fit for Supreme Authority; but I chiefly (tho' not exclusively of the other) mean such Virtues and Endowments, as relate more directly to Government, as the principal, if not only things, to be lookt after in a Governour. And, as I believe *Abel*, exceeded *Cain* in these, as well as in the former; so I reckon *Seth* did likewise afterwards, tho' Born after *Abels* Death; and therefore no doubt was one, who had

had many other Elder Brothers than *Cain*, as will appear to any, that attentively compares *Gen. 4. 14.* with *v. 25.* So, that God was so far from tying up himself to the next, in the *Hereditary Line*; that he rejected not only all the Posterity of *Cain*, and those also of *Abel*, who, I question not, left Children behind him, (and who dare say, that he did not) but likewise past by all the other Sons of *Adam*, and made choice of *Seth*; who was Born, at least an Hundred Years after *Cain* and *Abel*. For we must not Judge of *Adam*, as of his Posterity; seeing he and his Wife were Created, in all the full Vigour of *Adult Persons*, without running thro' Infancy, Childhood, and Youth, as all others do; before they arrive at compleat Manhood.

And therefore I look upon it, as a very precarious Supposition, that all the *Patriarchs* mention'd in the 5th of *Genesis* were *Eldest Sons*. For the design of *Moses*, is only to give us the Names of those that *Successively Reign'd* over *Adam's* Posterity in the *Sethian Line*, without insinuating that any one of them was the *First-Born*. Certain it is, that *Seth* was not: And yet of him *Moses* Writes thus; *And Adam Lived 130 Years, and begat a Son,—— and called his Name Seth; and the days of Adam, after he had begotten Seth, were 800 Years; and he begat Sons and Daughters.* Now were it not certain, that *Adam* had Children Elder than *Seth*, or had *Moses* omitted the History of *Cain* and *Abel*; this passage would certainly have been reckon'd a full proof that *Seth* was the *First-Born* of all the *Adamites*; and that *Adam* had no Children before he was 130 Years of Age. But now, that we are sure of the contrary, and that we see that *this Phrase is kept to ever after, without variation, thro' the whole Genealogy* in Chap. 5. I cannot but reckon that *Enos, Cainan,* and *all the rest* were as little the *Elaest Sons* of their Fathers as *Seth* was, and that *Moses* mentions them first, equally as *Seth*, meerly because they were choten by God and the Family, to be the *Heads and Princes* of the *Adamites*. Was not the getting as many Children;

as was possible, Gods *First Blessing of Man* and *Command* to him, *Gen. 2. 28. And God Blessed them, and God said unto them, be Fruitful and Multiply, and Replenish the Earth, &c.* And were not the *Ante-Diluvian Patriarchs* more *Veget, Strong and Prolifick*, than since the Earth was spoil'd by the Flood, as to its first Fruitfulness? of which their long Lives, and continuing to beget Sons and Daughters, even after they were many Hundreds of Years Old; is an unquestionable proof. Is it not then meer Nonsense to fancy, that the *Patriarchs* were Children in strength, and incapable to beget Children, or without inclination that way, till they were 60, 70, or 100, or near 200 Years of Age. And yet to this silly and Bedlam shift, are those reduc'd, that would have the *Adamitical Princes*, down from *Adam* to *Noah*, mentioned *Gen. Chap. 5.* to be all of them the Eldest Sons. For, upon this Supposition, *Seth* must have had no Children till he was 105 Years Old; nor *Enoch* till he was 90; nor *Cainan* till he was 70; nor *Mahaleel* till he was 65; nor *Fared* till he was 162; nor *Enoch* till he was 65; nor *Meibuselab* till he was 187; nor *Lamech* till he was 182. *Credat Judeus Apella*: Let those, that can believe all the Legends of Paganism and Popery, believe this too if they please. But as for me, I believe, that those Patriarchs did not only continue long to have Children, but that they begun soon, and that they were Emulous who should have most Children, in compliance with Gods Command; and to strengthen themselves this way in the Earth; seeing they had the whole World to fill and subdue. And I believe the Descendants of *Seth* and *Cain* strove, who should grow strongest this way, from a Political view, in point of Empire. And we know, that even in after times, and among the *Jews* down to Christs time, those that were Barren were lookt upon as under a Curse, and that a multitude of Children was reckoned a Blessing; which is the opinion of the *Jews* even to this Day.

But to return to *Adam*, certain it is, that he had not only

only many Children, but even Grand-Children too, and those grown up to Men and Women, before *Seth* was Born. This is plain from *Gen. 4. 14.* where *Cain* expresses his fear, *lest any one that found him should kill him.* For, unless we believe the Foolish Preadamitical Fancy, we see here, that *Adam* had not only many other Sons, but such also, who were so grown up, as to be singly, many of them, a Match for him, nay, and an over match too in point of Courage and Strength. And indeed he had reason to fear the Resentment of many, upon so horrid a Fact; especially the Sons and Grand-Sons of *Abel*; for *Abel* being at least 120 Years Old, when he was Murdered, I make no question, but that he had Grand-Sons, as well as Sons grown up to Mens Estate. Now in Case *Seth* was Born that very Year when *Cain* kill'd *Abel*, as seems probable from the connexion of the Story; then it is more than probable that *Cain* was 129 Years Old, when *Seth* was Born. For *Adam* and *Eve* being, as I said, Created in all the vigour and perfection of Human Nature; and *Cain* being the Eldest Child, it is probable, that he was not a Year Younger than *Adam*. Now, (says the Author of *Seculum Davidicum Redivivum*, or the *Divine Right of the Revolution Evinc'd*, &c. from whence I borrow several things here) " if we should suppose that *Adam* and

" *Eve* had but one Child in Two Years, to what a vast
 " multitude might Men have risen, against the 130th
 " Year of *Adam's* Age? And yet there is reason to
 " think, that they had at least one Child every Year;
 " nay, *Eve* might perhaps have had Twins frequently.
 " But I will go as low as any Man can desire, and only
 " suppose that *Adam* had but One Child in 3 Years,

" that is 10 Children in 30 Years:
 " * Yet even these 10 Children, and
 " their Posterity, might have Multi-
 " plied into no fewer than an Hun-
 " dred Thousand in 130 Years. Nay,
 " every one of these Ten Children

A. M.	Men.
30	10
60	100
90	1000
120	10,000
130	100,000

“ of *Adam*, might have multiplied into as many, as this
 “ amounts to, in less time, upon a very moderate Sup-
 “ position. Nor were it any unreasonable thing, to
 “ suppose, that *Adam* had 50 Children, instead of
 “ 10, before *Seth* was born, (for to me, this looks
 “ more rational than the other:) and if it was so, the
 “ World might have had many Millions in it, in that
 “ Time. So that I think it no way improbable, that
 “ there were as many Men, Women and Children then
 “ in the World, as there are now in *England* or *Brit-
 “ tain*.

Certain it is, that when *Cain* was expell'd from
Adam's Family, which is said *Gen. 4. 14. to be from*
God's Face, (i. e. *God's Manifested Glory*, or *Pre-
 sence*, which was with the *Adamites* then, as it was af-
 terwards among the *Israelites*, and is often called *God's*
Face, as in *Gen. 31. 30. and 32. 30. Exod. 33. 11.*
Deut. 5. 4.) as well as *from the Face of the Earth*,
 (i. e. *The Presence of his Father and Mother, and his*
Brethren and Sisters:) I say, certain it is, that when
 he went out, he carried a numerous Family along with
 him, seeing we find, *v. 17.* that he built a City (and
 sure, not without the Assistance of many more Hands
 than his own) soon after his having retired into a
 Country upon the *East of Eden*, which he made choice
 of, for its pleasantness, to settle in, and which he cal-
 led *Nod*, i. e. unsettled, or variable, to perpetuate
 the Memory, both of Man's being Banished out of
Eden, and of his own Banishment from his Father's
 House.

And here, by the way, let us observe, that it does not
 seem probable, that *Hereditary-Right* was so much as
 observ'd by *Cain* himself, in forming his Government
 in the Land of *Nod*. For, seeing I have shewed, that
 he was 29 Years old when *Seth* was born, and that he
 carried a numerous Posterity with him into the Land of
Nod, by whose Assistance he built the City *Enoch*, and
 seeing the History seems to insinuate, that *Enoch*, his
 Son,

Son, was born after his Banishment, and says, that this City was called after the name of this Son; It seems to be probable, that *Cain*, either from an Abhorrence of the Doctrine of *Hereditary Right*, which had occasioned so much Sin, Disgrace and Misery, to himself and his Posterity, or from an Experience that his Elder Sons were not so fit for Government, as his Young Son *Enoch*, did pitch upon this Son as his Successor. And, if this was the Case of *Enoch*, it is not improbable, but that he and his Successors might keep up the, same Maxim afterwards, *viz. That the greater Merit and not bare Age, should be the Foundation of succeeding to the Father.* And this, I am apt to think, was the Case, not only of *Enoch*, but also of his Three next Successors, *Irak, Mehujael, and Methusael, Gen 4. 18.* But *Lamech*, the Son of *Methusael*, as he was the first Man that introduc'd *Polygamy, v. 19.* so he seems to me, to have been the Man, that set up again for Primacy, upon pretence of the Birthright. For, if we may be allowed to suppose this, we shall have a more clear Idea of his Meaning, as to his Song, *v. 23, 24.* than I could ever meet with in any Author whatsoever. Mr. *Le Clerc* has shew'd, that the Words in the *Hebrew* are *Rythmical*, as well as *Proverbial*; and no doubt, they were so well remembred and understood in the Days of *Moses*, that he saw no Reason then to explain them. But, since his Days, no Words in the Bible have been less understood. Now, my Notion is, That *Methusael* having designed to secure the Succession to a Younger Son, and to pass by *Lamech*, because of his Wickedness; this *Lamech* resolves to act *Cain's* part over again, and to murder his Brother. But, remembering that *Cain*, though he murder'd *Abel*, did yet fail of the Birthright, and that *Seth* was preferred; he, not regarding God in the Case, but merely consulting his carnal Reason and Ambition, thinks with himself, that *Cain* fail'd of his End, merely because he did not kill *Adam* as well as *Abel*. Therefore he resolves to make
sure

fure Work, and fo kills both *Father* and *Brother*, and thus fets himfelf at the Head of all the *Cainites*. And, feeing this muft have entail'd many Reproaches, Curfes and Threatnings upon him, with which his two Wives were often entertain'd, and without doubt, entertain'd him frequently with alfo; *Lamech*, as a wicked, bold and hardned Wretch, composes this Proverbial Rhime, or Poem, by way of Scoff, for it is a fort of Burlefque Rhime, made to fhew how little he valued, either God or Man. And, feeing this is the *First Poetry* in the World, at leaft, the oldeft now extant, and feeing it was made by an *Hereditary-Prince* too, and the very *First* that fucceeded, by teaching *Paſſive-Obedience* effectually, (for though *Cain* had taught it before, yet he was *Abdicated* for it,) I ſhall grudge a little Pains in Tranſlating the Sence of *Lamech's Lampoon* upon Revolution Principles, in Defence of *Hereditary-Right*; and the rather, that the *Learned Decreers* may fee the Antiquity of their admirable *Doctrines*; which, from henceforth, they may fafely deduce, as well as the *Hereditary Succeſſion* of, from *Cain* and *Lamech*. And ſhould my Notion of the latter Story be Diſputed, yet ſure I am, that the Story of *Cain's* teaching *Abel* the Doctrine of *Paſſive-Obedience* and *Non-Resistance*, by the Unanswerable Medium of *Irreſiſtible Authority*, is an unqueſtionable *Jure-Divino* Truth, and as certain, as that *Abel* had no more reaſon to plead *Hereditary-Right*, in Oppoſition to *Cain*, than *Jacob* had afterwards againſt *Eſau*, or *Judah*, and *Joſeph* againſt *Reuben*. Now, I hope the Reader will bear with me, if in Paraphraſing the ſhort *Sarcaſtical* and *Wicked Ballad*, or *Poem*, of *Lamech*, I go upon the Suppoſition mention'd, ſo as to expreſs his Meaning, more than his Words, and that in modern Terms and Idioms, adapted to the Idea's and Boaſts of ſo vile an A poſtate and Murderer, as this Man was.

*Adah and Zillah hear my Words I pray,
 The Wives of Lamech drink in what I say.
 I'm Threaten'd for my Sire and Brother Slain;
 What Man and Boy both, say they! What then?
 To kill them both was, it not just and right,
 Who robb'd me of Hereditary-Right.
 My Grand-sire, Cain, was Fool to kill a Brother;
 Unless he had kill'd the Fesher with the Other
 While this he left undone, his Project fail'd,
 And Seth, through Adam's Cunning, thus prevail'd.
 And yet, ev'n God, or Adam in his Name;
 Durst do no more, than lay on Cain the Blame.
 And, sneaking then, they promis'd to revenge;
 His Death Sevenfold, if he would but exchange,
 Hereditary-Right for Safety, and be gone;
 And thus, by Banishment, his Sin Attone.
 I know those Cheats, nor do I fear their Rage,
 Let Heaven threaten, I'll Hell to me Engage.
 The Sethites I defy, and ev'n their God;
 For by the Law, confirm'd by his Nod.
 If Cain Sevenfold secur'd and safe shall be,
 How had he been rewarded, had he done like me?
 Sure, the great Lamech Seventy and Seven times,
 Deserves much more than he that Future Rhimes;
 Should celebrate his Fame and Actions Bright,
 Done to Retrieve Hereditary-Right.*

I have insisted the longer upon the *Ante-Diluvian Patriarchal Succession*, because it is the First Pattern, and Original Spring, of all *Fure-Divino Government*, and *Hereditary-Right*. . . And it was therefore necessary to treat of the Case of *Cain* very distinctly, because he was the *First Hereditary Prince* born, the Heir of the *Universal Monarchy* of the whole World, without the least Dispute or Suspicion of his Legitimacy. And yet *God himself*, as well as the *Adamitical Family*, put him by his Right and Possession both, and chose *Abel* in his stead, merely upon the Foot of greater *Merit and Worth*, and consequently,

sequently by reason of a *greater Aptitude* to promote the Grand and Final end of all Government, *viz.* the *Salus Populi* the good of the Community. So, that God and Man agreed then, that this was *Suprema Lex*, the Fundamantal Maxim of all Government. And this was done, by way of prevention, to save Mens falling under a Tyrannical Authority, at a time when the Principles of Religion were equally own'd on all sides, and no *Dissenter* from the *Uniformity* than acquiesc'd in. So that a greater and lesser Aptitude for Government, in order to the safety of Men, was the only Foundation of setting up a *Revolution Monarch*, and of *Abdicating* an *Hereditary One*. And this *Maxim* of Government was kept to, with greater Force, upon the Murder of *Abel*; *Seth* being pitch'd upon as his Successor, tho' a much Younger Brother. And it is highly probable to me, as I have said before, that this Maxim was constantly kept up in the *Sethian Family*, and found necessary even in that of *Cain* too, until *Lamech* acquir'd the power by a *double Murder*.

I shall only add, that as *Cain* was the *First Hereditary Monarch*, and the *First Club-Law Prince* or *Tyrant*; so I would fain ask the *O——d* Decree-Men; whither it would not be very proper, in a New Edition of their Decree, to insert Two new Propositions, among the other Condemned Ones, and which would very naturally come in, after the 3d and 6th Propositions. For the 3d Condemned Proposition (not to name any other) being this: *That if Lawful Governors become Tyrants, and break the Fundamental Laws, they forfeit their Right to the Government*: It would be very natural to add these Two New Ones. 2. *That Cain tho' the Hereditary Prince, of the World, and his Right consequently being in appearance Indefeazable: Yet by reason of his Tyrannical Disposition, he was justly Abdicated; and did Forfeit his Right to the Government, and Abel first, and Seth afterwards were Rightful and Lawful Monarchs, eaven during his Life.* 2. That, *Abel,*

bel, by Right of Self-Defence, as a Fundamental Principle of Nature, might Lawfully have resisted Cain, had he foreseen his design; and might have enter'd into an Association with others of Cains Natural Born-Subjects, even to De throne him, as being Degenerated into a Tyrant. — For, let me be so bold, as to tell those Gentlemen, that the 3d and 6th Propositions Condemned, do necessarily involve the Condemnation of these two, as being the same in *Hypothesi*, as the former general Ones are in *Thesi*, (especially taking in the 7th Proposition together with the 6th.) So that these as well as the former, are included in the *O——n* Condemnation, with which the Decree begins and ends, *viz.* *These Propositions we declare to be False, Seditious, and Impious; nay it may be justly said of them likewise, that they are Blasphemous, Infamous to the Christian Religion, and Destructive to all Government both in Church and State.* — And thus I leave these things, as Damned by the *O——ns*, tho' approv'd by God of Old, and by the Sense of all Mankind, who have not pin'd their Reason and Faith upon the Sleeves of those Worshiptul Doctors.

The 2d Age of the Succession of Patriarchal Princes, during the First Period of the Birth-right, *viz.* from Noah to Abraham.

Having insisted so long on the State of the *Ante-Diluvians*, I shall only take notice of this One thing here; *viz.* That, as little regard seems to have been had, to bare *Hereditary-Right*, after the Flood; as before it.

This is evident, to a Demonstration, in the very first Instance; for of Noah's Three Sons *Japhet* was the Eldest, as we see *Gen. 10. 21, 22.* compar'd with *Chap. 9. 24.* For, in the First of these places, he said to the Elder Brother of Shem; and in the later *Ham* is called a Younger Son of Noah. So that, whither *Ham* or *Shem* were the Youngest of all; yet still it is evident,

that *Japhet* was the *First-Born*; and yet the *First-Blessing* was given from him to *Shem*, the Younger Brother. And this is the more Memorable, because he had done nothing to forfeit his Title, that we hear off; nay, he seems to have been as piously concerned for his Fathers Honour, as *Shem* was. So, that we can ascribe his loss of the *Primogeniture* to nothing, but Gods foresight of the mischiefs that would afterwards arise to Mankind, by a Sottish, Bigotted parcel of Villanous Persons, who would make use of the Barbarous and Hellish Principles, and Practices, which unavoidably follow from the false Idea of the *Indefeazableness* of *Birth-Right*, and which are Fundamental of Tyranny and Slavery. And therefore to cut off any Handle, that might have been taken from *Japhet's* succeeding to *Noah*, as by meer *Birth-Right*, *Noah* is Divinely directed to Intaill the *First Blessing* on *Shem*.

Shem being thus Constituted the *First Patriarch*; Let us now consider who succeeded. We Read an Account of his Posterity, *Gen. 10. 22, &c.* where we see that *Elam* was his Eldest Son, *Ashur* the Second, and *Arphaxad* the Third. And yet it is sufficiently Evident from *Chap. 11. 10, &c.* that this Third Son was Entitled unto the First Blessing; seeing the Succession is continued in him, and reckoned from him, exclusively of the Two Elder Brothers; who therefore are not so much as mention'd at all in the List of the proper Successors of *Shem*. And, seeing this is the constant method of *Moses*, to reckon the Chronology of Times, from the Birth of those Sons, who came afterwards to be possessed of the Princely Power: And seeing we have seen already, that from *Adam* to *Arphaxad* Birth-Right was never followed; we have Reason to think that the Catalogue of those Princes, *Gen. 11. 11, 12, &c.* down from *Arphaxad* to *Abram*, was not of the Eldest Sons. Nay, I am apt to think it probable, that hardly one of them was the First-Born. At least certain I am, that it is not at all probable that

that any Son Succeeded to his Father, nearly upon the account that he was Born first; seeing, by all I have said, it is evident that God acted always contrary to this pretended Right. And therefore, I reckon *Noah's Successors*, in the *Line of Shem*, to have Succeeded to one another just as *Shem*, and *Arphaxad* did; whose Names are reckon'd thus, viz. *Salah, Eber, Peleg, Reu, Serug, Nabor, Terah*.

Now *Terah* had Three Sons, *Gen. 11. 27. Abram, Nabor* and *Haran*. But he, that from thence shall infer, that *Abram* was the Eldest, will only prove himself to be very ill vers'd in the Scripture Genealogies; where the more Eminent Brother, tho' the Younger, is always nam'd first, as is constantly the Rule of *Moses*; as may be seen in mentioning the Three Sons of *Noah*. Nay, it is Memorable that *Moses* always reckons the Youngest of these Sons last of all. For thus he reckons them up, *Gen. 6. 10. Chap. 7. 13. and Chap. 9. 18. Shem, Ham, and Japhet*: Which makes me believe, that as *Japhet* was the Eldest of all, so *Shem* was the Youngest of all; and that therefore he still mentions them in an inverted order; for otherwise I cannot possibly conceive, why the Accursed *Ham* should be constantly named before *Japhet*, if it were not thus to denote that he was the middle Son.——— Now, were it not for fear of enlarging this Discourse, I could almost Demonstrate, from several Circumstances of the History, that *Moses* uses the very same method in speaking of the Sons of *Terah*; and that *Abram* was mention'd first, meerly because he was the most Eminent Person, tho' the Youngest Son of all; and that *Haran* was the Eldest of all, and *Nabor* the Second. But I forbear, because it is otherwise evident, beyond all dispute, that *Abram's* preference before his Brethren, and his being possess'd of the *First-Blessing*, was not upon the account of *Birth-Right*, but by Gods own *Peculiar Election* and Choice.——— And I might also shew, that *Melchizedeck* the Great King and Priest of

Mankind, who confirm'd him in the Priviledges of the *First-Blessing*, was no less a Man than *Shem* himself. But this would carry me too far, and has been often proved already. Therefore I shall only say this of it, that all the *Jewish* Paraphrases own this, and I may say also, all the *Jewish* Authors. I proceed therefore:

The 3d Age of the *Succession of Patriarchal Princes*, during the *First General Period*, viz. from *Abraham* to *Moses*.

I shall not insist upon the Case of *Isaac*, because he was an only Son, in point of a proper Legitimacy; so that he could have no Competitor. For *Ishmael* was not only the Son of a Slave or Bond-Woman, but such a one also, as was an *Egyptian*; and therefore descended from the Accursed *Ham*.

But the next Instance is a Flagrant one, against *Indefeasible Birth Right*. For, in the *First* place, *Esau*, the Eldest Son of *Isaac* sold his *Birth-Right*, for so poor a price, as a mess of *Pottage*, as our Version Reads it, *Gen. 25. 30.* But in the *Hebrew* it is, *Feed me I pray thee, of that same Edom, i. e.* that red Mess or Dish; which was some sort of Dish that was then known by the Name of *Edom*; and from whence he was afterwards Sarcastically, by the *Israelites* called *Edom*; tho' his proper Name was *Esau*, from the hairyness of his skin. But, tho' he be censur'd as *Prophane*, *Heb. 12. 16.* for this Act; yet, seeing this was done not only Rashly, but upon a great Temptation; *Esau* being faint thro' Hunger, and as he says himself, *ready to Die*; but especially seeing *Isaac* was Alive; without whom neither *Esau* had right to Sell his Birth-Right, nor *Jacob* to Purchase it: Therefore the Primogeniture might have continued to *Esau* still, at least as to the main of it, had *Isaac* given it him, as he fully intended to do. But then, in the *next* place, we find that *Esau* intirely lost the Birth-Right from *Isaac* himself, tho' beyond his in-

tention

tention. The Providence indeed was strange, and the Method taken by *Rebekah* and *Jacob*, to defraud *Esau*, no way Justifiable. And yet, the Act once past, was not reversible even by *Isaac* himself; for so he Confesses, *Gen. 27. 33.*— *I have Blessed him, and he shall be Blessed.*

And here, by the way, we learn some things, that are worthy to be observed.

(1.) That the *Eldest Son*, or he that the Father intended to be his Successor, had some *Eminent* or Distinguishing *Garment*, as a Badge of his Precedency; and such was, no doubt, that *Goodly* or Rich *Garment* of *Esau*, with which *Rebekah* Clothed *Jacob*, *Gen. 27. 15.* the better to deceive *Isaac*. And it seems, that this *Garment*, or *Robe*, was richly Perfumed, seeing *Esau*, whose smell was certainly none of the quickest at that time, is yet said to have *smell'd the smell of the Raiment*; which he compares to a *Field all in blossom and Odoriferous*, *v. 27.* And such a *Robe* was afterwards that of *Joseph*, which was a very gay one, and of *various Colours*, *Gen. 37. 3.* which enraged his Brethren, *v. 4.* as taking it now for granted, that *Jacob* intended to give him the *Blessing* of the *First-Born*; and to make him Prince over them all, instead of *Reuben*, who had forfeited it. But, to return.

(2.) We may observe, that the *Patriarchal Blessing* was a very Solemn and Weighty thing, and materially the very same thing of Old, that a *Coronation* or *Inauguration* has been since. It was a solemn conferring of Dignity and Power, to the Person Blessed, done in the name of God, and a matter of that weight, that the whole Family were often full of Intreagues about it. In this case *Isaac* and *Rebekah* could not agree. *Isaac* secretly tells *Esau*, that he design'd to confer the *Blessing* upon him, *Gen. 27. 1, &c.* *Rebekah*, who was ever upon the watch for *Jacob*, overhears the secret Message, and by a cunning Stratagem prevents the design, *v. 6, &c.* *Esau* designed after the Death of his Father

Father, to Murder *Jacob*, and told this to some *Confident* in the Family, *v. 41*. But *Rebekah* fishes out this secret too, *v. 42*. and, by another cunning project, prevents the Execution, *v. 42, &c.* Now,

(3.) It is very observable also, That we have here the most plain and full Account of the *First Blessing*; that we have in any other place of Scripture whatsoever, *v. 37*. And *Isaac said unto Esau, Behold I have made him thy Lord; and all his Brethren have I given to him for Servants; and with Corn and Wine have I supplied him; and what shall I do now unto thee, my Son*. Now this is a Character and Description of the *First Blessing*, that lays a Foundation, in the General of all that Account, which I gave of this subject, under the former Inquiry. But to proceed.

Jacob had *Twelve Sons*, who were all of them Emulous of one another, as to the *First Blessing*; especially after that *Reuben*, by a scandalous Act, had forfeited the same; of which Act we read *Gen. 35. 22*. and for which he is divested of the *Birthright*, *Gen. 49. 4*. Now, of the other Sons of *Jacob*, there were Four that had no just Right so much as to pretend to the Blessing of the *First born*, because they were not properly Legitimate Children, as being the Sons of the Handmaids, *viz. Dan, Naphtali, Gad and Asher*, *Gen. 30. 5, &c.* There were *Seven Sons* therefore remaining, that only could rationally hope for it, *viz. Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, and Naphtali*, the Sons of *Leah*, and *Joseph and Benjamin*, the Sons of *Rachel*. But the two Eldest of these were guilty of so cruel a Fact, in murdering the *Shechemites*, *Gen. 34. 25, 26*. that it laid a just Foundation for *Jacob's* putting them by the *Birthright*. But though *Simeon* and *Levi* were the Ringleaders in this barbarous Murder, both in Point of Contrivance and Execution, yet, we are not to imagine, that they did it without Accomplices; for *Jacob* (and even they themselves also) had many Servants under them, and as it would appear from

Gen. 32. 2, 5, 16, 17, 18, 19. and *Chap.* 34. 9, 10, 21. such a Multitude of them, as amounted to several Hundreds. But that which I take more notice of is, this; that, tho' *Simeon* and *Levi*, were the Leaders in this Wicked Action, yet all their Brethren, excepting *Joseph*, (for *Benjamin* was not then Born) were Confederated with them in the doing of it, seeing we are told *v.* 27, 28, 29. that *the Sons of Jacob*, (i. e. his other Sons besides the two that are mentioned by Name) came upon the Slain, and spoiled the City, &c. So that *Jacob* had just Reason to pass them all by, and to bestow the *Birth-Right* upon his beloved Son *Joseph*.

Now, that *Joseph* had the *Birth-Right* given him, the Author of the Book of *Chronicles* assures us, in the Words of our Text; and the History of *Moses* tells us the manner of Investing him with it: First by *Jacobs* giving him the *Princely Robe*, *Gen.* 37. 3, 4, 11. Secondly, by Incorporating both his Sons into the number of the *Twelve Patriarchs*, equally with the immediate Sons of his own Body; by which *Two Tribes* descended from him, and had *Two Shares* in the Land of *Canaan*, whereas all his Elder Brethren had but one; as we see *Gen.* 48. 5, 6, 13, 14, 15, 16, 19. Thirdly, by giving *Joseph* the *Double Portion*, both as the Badge of the *Birth right*, and as a means to support it, as we see *v.* 22. And Lastly, by giving him the whole and intire *Birth-Right*, by solemn Act and Deed, in the presence of all his Brethren, as we see, *Gen.* 49. 22, 23, 24, 25, 26.

Joseph therefore, upon the Death of *Jacob*, became *Universal Prince* and *Patriarch* over all *Israel*; and acted as such in the Burying of his Father, *Gen.* 50. 8, 14. and afterwards as we see, *v.* 15, 16, &c. where by the way, what our Version has, in *v.* 19. *am I in Gods stead*; as if it were a negative Interrogation, is in the Original, an Affirmative: So that the Words run thus, *Fear not*, (my Brethren) *for I am in Gods stead*, (i. e. I am now your Prince) *Tho' therefore ye thought*
 Evil

Evil against me, yet God meant it for Good,——— Now therefore fear ye not; for I will nourish you and your little ones, &c.

But though *Joseph* was so great a Man, I cannot but blame him for one Great Crime, *viz.* his *destroying the Freedom of the Ægyptian Nation*, merely out of *Policy* to ingratiate himself with his King, and thus to secure his own Grandeur and Authority, by putting it out of the Power of both the *Nobility* and *Commonalty* of *Egypt*, to undermine or Eclipse him; seeing he made them all equally Slaves, excepting the *Priests* only, whom he cunningly made an Exception, that he might by them strengthen himself, against the rest of the People, well knowing their Influence both on the Prince and Commonalty, and that they were the proper Tools of Arbitrary Power and Passive Obedience. But what could be the Pretence, upon which the Idolatrous Priests must be kept Freemen, and keep Possession of their Estates, and none else; Why, a doughty one is assign'd, *Gen. 47. 22.* *Only the Lands of the Priests bought he not, for the Priests had a Portion assigned them of Pharaoh, and did eat their Portion which Pharaoh gave them; for which reason they sold not their Lands.* A strong reason, to be sure. But common sense says, that if they had a sufficient allowance from *Pharaoh* to live handsomely upon, there was more reason to buy their Lands, than the Lands of those that had no such Pension. But it will be said, that the meaning of the Words is this; that by reason of this Pension or Portion, they were under no Temptation to sell their Lands. Very well; but then the *Targum* of *B. Uzziel* tells us, that this Favour was obtain'd to them by *Joseph*, that they might not be under any hazard of selling their Estates. However, in the main, the Law was then no better than a *sic volo, sic jubeo*; for *Prince Joseph* would have it so; and any, even the silliest Pretence, must therefore go for strong reason with an In-
flav'd

flaved People, when Proceeding from the only Ruler of *Egypt*; for so *Jofeph* was, as we see *Gen.* 41. 39, 40, 43, 44. &c. *Pharaoh* having divested himself of all Power, and resign'd it to him to act as he pleas'd, reserving nothing to himself excepting only the Regal Title and Honour, v. 40. being, in this, like many Effeminate Princes, that are glad to rid themselves of all the trouble of Government, in order to give up themselves the more undisturbedly to their Pleasures. So that *Jofeph's* Will was then the Supreme Law of *Egypt*, and even a Law to *Pharaoh*, as we see *Ch.* 45. 8, 9, 10, 13, 16, 17. &c. and *Ch.* 47. 5, 6. And therefore he only was Culpable for this Tyrannical Constitution, of which we read *Ch.* 47. 14, 15, 18, 19, 24, &c. Now, had he only done this for a time, and for his own Security, he had been something Excusable; but for him to make it a Law over the Land of *Egypt* for ever, that *Pharaoh* should have the Fifth Part of the Estates of *Egypt*, and that they should be for ever his and his Successors Slaves, *The Priests only excepted*, v. 26. this I say was Barbarous all over. Nay, I verily believe, (1.) That this was the first Example, and the Leading Precedent, that Princes followed afterwards in enslaving their People, and turning Limited Monarchies into Tyrannies. For, though *Nimrod* attempted this, (who seems to have been a *Bastard Son* of *Cush*, *Gen.* 10. 6, 7, 8.) as well as Universal Monarchy, we know nothing of his having preacht the Establishing thereof, by any Law or Settlement: Yet it would seem that the People had a great share in the Government every where else, so far as can be collected from the Scraps of the History of those old times that are left us. The little Kingdom of *Gerar* seems to have been a kind of *Paternal one*, like *Jacobs*, by what we read, *Gen.* 20. 2, 3, &c. and *Ch.* 21. 22, 23, &c. *Ch.* 26. 6, 7. And indeed the Name of their Princes, which was *Abimelech*, i. e. the *King our Father*, denotes this. The little Kings of the *Hebites* and *Hittites* could at first do nothing without

the Concurrence of the People, as appears from *Gen.* 33. 3, 4, 5, &c. And the King of *Shechem*, it is evident, could not so much as enter into a League with *Jacob* and his Sons, till he had got his Peoples Consent, as we see *Gen.* 34. 20, 24. All which are memorable Rests and Vestiges of the first Form of Government, that only can pretend to have a *Divine Right* pleadable for it. And sure *Egypt* was a Free Kingdom, until *Joseph* Inslaved it. So that I cannot but look on *Joseph* to have acted a very Wicked part, in this procedure. Had he only Degenerated, in Learning *Egyptian Oaths*, as in *Swearing by the Life of Pharaoh*, he had only done himself hurt; but to lay a Foundation of the Slavery of all Nations, is enough to provoke all Mankind to blame him. (2.) Seeing *Joseph* made this ill use of his Authority, I cannot but think, that it laid the Foundation of *Israels* being made Slaves afterwards themselves; which they had not been so much in danger of, had the *Egyptians* been as formerly, a Free People. And seeing, no doubt, *Joseph* had the Approbation of the *Israelites* in all this, it was Just in God to punish them all by Bondage; in the same manner that the *Egyptians* had been by *Joseph*. And this Consideration might probably have irritated the *Egyptians* to persecute them, even beyond the Order of their King; out of Revenge and Hatred to the Memory of *Joseph*, the Betrayer of their Liberty, and the Destroyer of their Constitution.

I know what Pains some Christians have taken to wash *Joseph* clean of this Complex Crime: but they had as good attempt to wash a Negro white. (1.) Some say, that the *Hebrew Word*, *Gen.* 47. 22. signifies *Princes* as well as *Priests*. Answer. 1. It is not the proper Name for *Princes*, but only for *Priests*, though in an improper Sence it is sometimes accommodated that way: But the proper *Hebrew Name* for *Princes*, is *Sbari*, as may be seen, *Gen.* 12. 15. which, therefore, was the Title then given the Great Men of E.

gypt; for, of *Pharaoh's Princes*, that Text speaks: whereas the Word in *v. 22, 26.* is *Keehani*, which has no Affinity to the other. And, therefore, all the Ancient Versions render it *Priests*, and not *Princes*. And, besides all this, *Diodorus Siculus* makes mention of this Exception of the *Priests of Egypt*. But, 2. What if the Word should be thus Interpreted? Will this mend the Matter? Could *Joseph's* Enslaving a whole Nation be atten'd by this, that he left the *Princes* free, who were but a few, compar'd with the Free People in general? (2.) Others, therefore say, that *Joseph* would not have done this, but that he was compell'd to it by *Pharaoh*. Answ. Fine Jargon, indeed. This is a Christian Legend, that even the Jews are asham'd of; who constantly attribute the whole to *Joseph*. And he himself will be angry, if he be suspected to be limited in his power. Does he not say himself, *Gen. 45. 8, 9, &c.* *God has made me a Father to Pharaoh, and Lord of all his House, and Ruler throughout all the Land of Egypt; ——— God hath made me Lord of all Egypt; come down unto me, ——— and thou shalt dwell in the Land of Goshen, &c.* Here is the Regal stile, and no mention of *Pharaohs* Order, who knew nothing of all this till afterwards. And indeed, I very much doubt whether he knew the half of the Arbitrary proceedings of *Joseph*. But whether he did or not, I am bold to say one thing, that it was equally a *Wicked*, as well as *Politick* proceeding, to Transplant the whole Nation of *Egypt*, as we find he did, *Gen. 47. 21.* *And as for the People, he removed them into Cities, (or from City to City) from one end of the borders of Egypt, even unto the other end thereof.* Upon which Verse, both the *Jerusalem* Paraphrase, and that of *Ben Uzziel*, give us this Comment; “ That *Joseph* turned out the People that dwelt in Cities, and forced them to dwell in the Country; and took the Country People, and placed them in Cities; and that he made the People of the Provinces of one part of *Egypt*, exchange their

“ dwellings with those that liv'd in the opposite Provin-
 ces. And all this, say these Paraphrases, *Joseph* did;
 “ that the *Egyptians* might not Revile the *Hebrews*,
 “ under the name of *Exiles*. And, if this was all his
 End, in making such an intire Change of that People ;
 certainly it was a very mean and base one. But I do
 not believe, that this was the main, far less the only
 end, that *Joseph* had in view. No, no ; he was afraid
 that the *Egyptians* might regain their Liberty, and A-
 venge themselves on him, or his Posterity. Therefore
 he resolves to make sure Work of it, and breaks them
 off from all their Settlements, Dwellings, Relations,
 Possessions, Interests and Acquaintances. So that this
 was, in effect a pattern for *Transportation* and *Captivi-
 ties*, which *Tyrants* Copied after, in following Ages ;
 and which *Josephs* Posterity, and the rest of the Tribes
 of *Israel*, felt the effects of, to purpose, under the *As-
 syrian* and *Babylonian* Kings. (3.) Some Men would
 persuade us, that the *Egyptian* Priests, were very Holy
 Men, in those days. Answer. But we know too well,
 that they were Idolaters even then ; the *Egyptians* being
 noted to be the most Ancient, as well as the most Sor-
 tish Idolaters in the World. Nay, this Nation was ve-
 ry infamous for Magick and Inchantments, of which
 we Read enough in the beginning of the Book of *Ex-
 odus*. No, no ; the Case was this ; *Joseph* had Mar-
 ried the *Daughter* of one of the Chief Priests of *Egypt*,
 or rather, as I guess, the *High Priest*, who was over
 all, (for *On* seems to have been the same with *Aven*,
Ezek. 30. 17. i. e. *Heliopolis* or *Damiata*, or the *City*
of the Sun, *Fer.* 43. 13.) However he was a very
 Great Man, and one who was a Great Favourite of
Pharaoh ; and perhaps *Joseph* might be his Heir also, in
 right of his Wife. Therefore we need not wonder, that
Joseph had a kindness for the *Priests* ; for it was his
 Interest to do so ; and therefore as Interest seldom fails
 to sway great Men, *Joseph* was become so far an *Egypt-
 tian*

tian and *Courtier*, as to dispense with their Idolatry.
 (4.) Another excuse for *Joseph*, is drawn from hence; that *Moses* does not Censure him for what he did. Answer 1. *Moses* barely relates matter of Fact; and it was no part of an Historian, to pass any such Judgment on Actions. We see he does not Censure him for his Swearing by the Life of *Pharaoh*. Nay, he does not Censure *Cain* or *Lamech* for their Murders; but barely relates the sum of those Stories. 2. Perhaps it had not been safe, to have Censur'd *Joseph*, tho' he had been inclin'd to do it; considering the high Character the *Israelites* had of *Joseph*, in his days, especially the Two powerful Tribes, that were his Descendants. 3. But, if *Moses* do not Censure *Joseph's* Acts, neither does he speak of them with Approbation. 4. Therefore, seeing we are to judge of Actions, from their Essential Characters, Discriminating Circumstances, and Necessary Consequences; I am bold to say, that *Joseph* Acted a Barbarous and Inhuman part, in Inslaving a Free People; for all these things Concur, to oblige me to Censure *Joseph*, as I have done. 5. But some may yet say; Well, but the People were willing to sell themselves, as well as their Estates. Answer, Yes; rather than Die. What then? Was *Jacob* Sinless to cheat *Esau* thus of his Birth-right? Is it not mean and base, to take the advantage of Mens straits in order to Ruin them? Let us hear the Poor people tell their own Tale, when Dispirited by Hunger, and almost Starv'd, Gen. 47. 18, 19. ——— We will not hide it from my Lord, how that our Money is all spent; my Lord also had our Herds and Cattle. There is nothing left in the sight of my Lord, but our Bodies and our Lands. Why shall we Die before thine Eyes? Buy us and our Land for Bread, and we and our Land will be Servants unto Pharaoh. ——— Ah! *Joseph*, and wilt thou accept the offer, that Necessity, not they, made thee? Nay, wilt thou intail Tyranny and Slavery on Innocent Posterity

rity for ever? And wilt thou so Barbarously Transplant and Captivate them too, without provocation? Sure this was more than they Sold to thee, to be banish'd their Native Air? Where is thy Ancient Piety, when thou didst resist the Temptation of thy Amorous Mistress? Boast not of thy bravery under Adversity; seeing thou art become so Wicked by Prosperity. Neither boast of thy Prophetick skill of Old, seeing now, thou makest not Gods Will thy Rule, but thy own Knavish Policies; to gain Honour and Power; in which thou wilt be succeeded by *Balaam*. Well; *the treacherous Dealers shall be dealt treacherously with*; and thy Posterity shall have the Seed of those Transplanted Slaves to be their *Task-Masters*. And thou *Joseph* shalt be the *Last Patriarch*, that shall ever be intrusted with the *Intire Birth-Right*, and all the Prerogatives and Branches thereof. Nor shall ever the Princely Authority and Power be lodg'd in thy Posterity, even tho' *Jacob* desig'd and expected it should be so. For I cannot but Judge that *Joseph's* mismanagement of Government provoked God, in his just providence, to transfer the *Regal Authority* to the Tribe of *Judah*.— And this leads me forward to the next Period.

The 2d Period of the History of *Hereditary Right*, and of the *Sacred Line* of the Succession of *True Divino Princes*, viz. of those who were possessed of the *Princely Power*, after that God had cut off the other Priviledges of the *Birth-Right* from that Power, and Alienated from those Princes all or most of the other Branches, or Prerogatives of the *First-Blessing*: Which Period reaches down from *Moses* to *Christ*.

Now this Period, for methods sake, and with regard to the Series of time, shall be divided into Three Ages, just as the former was. The 1st of which will be from
Moses

Moses to Saul; The 2d from *Saul to Nebuchadnezzar*; and the 3d from *him to Christ*.

The (1.) *Age of the Succession of the Princely Power, in the Fure Divino Line, viz. under Judges, from Moses to Saul.*

Joseph Dying, the Supream Patriarchal Authority over the Twelve Tribes, Died with him, or rather reverted and turned back to the Old Natural Parental Authority of the Patres Familia, the Heads of Houses. Whether therefore Joseph durst not leave any Successor for fear of Pharaoh; or because the Princes of the Tribes would not submit to one of his Nomination; or whither the Israelites were weary of that Government, or could not agree in the choice of any Successor; or whither lastly, God did, by some special discovery of his Mind, forbid that any Man should be Nominated and Chosen by Joseph to succeed him: Yet certain it is that no hint is left us of any such Patriarch, after Josephs Death, which yet was a point of that nature, that Moses could not have omitted it, had any such Patriarch been chosen afterwards. And yet there were near 300 Years past, between Josephs Death, and the publick appearance of Moses. For Joseph was 30 Years of Age, when he first stood before Pharaoh, Gen. 41. 46. and this was 9 Years at least before the Israelites came down to Egypt, who came not thither till after the Seven Years of plenty were past, and Two of the Years of Famine; as we see by comparing that place, with Chap. 45. 11. Now Joseph lived, in all, 110 Years, Gen. 50. 22, 26. i. e. about 70 Years after Jacob's going down to Egypt. The Israelites were in Egypt about 400 Years, as we read Gen. 15. 13. or 430 Years, as we read, Exod. 12. 40. Which Years the Apostle, Gal. 3. 17. reckons from the promise made to Abram: Concerning his Seed (which I suppose was the great promise made, Gen. 22. 16. compar'd with

with *Heb. 6. 13.* after his offer to Sacrifice his Son) and the giving of the Law, *Exod. 19. 1, 2, 10. &c.* Now the Apostle speaks of this Number of Years, *ore rotundo*, for a Year, or a few Months, were of no Consequence in this Case. And indeed the giving of the Law was not much longer than a Year, if so much, after *Israels departure out of Egypt*; which *Moses* seems to say *Exod. 2. 40, 41, 42.* was, to a day, exactly 430 Years after the Promise made to *Abraham* and *Isaac*. By all which it is apparent, without entering upon the Niceties of Chronology, that, upon a moderate Computation, the *Israelites* were without a Patriarch, for at least 300 Years, *viz.* from *Joseph's* Death, until *Moses* was raised up by God to deliver them, which was not long before they went out of *Egypt*.

So that for 300 Years, the *Israelites* in *Egypt*, were a *Theocratical Aristocracy*, consisting of *Thirteen Tribes*, (reckoning *Joseph's* Posterity—Two, as they really were) *Confederated* for common Safety, and no otherwise *Incorporated*, than upon the Bottom of one and the same Law and Religion; but otherwise govern'd by the Heads of the distinct Tribes, with the Consent of the several Heads of the rest of the Families thereof. Thus they continued in *Goshen*, untill they grew up into a numerous and potent *Republick*, consisting of 600000 *Men, besides Women and Children*, *Exod. 12. 37.*

After this Form of Government had continued so long, and so happily, (for we hear of nothing objected against it) God thought fit, to set a Governour at their Head, to take off all Emulation and Quarrels among the Heads of the several Tribes, and made choice of *Moses* for this End, *Exod. 3. 1, 2. &c.* and sends him both to *Pharaoh* and the *Israelites*, as such, in his name; ratifying his Commission and Authority by many Miracles, and at last by making him their Great Deliverer out of *Egypt*.

But now, though *Moses* had the whole Patriarchal Dignity lodg'd in him, yet it was for a limited time only. For we find, that he quickly after made vast Alterations, in the *Republick* of *Israel*, giving away the *Priestly Office* from the Heads of Families for ever, and alienating also many other Branches of the *First Blessing* from the *Firstborn*, of which I have said enough already, for my present Purpose under the *Former Inquiry*. So that, abstracting from the peculiar Circumstances of *Moses*, and his eminent Qualifications, and the singular Manifestations of God to him; we shall find, that the proper Character of his Office, which he bore during Life, was properly no other, than what *Joshua*, *Othniel*, *Ehud*, and the other Successive Governours or Judges of *Israel* had afterwards, down to the days of *Samuel* and *Saul*.

Now we shall find, without much Pains, or any long search, that no regard, at all, was had to *Hereditary Right*, during this Period of Time; but that God acted constantly, without the least regard to that Principle; as if he meant to destroy for ever all pretences to Political Government drawn from it, especially Pretences to its being equivalent to a *Divine-Right*; for I defy any Man to give any other solid Reason, why God did so constantly avoid the setting up any one Governour or Prince over *Israel*, that had any Pretence to succeed to the Government by *Birth-Right*. And yet, that God did constantly Act thus, during this Age or Period, is evident from the sacred History beyond all Contradiction. For thus the Catalogue runs of the several Governours or Judges of *Israel*.

1. *Moses*, a *Levite*.
2. *Joshua*, an *Ephramite*, *Numb.* 13. 8.
3. *Othniel*, a *Jew*, being a younger descendent from *Judah*, *Judg.* 3. 9.
4. *Ehud*, a *Benjamite*, *Judg.* 3. 15.
5. *Deborah*, a *Woman*, *Judg.* 4. 4. who seems to have been an *Ephramite*, *v.* 5. and made *Barak*, a

Naphthalite, Ch. 4. 6. 10. Lieutenant General under her; as we see v. 8. 9. for he would not undertake to go into the Field without her.

6. *Gideon*, called also *Ferub-baal*, an *Abiezrite*, and therefore descended from *Manasseh*, *Judg.* 6. 11. and Ch. 8. 2, 27, 32. Compar'd with *Josh.* 17. 2. and *1 Chron.* 7. 8. — Now here it is memorable, that the *Israelites* offer'd to make *Gideon* King, nay, and to establish his Posterity into an *Hereditary Royal Family*, *Judg.* 8. 22, 23. The words are; *Then the Men of Israel said unto Gideon, Rule thou over us, both thou and thy Son, and thy Sons Son also; for thou hast delivered us from the band of Israel.* But *Gideon* abhor'd the Proposition, as being derogatory to the Prerogative of God, who only was King of *Israel*, and as being therefore destructive of a main Fundamental of the very Constitution of the *Israelitish* Government, especially when Propounded as *Hereditary*, which God and all Good Men did then abhor the very Notion of. And therefore he Answers, like a true Servant of God and faithful *Israelite*. *I will not Rule over you: neither shall my Son Rule over you: the Lord shall Rule over you.* — But what *Gideon* nobly refus'd his Bastard Son *Abimelech* basely and barbarously Usurp'd, Murdering all the Legimate Sons of *Gideon*, who were no fewer than Seventy, see *Judg.* 8. 30, 31. and Ch. 9. 1, 4, 5, 6, 22, 23, 24. And though he usurp'd the Government, and took upon him the Title of King; yet, seeing he is reckoned among the Judges, Ch. 10. 1. I shall do so too.

7. *Abimelech*, a *Manassite*, the first that took upon him the Title of King, which he did partly by force, and partly by fraud, *Judg.* 9. 1, 2, 3, 6, 22.

8 *Tola* of the Tribe of *Issachar*, *Judg.* 10. 1.

9 *Fair* a *Gileadite*, *Judg.* 10. 3. But whether a *Reubenite*, *Gadite* or *Manassite* may seem Uncertain, because the Land of *Gilead* was divided between the two first Tribes, and the half of this last Tribe. But it is

next

next to certain that he was a *Manassite*, because that part of *Bashan*, which was most properly called *Gilead*, and might give Denomination to all the rest, in a general way of speaking, is again and expressly said to be given to the half Tribe of *Manasseh*, as we see, *Numb.* 32. 40. and *Deut.* 3. 13, 14, 15. and *Josh.* 17. 1, 5, 6. And I cannot but think, that those of that side of *Jordan* came afterwards constantly to be call'd *Gileadites*, to distinguish them from the other half Tribe, who went over *Jordan*, and only retain'd the Name of *Manassites*. I might make this further evident, were such a Circumstance worth insisting upon.

10. *Septah*, another *Gileadite*, though the Son of a Harlot, yet a bold and brave Man, *Judg.* 11. 1, &c. and chosen by God to be Judge and General, *v.* 29.

11. *Ibzan*, of *Bethlehem*, *Judg.* 12. 8. and therefore seems to have been a *Zebulonite*, for such a Town belonged to them, *Josh.* 19. 15. Whereas the *Bethlehem* of *Judah*, *Matth.* 2. 6. seems to have been of a later Date, in point of Eminency, seeing when it is named, *Ruth* 1. 1. it is mentioned with a Note of Distinction, which is an Evidence of a comparative Obscurity.

Elon, a *Zebulonite*, *Judg.* 12. 11.

13. *Abdon*, a *Pirathonite*, *Judg.* 12. 13. but to what Tribe that Family or City belong'd, I pretend not to know.

14. *Sampson*, a *Danite*, *Judg.* 13. 2, 24, 25.

Now after his Death, *Israel* seems to have been long without any Judge at all, and to have reverted back into such a Republick or Aristocracy, as they had been under before from the Death of *Joseph*, until the Raising up of *Moses*, see *Judg.* 18. 1. *Chap.* 19. 1. *Chap.* 20. 1. and *Chap.* 21. 1, 16. But how long this Interregnum lasted, if I may call it one, I pretend not to know. Only, if I may guess, in the General, by the Memorable Histories mention'd in the last cited Chapters, it must have taken up a good Number of Years, at least 30 or 40.

15. *Eli*, a *Levite*, and the High Priest, came next to Govern *Israel*.

16. And after him, *Samuel*, an *Ephraimite*, who was the last Judge of all.

Now, by all this Deduction, we see, That of these 16 Judges, 2 were of the Tribe of *Levi*, 3 of *Ephraim*, 1 of *Judah*, 4 of *Manasseh*, 1 of *Issachar*, 2 of *Zebulon*, 1 of *Dan*, 1 of *Benjamin*, and 1, of whose Tribe there is no Certainty. However, not one of all these Princes descended from *Reuben*, that *Jacob's* Curse might be ever verified, *Gen. 49. 4. Thou shalt not excell, i. e. Thou shalt never bear Rule over Israel, or never attain to be Prince.* So that he and his Posterity were excluded from ever having the Common Honour, that the other Tribes had, *viz.* to have one or more of their Number chosen to be Prince over all *Israel*. I desire, therefore, to know, where the *Hereditary-Right* was, during all this Period.

The 2d. *Age* of the *Succession* of the Princely Power, in the *Jure-Divino* Line, under Kings, from *Saul* to *Nebuchadnezzar*.

We have now fully shewed, that God had so Modelled and Governed *Israel*, under the Character of King, as that it was no less than High-Treason, both in the People, to set up any Prince over themselves, under the Title of King, and in any Man, that usurp'd that Regal Style and Character. This good *Gideon* puts the People in mind of. And this they experienced soon after, and their usurping King *Abimelech*, especially the *Shechemites*; seeing, according to *Jotham's* Parable, *Judg. 9, 20. Fire came out of Abimelech, and devoured them, and Fire came out of them, and devoured him.* And here, were it not for fear of being tedious, *Jotham's* Parable might well deserve a large Exposition. But I only take notice of this in it, that no good Man then, though never so Great, Excellent, Noble and Brave, and every way fit for Government, durst entertain any Thought or Suggestion to be King of *Israel*,
any

any more than *Gideon*. The *Olive-Tree*, i. e. The Rich and Opulent, durst not think of Invading God's Regal Office. Nor durst the *Fig-Tree* do so, i. e. The Sweet Temper'd and Beneficent Princes of the Tribes. Nor yet the *Vine*, i. e. The Wise, Bold and Resolute Commanders. None of these durst invade the Regal Prerogative, or violate the Constitution. But the base *Bramble*, i. e. such a Bastard and Villain as *Abimelech*, was only proper for such a wicked Undertaking. And here, by the way, we cannot but admire the proper Emblem given by *Jorham*, to represent Tyrants, viz. The *Bramble*, or *Brier*, (or *Thorn*, as others render it, or, as the *Hebrew* Word seems properly to denote the *Thistle*) which is full of sharp Prickles, and productive of nothing valuable but Arms and Instruments of Destruction; for, as Christ says, *Luke 6. 44. Of Thorns, Men do not gather Figs, nor of Brambles, do we gather Grapes*, which seems to be an Expression that alludes to *Jorham's* Parable.

But, how abhorrent the Idea of King was of old, both to the Constitution of the *Israelitish* Government, and to all good Men then, will be evident to a Demonstration, by what we are now to observe in the History of *Saul*. When, therefore, the Elders of *Israel* were so infatuated, as to be weary of their Divine and Mild Constitution, merely because *Samuel's* Sons were guilty of some Extravagance, *Samuel* took their Proposal so ill, that he look'd upon it to be no less than High Treason against God, 1. *Sam. 8. 5, 6*. Nay, God determines, that this was really the Nature of their Crime, v. 7. *They have not rejected thee, says God to Samuel, but they have rejected me, that I should not reign over them.*

Therefore, though at first View, one might be apt to think, that the *Israelites* deserved nothing amiss, in desiring to exchange an *Elective Judge* for an *Hereditary Monarch*; especially seeing they did not go about this tumultuously, but consulted *Samuel* about it: Yet God, who

who knew their Design, and foresaw the Event, declared this Act to be down right Rebellion against himself, and the very Nature of the *Mosaical* Constitution, as he openly declares, *1. Sam. 8. 7.* Nay, *v. 7.* he ranks it in the same Class with their former open Rebellions and Idolatries; for both these were one and the same, during the *Theocracy* of the *Jews*: for *God being King*, Idolatry was Rebellion against him *as God*, and Rebellion was Idolatry, in respect to him, as he was their King. And, therefore, *1. Sam. 15. 21.* *Samuel* calls *Saul's* Disobedience to God, by the name of Rebellion. Now, when God charges them, *1. Sam. 8. 7.* with rejecting him, that he might not Reign over them; he immediately adds, *v. 8.* *That this was a new Rebellion like their former ones, since he brought them out of Egypt, whereby they did forsake him, and serve other Gods: for so, says he, they do now again, unto thee.* For, by rejecting *Samuel* from being Governour, when God had constituted him such, they did really renounce God's Government, and consequently did reject God himself, whose Vicegerent *Samuel* was. So that a King was, in the Eye of God, and in the Sence of the Law, another name for a Rival God, or a Rival-King, set up in Opposition to the true God and King of *Israel*, especially seeing they expressly insisted upon getting a King to judge them, like all the Nations round about them, *1. Sam. 8. 5.* that is, an *Hereditary and Arbitrary King*, not limited by Laws or Parliaments; for, by this time, most other Nations were enslaved, and they remain'd a free People, through the favour God; who, though he was their King, and might have more justly claim'd the Prerogative of ruling them Arbitrarily, than any other King could do; yet chose to tye himself up, as well as them, by Laws, made with their Concurring Suffrage and Choice, and wholly calculated for their Good.

God did indeed foresee, in the days of *Moses*, that the People would be so Mad, as to demand a King; and upon this supposition he makes it part of their Law, that they should not have the Choice of a King for themselves, but leave the Choice to him, *Deut. 17. 14, 15. When thou art come into the land, ——— 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* (i. e. such a one) *over thee, whom the King (for so the Word Jehovah ought to be understood) thy God shall choose, &c.* For God was resolv'd, that if they would have a King, yet they should never have an *Hereditary or Arbitrary One*, but *One Elected by himself*; and to be therefore no other than a Liutenant, Deputy, or Vicegerent, under himself, as the only proper King of *Israel*. But, tho' God made such a supposition in his Law, yet from a tender regard for the *Liberty and Property* of a poor Infatuated People, he labours to deter them from their Proposal, by setting before them the miseries, that Kings would bring upon them, by aspiring after *Arbitrary Authority*, and *Unlimited Power*, and by *Tyrannizing* over them. This God does emphatically and roundly tell them of, by the Mouth of *Samuel*, *1 Sam. 8. 10, 11, &c. This will be the manner of the King, that shall Reign over you.* He will take your *Sons from you, and appoint them for himself, for his Chariots, and to be his Horsemen, and for his Footmen to run before his Chariots, &c. And he will take your Daughters for his Concubines, Cooks and Bakers. And he will take your Fields, Vineyards, and Oliveyards from you, and give them to his Servants, &c. And ye shall be his Servants* (i. e. Slaves, for there were no other Servants of Old) *And ye shall cry out in that day, because of your King, which ye shall have chosen to be over you; and the Lord will not hear you in that day.* Here was fair warning, and a plain description of an *Unlimited King or Tyrant*, such as other Nations goan'd under the Yoke of, and which they were so madly fond of.

And

And from hence therefore, Two things are equally evident and plain. 1. That God was ever an Enemy to an *Unlimited and Absolute Government*, and a Patron of a *Moderate and Limited One*, tyed up by Laws and Regulations, and had always a tender concern for the *Freedom* of his People, in order to secure their *Religion and Civil Rights*. 2. That it is no new thing to see a Degenerate *High Church Party* Concur in an *Association*, to Ruin the *Constitution* of their Country; by Buoying up the Principles of *Arbitrary Power*, and *Irresistable Authority*; to the destruction of all their own Priviledges and the betraying all the Rights and Liberties of their own Posterity for ever. For so, we have here a very Illustrious instance of this Folly, Infatuation, and Wickedness, when we see the *Elders* or Princes of *Israel* so madly in Love with Tyranny and Slavery, that neither *Samuel*, nor God himself, could persuade them to desist from ruining themselves and Posterity for ever. For, not only did they insist upon their proposal at first, 1 *Sam.* 8. 4, 5. but likewise resolutely persist in it, after all that could be said to the contrary, v. 19, 20. *Nevertheless, the People, (i. e. their Heads and Representatives) refused to obey the voice of Samuel, and they said; Nay, but we will have a King over us, that we may also be like all the Nations; and that our King may judge us, and go out before us, and fight our Battles.*——— Now, when I consider these Words attentively, together with the Circumstances of this People, I cannot but conclude these Things following. (1.) That, seeing they always insist upon this Argument for such a Change, viz. that they might be like all the Nations round about them, that they were brought to this sad State; to be weary of their Reform'd Religion, and to have fallen in Love with the Idolatry of the *High-Church of the Old Rabinical Rome*, just in the same manner, as some now are fond, to be reconcil'd with *Modern Rome*. And here, let none ridicule me, that I make use of this Name; as if there were an *Old Testament Rome*, until they

they hear me out. Let me therefore Advertise the Reader, that it is not unfrequent with the Ancient *Jewish Paraphrases*, to pass by the *Talmud* and *Rabins* to speak of *Edom*, *Egypt* and other Enemies of the Old *Jews*, under the Name of *Rome*; I mean the Paraphrase of *Jerusalem*, and that of *Ben Uzziel*: For which I can assign no other Reason but this; that these Paraphrases, being composed after the Destruction of *Jerusalem* by the *Romans*, the *Jews* thought fit to speak of them; as if they had been prefigured by their Old Enemies the *Edomites*, *Egyptians*, and others, who pretended a Power over them, upon the bottom, either of *Hereditary-Right*, or *Irresistible Authority*. I might shew this by many instances. But let one Citation out of the *Jerusalem Targum* suffice now; tho' the Reader must give allowances for the Dark and Mystical way of speaking, that the *Jews* do almost constantly use. It is the gloss on *Exod. 12. 42*. *Moses shall go out of the middle of the Desert, and the King Messiah out of the middle of Rome, &c.* By *Rome* here, say the *Jews*, was meant *Edom Literally*, who pretended to the *Sovereignty* over *Israel* by *Hereditary-Right*, but were to be fully Conquer'd by the *Messiah*, who was to spring out of the Root of *Jesse*, and consequently from *Jacob*. But *Rome*, say they, is mention'd instead of *Edom*, because Typified by that Nation, which was the *First* and *Radical Enemy* of *Israel*; and therefore prefigured all their other Enemies, especially the *Romans*, who were the last and greatest Enemies of the *Jews*, and whom the *Messiah* was to destroy, in the same manner that the *Egyptians* had been destroyed by *Moses*. And, in this sense, some Christian Expolitors, as well as *Jewish Rabbin*s, understand the Words, *Psal. 137. 7*. *Remember O Lord, the Children of Edom [or of Rome] in the day of Jerusalem; who said, rase it, rase it, even to the Foundations thereof.* And indeed it is no unfrequent thing in Scripture, to make use of borrowed Names, in the like Cases, and after this manner;

as I might shew at large, were it proper now. I shall therefore only desire the Reader to remember, that *Rome* is frequently spoken of, under the name of *Babylon*, in the Book of the *Revelations* of *St. John*, as in Chap. 16. 19. Chap. 17. 5. Chap. 18. 10, 22. and in Chap. 11. 8. it is also called *Sodom* and *Egypt*. For it is said there, that *the Dead Bodies of Christ's Martyrs should lie in the Street of the great City, which Spiritually (i. e. figuratively) is called Sodom and Egypt, where also our Lord was Crucified.* Now all Men know, that *Judea* was a Province of *Rome*, when Christ was Crucified; and that *Pilate a Roman*, Sentenc'd him to that Death: And all Learned Men know also, that the *Roman Ideas* of a *Civitas Romana*, a Man that was *Cives Romanus*, *Civitate Donatus*, bore Relation to the whole Empire of *Rome*, and not barely to the *Urbs Roma*: And therefore, tho' Christ was not Crucified literally in the *Urbs Roma*, the *Town* called *Rome*; yet he was really and literally Crucified in the *Civitas Romana*, the *Roman City*, or the *City of Rome*; for the *Metropolis* of the *Roman Empire*, was always called *Urbs*, a *Town*, to distinguish it from the *Civitas* or *Empire*. But to return, (2.) As the *Israelites*, by seeking to have such a King, as other Nations were under, did sufficiently insinuate, that they were weary of their *Reformed Religion*, and wanted to Coalesce with their Neighbouring Nations, in their Idolatry, as far at least as their Brethren the *Edomites* did: So it is evident from the whole of the History, that they wanted to be under *Arbitrary Government* also, and to have an *Absolute Monarch* at their Head; under whom and his *Lineal Successors*, they might be so happy, as to loose both *Religious* and *Civil Rights*, for ever. What could induce them to this mad choice, none can pretend to give any Account of, further than this; that the Heads and Princes of *Israel* were degenerated, into all manner of Wickedness, and highly inclin'd to throw off all manner of Restraints, that they might live Lawless; and therefore, in hopes of

of being Arbitrary themselves, they are fond of an Arbitrary Prince, to head them in their Villanous Design of destroying the Constitution, both in Church and State, and of enslaving the People for ever. And besides this, perhaps each of the Chief Heads of the Tribes entertain'd secret hopes, that he might be the Prince Elect. For that some such hope was harbour'd in their Minds, appears from hence; that, tho' they got a King at last, and one of the most Stately and Majestick mein of any of them all, yet they remained discontented so far; that many of them said, *1 Sam. 10. 27.* *How shall this Man save us? and they despised him, and brought him no presents* And thus we see, that in those days there was an *High Church Party*, and a very formidable one, who had besotted the *Populace*, so as to have an *High-Flying Mob*, to pull down the *Constitution*. The Cry was then, "*No Samuelian Judge; no Deborah, or Woman Ruler; no Mosaical Prophet. Give us a King like other Nations, like Syria, Egypt, and Edom, &c.* Our Fathers Worship'd the *Syrian Gods of Old, Josh. 24. 2.* and afterward the *Calf; Sacred to Osiris*, which *Aaron* attempted to reintroduce the use of again, at our Fathers desire, *Exod. 32. 4. Deut. 9. 16.* And now we are resolv'd to be reconciled and conformable to the *Egyptian and Syrian Religion*, as far at least as our Brethren the *Edomites*, and our Cousins the *Moabites and Ammonites* are; and we are also resolv'd to be under *Absolute Government*, and unlimited Princes, at least as much as they are. ——— *Samuel* Arm'd with Gods Authority, labours to divert them from their purpose, by telling them the fatal Consequence of such a Choice, and how angry God was with them for it, *1 Sam. 8 10, 11.* but all in vain, *v. 19, 20.* "*Nevertheless the People refused to obey the voice of Samuel; and they said, (and no doubt Bellow'd or Bray'd it out loud enough) No, no, we will have a King over us, that we may be also like all the Nations, &c.* Give us an Idolatrous

“ King, like other Nations; give us an Absolute and
 “ Unlimited King; and we will be as good *Passive-O-*
 “ *bedience*, and *Non-Resistance* Asses, as the Subjects
 “ of other Kings are; and *Issachar's Character* shall be
 “ hence forth the Character of all of us, who are of
 “ the other Tribes also.

Now what the Prophetical Character was, which *Jacob* gave the Tribe of *Issachar*, we see *Gen. 49. 14, 15.* viz. that it should never acquire any greater Honour, than that of an *Ass* *crushing down between two Burdens*, ——— *bowing his Shoulder* very gravely to bear all manner of Impositions, and so chusing to become a *Slave unto Tribute*, and quietly thus to submit to the lashes and bangs of his Driver. A fit Emblem of a *Passive Tribe*, which might also be a proper Charge or Bearing to a Coat of Arms for them and all their Successors, to this day; were it not, that I call to mind, that they are against bearing Arms at all, seeing they are against all use of them; and therefore can never be under any Imputation of this kind, unless the *Lion* should say, that the *Asses Ears* are *Horns*.

That it may not be thought, that I am too Satyrical here, let it be remember'd, that God himself seems to lay a Foundation for this very Representation, by that odd Dispensation; whereby he order'd, that just as the *Israelites* were such *Asses*, as to Cry and Bawl out for an *Absolute King*, *Saul* should be sent out to seek after *his Asses*; and that, though he mis'd *his Four-leg'd Asses*, yet he had a Numerous *Herd* of *Two-leg'd Asses*, given into his Hands, in their Stead. Certainly Divine Providence, that has wise ends in every thing, and that often Plays, as it were, in Human Concerns; meant here, in the Concurrence and happy joining of these two Occurrences, to represent *Israel*, as mere *Asses*, in being so fond of *Idoltry*, *Tyranny* and *Slavery*; and therefore thought it very proper to send them an *Ass Herd* or *Ass-Overseer* to manage them. Now is it any Reflection unbecoming *Saul* to be called an *Ass-Herd*.

Herd; for we find, that he continued so, even after he was solemnly Chosen King. For when *Nabash* King of *Ammon* invaded *Israel*, 1 *Sam.* 11. 1. and *Messengers* were sent to King *Saul* to tell him of it, it is said, v. 5. *And behold Saul came after the Herd, out of the Field.* And that *Asses* were part of the Herd of *Saul*, the History assures us; and every one, that knows the History of those times, knows that, as Herds of all manner of Cattle were a great part of the Estates of Princes, so Princes thought it no shame to be reckoned Shepherds; and it is equally known, that *Asses* were one considerable Part of the *Herds* of Princes of old, and particularly in *Canaan*. For *He-Asses* were the Creatures they Rode upon (that stony Country rendering *Horses* almost unserviceable for that end,) and *She-Asses* in great Esteem, for their Milk. And I am bold to say, that he never was so properly King of *Asses*, as after his being Anointed King of *Israel*: for sure he never had so many and such great *Asses* to govern before that time.

But, though the *Representatives* of *Israel* were so Treacherous to *God*, to their Religion, to the *Constitution*, to the *People* whom they both Represented and Cheated, and indeed to *themselves* also, as well as to their poor *Posterity*; and though *God*, in Anger, granted their Suit, in some sense: Yet he would not Grant them, either the whole or the main of it. A King indeed he let them have, and such a King, of whom it should afterwards be said, *Hos.* 13, 9, 10, 11. *O Israel, thou hast destroyed thy self, whereas in me was thy help. My Word was your Security. But where now is your King, that he may save you in your Cities; and where are your Princes; of whom ye were once fond, when ye said, give us a King and Rulers; I gave you a King in my Anger, and I took him away in my Wrath.* I have rendred these words more after the *Jewish* Paraphrase than our Version: but the sense is materially the same in both.

Hence it is apparent, that God did not so Grant them their Demand, as either to quit his own *Prerogative* as supreme King of *Israel*, or suffer the *Constitution* of the Government and *Liberty* of the People to be lost, by an *Arbitrary* and *Successive Monarchy*, tyed up *indefeasibly* to one *Family*. No, no, He allows them no more than a mere *Deputy-King*, tyed up by *Laws*, chosen at first not by them but himself, and punishable and deposable by himself also, and even by the People too (as we shall afterwards see) in Case either of *Disloyalty* to himself, or of *Treason* against the *Israelitish Legal Constitution*.

For these Ends, (1.) He takes State upon him, so as to strike their Senses with awe, and to rebuke their *Presumption*; and then He orders *Samuel* to tell them, as (if it were his own Act and Deed only, and the rather because they had so much slighted him) that they should, in some sort, have a King, 1 *Sam.* 8. 22. *Hearken unto them*. But then, to put honour on *Samuel*, and Contempt on them, he adds, *Make them a King*; as if it had been too great for himself to do it immediately, and unworthy of him to lay any Foundation of their Kings, ever pretending afterwards to a *Divine Right*, in their being made Kings. No, no, even a *Human-Right* was rather too much to be allowed in the present Case, and therefore he shall not so much as be the Peoples Choice as yet. And hence it is immediately order'd, by the Mouth of their old and despised Judge. *And Samuel said unto all the Men of Israel, Go ye every Man unto his City*; i. e. Get ye gone, for if I give you a King, it shall not be now, nor in that manner ye expect. (2.) When therefore God pitch'd upon *Saul* to be King, he so ordered matters, that *Samuel* alone should make choice of him, without consulting all or any of the *Princes of Israel* about it. (3.) And when afterwards God was to make him publick, he renewed his Declaration, that he look'd upon their *Desire* to have a King, to be an Act of

of *Rebellion* against himself, 1 *Sam.* 10: 17, 18, 19. Nay, (4.) when he made choice of *Saul*, by Lot, he so mannag'd the Lots as to put equal Contempt on them and their King, by making the Lot to fall on one of the most unlikely Persons of all *Israel*. For he so orders things, that the *youngest* of all the *Tribes* has the Preference, and the *Youngest Family* also of that *Tribe*, if we may believe *Saul* himself, 1 *Sam.* 9. 21. And of *all that Family Saul*, the Son of *Kish*, a Young and unexperienc'd Man, is pitch'd upon, as the *King of Israel*. (5.) But, though he thus got the Title of King, yet he continued a Shepherd still, as we see *Ch.* 11. 5. (6.) Nor was the Notion of his being King at first any greater than that of *Captain of Israel*, as we see *Ch.* 9. 26. and *Ch.* 10. 1. by which it is evident, that his Power was limited to *Military Affairs*, and that only in point of *Execution*. For, as God ever reserv'd to himself to be *Arbiter of Peace and War*, so it is evident from the Sacred History, that *Saul* remain'd Inferior and Subject even to *Samuel*, so long as he liv'd; *Samuel* remaining still in the full Exercise of his Authority, as *Civil Judge of Israel*, without whom *Saul* durst do nothing of publick Consequence; for which see *Ch.* 13. *Ch.* 14. *Ch.* 15. and *Ch.* 16. (7.) God did not suffer *Saul*, though chosen, to be solemnly Inaugurated King, until first he had honoured him with doing some Memorable Service, which should merit the Favour of the People, as we see *Ch.* 11. 14, 15. And (8.) when he was to be Inaugurated, a solemn Contract is previously enter'd into, *first* between *Saul* and the *People*, and next between *Him* and *them* on the one hand, and himself as Supreme K. above both on the other; as we see *Ch.* 12. throughour. And all this is performed in so awful and astonishing a manner by God, and back'd by so Pathetical an Exhortation by *Samuel*, as struck terror in them: all. (9.) And yet after all, *Saul's* Right to the Throne was so far from being *indefeasible*, though he was *divinely chosen*, that he did even *forfeit* all Right to
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the Crown, in his own days, and saw *David*, in his own time, intitl'd to the Throne. (10.) And this was so much the more remarkable, that he *forfeited* this for his Posterity as well as himself, though he had many Children, and one of them, and the Eldest too, such a *Hero*, as perhaps *Israel* had not his Parallel; I mean the Gallant and Brave *Jonathan*, whose Personal Character, in my eye, exceeds that of *David* himself, in every Respect.

Now, if any Man, that considers all these things, and particularly, why God chose none to be King at first, but *Saul*, a *Young Cadet* of the *Youngest Family*, of the *Youngest Tribe* of *Israel*, and afterwards cast off not only himself, but all his Posterity, even the *Brave Jonathan* not excepted? I am sure no other satisfactory Reason can be given for all this Procedure, but this only; that God had a mind to Affix the Seal of a *Divine Right*, to the Foundation of all Just *Revolution Principles*; and to Affix a perpetual Brand of Infamy on *Indefeasible Birth-Right*. For, both these he did effectually do, by thus laying at the Bottom of the *Jewish Monarchy*, that which should shew the Folly of all Pretenders and Pretences, either to an *Adamitical*, *Noachical*, *Abramitical*, or any other *Succession* whatsoever, that should lay claim to a *Natural*, or *Hereditary-Right*. And this *Jonathan* knew was the Case, and confesses it; nay, and *Saul* himself, 1 *Sam.* 23. 17. ——— *Thou shalt be King over Israel, and I shall be next unto thee, and this also Saul my Father knoweth.*

And here, before I leave the History of *Saul*, I cannot but take notice of the Sentence of *Abdication* which *Samuel* pass'd upon him, and by which he was *Deposed*, in point of *Right*, from being King, 1. *Sam.* 15. 23. *Rebellion*, says he, *is as the Sin of Witchcraft, and Stubbness is as the Iniquity of Idolatry*, (so I chuse to render the Words:) *Because therefore thou hast rejected the Word of the Lord, He also has rejected thee from being*

being King. From whence these Corollaries do naturally and necessarily follow. 1. That even a *Jure-Divino King* may come to *forfeit* his Right and Title to the Crown and Throne. 2. That he *forfeits* his Right *then*, when he subverts the Fundamental Constitutions and Laws of his Country, in Religious or Civil Concerns, especially if in both. 3. That this Sin in a Prince is *Rebellion*, and as great an Iniquity in him, as either *Witchcraft*, or *Idoltry*, whether in King or Subject. So that it is no Solecism to affirm, that a *King* may be a *Rebel*, and that he really becomes such, and consequently, ceases to be King, by apostatizing into a Tyrant. 4. That where this Rebellion in a Prince, against God and the Constitution, is notoriously known, and evidently proved, he may not only be Arraigned and Convicted for it, but may have his Title openly declared null and void; provided this be done, in a way consonant to Equity in general, and the Essential Laws of that Community in particular, over which he was before Ruler in ordinary, as to the Executive Power. 5. That this Declaration being pass'd, the People, whether Collective or Representative, may proceed lawfully to the choice of another King, even during the Life of the former; as we see *David* was anointed King, whilst *Saul* liv'd. These are Positions, that are all of them founded on the Divine Procedure, in the Case of those *two successively Revolution Princes* of old; and they have been followed since, and made good, by the *Representatives of Great-Britain and Ireland*, met together again and again, in frequent Parliaments, *f* the late *Happy Revolution*: So that I hope, none quarrel with me, for mentioning them here.

But now, it is high time to proceed to *David*, *Sa* Successor: whose just Title to the *Crown of Israel*, and that upon the Foot of a *Divine Right*, no man can call in question, unless he renounce the Truth of the Bible, and arraign God himself, as acting unjustly.

But whence had *David* this eminent and indisputable *Right and Title* to the *Throne of Israel*.

Not certainly by any sort of *Hereditary* or *Successive Claim*, either from *Jacob* or *Saul*; seeing he was not descended from *Reuben*, and seeing he was anointed King during *Saul's* Life, and succeeded him when he had Heirs-Male alive. Nor was he next Successor either to *Judab* or *Jesse*; for he was one of the Youngest and most Ignoble Persons of that Tribe, and the very Youngest Son of that Family. Nor had he, as yet, performed any Service to his Country, that could lay the least Foundation of meriting to be thus exalted.

His Right, therefore, to the *Throne of Israel*, stood in these two Things, *viz.* God's Choice of him, and the Peoples.

1. *God chose him*, and that in a very remarkable manner. The Account is thus, *1 Sam. 16. 1, &c. And the Lord said unto Samuel, how long wilt thou mourn for Saul, when I have rejected him from Reigning over Israel? Fill thine Horn with Oil, and go, and I will send thee to Jesse, the Bethlehemite: for I have provided me a King among his Sons.* The Prophet obeys, tho' with some Difficulty at first. Well! *Samuel* views all *Jesse's* Sons, *v. 6, 7, &c. Eliab*, the First-born, a Man of a Noble and Majestick Mien, an other *Saul* for Stature, passes before him, and *Samuel* is charm'd with him: But he is rejected. Nor do *Aminidab* or *Shammah*, the two next, find any more Acceptance. *Jesse* and *Samuel* are both confounded. Well! Seven more of his Sons are called for: but none of all these is the Person that God had in View. It seems *Jesse* never dreamt, that his Youngest Son *David* should come so much as in Competition with any of his *Ten Elder Brethren*; therefore was he kept abroad with the Sheep, as unworthy to make his appearance with the Rest. And yet he is the Person pitch'd upon, and therefore is sent for, and Anointed King. And as a Divine-Ratification of this, it is observed, *v. 13. That the Spirit of the Lord, i. e. a Spirit*

Spirit of Government, came upon him from that day forward; and that at the same time, *v. 14.* The Spirit of the Lord departed from Saul, and instead thereof, an Evil Spirit, i. e. of Wickedness and Folly, from the Lord troubled him, which therefore was a Divine-Declaration of his having Forfeited his Right to the Kingdom.

2. But was God's Choice of David and his being Anointed, the only thing, that constituted David King? *Answ.* No, It was only the Declaration of his being such. For, even this Divine-Choice did not properly Constitute him King, in a full or legal Sense, until it was Ratified and Confirm'd by the Peoples Choice. And therefore let us make this serious Observation here, *viz.* " That, though God's Choice of David, in order to be " King, declar'd by Samuel's Anointing him as such, " and Ratified by the Regal Spirits being given him, " did indeed Mark him out as the Person that was to " be King after Saul, and did thus even then Characta- " rize him, as Virtually and Potentially King of Israel: " Yet, notwithstanding all these things, David was not " as yet King, *Pleno Jure*, i. e. fully, properly or a- " ctually, until he was Chosen and Inaugurated by the " People, i. e. by their Elders, Heads or Representa- " tives.

How this was brought about, the Sacred History does sufficiently inform us. It was done Gradually. For, upon Saul's Death, David came to Hebron, *2 Sam. 2. 4.* where he was Elected by the Heads of the Tribe of Judah to be their King, and by them Anointed as such: So that, though God by Samuel had Anointed David before, yet the Peoples Anointing was reckoned necessary towards his being actually that, which before he had only been mark'd out for.

Now during some part of the time that David reign'd over Judah alone, which was Seven Years and an half, *2 Sam. 5. 5.* Ish-bosheth the Son of Saul reign'd over the other Tribes of Israel, *2 Sam. 2. 8, 9, 10.* during whose

Life *David* never pretended to be King of *Israel*, tho' he had been *Anointed*, as well as *Chosen* by God to be King over *them*, as well as *Judah*, And the Reason is plainly this, and there can be no other, (though Men should Rack their Brains for it to Eternity,) *viz.* Because the *other Tribes* had not, as yet, *Chosen* him to be their King, as *Judah* had done, far less *Anointed* him as such.

And here, if we look, for a Minute or Two into the Kingdom of the *other Tribes*, we shall find three things Memorable ; 1. That though *Judah* chose *David* King, yet the *other Tribes* Chose none for the Space of Five Years and an Half, as appears by comparing the Two Years of the Reign of *Ishboseth* with the Seven Years and Half of *David's* Reign in *Hebron*, 2 *Sam.* 2. 10, 11. And then ; 2. That when *Israel* agreed to have a King, *Ishboseth* did not succeed to his Father *Saul* by *Hereditary Right*, but was Chosen to it, through the influence and Popularity of *Abner*, 2 *Sam.* 2. 8, 9. For, *Jonathans* his Eldest Brother had a Son then alive, who ought to have been preferred, by the Law of *Birthright*, if any such Notion had then obtain'd. And therefore I observe ; 3. That the Rule they followed then, was the *Greater Aptitude* of a Person for Government. Now *Mephiboseth* the Son of *Jonathans* was not only Lame, but Young at that time, so that, if they had any of *Saul's* Family to be King, *Ishboseth*, who was then 40 Years of Age, seem'd to be *ceteris paribus* the fittest for Government, and accordingly was made King by the People.

But to return to *David*, let us observe ; (1.) That he never pretended any Right or Title to the Kingdom of *Israel*, by virtue of his being *Chosen* and *Anointed* to be such by God himself, because he wanted the Peoples *Consent*, and publick *Concurrence*. And yet sure Gods *Choice* of him, and causing him to be *Anointed* King of all *Israel* by *Samuel*, was, at least equivalent to a *bare Birthright* : For if ever any thing in this World had
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the Stamp of a *Jus Divinum* upon it, this immediate Command and Providence of God must be own'd to have had it. And yet neither *David*, nor *Judah* nor *Israel*, nor even God himself, did ever stain *Ishbosheth's* Name, with the reproachful Title of an Usurper. Nay, upon the contrary, God does, in his Word, record *David's* Punishing the Murderers of *Ishbosheth* with Death, with a peculiar Air of Approbation; and particularly that Expression of his, 2 *Sam.* 4. 10, 11. wherein he Exaggerates the Murder of *Ishbosheth*, as a much greater Villany, than the supposed Crime of the *Amalckite*, mentioned, *Chap.* 1. 4, 13. in Murdering *Saul*. How much *in re*, says *David*, do they deserve Punishment, who are such wicked Men, as to have Slain a Righteous Person in his own House, &c. And yet I do humbly suppose, that had *Ishbosheth* been really an Usurper in the opinion of *David*, (as he certainly would have been, in our Modern High Church Sence, seeing he was set up in Opposition to an immediate *Jure-Divino* Prince,) he would not have called him a Righteous Person, and that in a Sence wherein he is compar'd with *Saul*, who was certainly a *Jure-Divino* King. I leave this Dilemma therefore to our New Hereditary-Right Men, as a Bone to Pick; whether *Ishbosheth* was not a true King, by the Choice of *Israel*; notwithstanding *David's* *Jure-Divino* Title? Or whether *David* was not both Fool and Knave, to make no Claim to the Kingdom of *Israel*, for Seven Years and an Half; nay, and to approve his Antagonists Title so far, as not only, not to declare him an Usurper, but so also, as to declare his Murder to have been, in Effect, a Greater Regicide; than that of *Saul*? (2.) I observe further, that we find no Disposition in *Israel* to have chosen *David* King for ever; had not *Abner*, who had a vast Influence over the People, been so provoked, by an Affront offered him by *Ishbosheth* as to take Pains to bring the People into the Project of making *David* King, and on this bottom to proceed so far, as to go to *Hebron* to

concert measures with *David* accordingly ; as we see 2 *Sam.* 3. 6, 7, 12, &c. So that had *Abner* had Ambition enough to have set up himself for King of *Israel*, he seems to have had Popularity and Interest enough to have done it. But it is evident from the History, particularly, 2 *Sam.* 2. 8, and 3. 6, 9. that as his Gratitude to *Sauls* Memory for making him *Captain General*, and his headstrong Loyalty, on that account, made him stick by the *Abdicated Family* ; so, his knowledge of *Davids* being Gods Chosen King, working on his Conscience, and being renewed afresh by his Passions being wrought upon by the affront of *Ishbosheth* ; did occasion him to alter his Notion of Loyalty, from the *then Royal Family*, to an *Elective and Revolution One* ; and thus to change his *Successive Principles* into true *Constitution and Liberty ones*.

Let us therefore now consider, how *David* came to be Constituted the proper King of *Israel* : For it is evident, that he was not such, during the Life of *Ishbosheth* ; notwithstanding his having been immediately chosen by God himself, and Anointed King likewise by *Samuel* the Great and Eminent Judge of *Israel*, by Gods express Order. ——— Now, the Account of this Memorable Transaction lies chiefly in these Three Points : 1. *The Elders of Israel* (who by reason of their *Representative Power and Commission*, are otherwise spoken of by the Name of *all the Tribes of Israel*, 2 *Sam.* 5. 3. compar'd with *v.* 1.) joyn'd together, no doubt after frequent Consultations and Disputes ; and came to *David*, in order to make him King of *Israel*. Now I would fain know, if this does not materially Include what we call a *Parliament*, which in the *Original French*, signifies nothing more, but a *Mutual Consultation or Conference* of the *Heads* of the People, about *Publick Matters*. But 2. How came these Elders of *Israel* to *Hebron*, to *David*? Not without Instructions and Limitations, to be sure ; as the sequel of the History tells us. For they do not come to him, Hand o-

ver Head, as we use to say, *i. e.* rashly or suddainly, out of a mighty pretence of Love, Veneration, Loyalty, and a Religious deference to Gods pitching on him to be their King; and to the Memory of Great *Samuel*, who had Anointed him as such, at Gods Command. No, no; whatever Deference they pay'd to *David*, in any or all these respects; they had another part to Act: They had pay'd dear, for their Fathers, and their own Folly and Wickedness, in demanding an Arbitrary King. And they were Constituted Trustees now for themselves, the whole People, and late Posterity; and therefore had all reason to be at Heart concerned for the Constitution, and the Publick Good, so as not to be guilty of a fatal Error, in laying a new Foundation of general Inconveniency, and Ruin for the future.— And therefore they found it necessary to enter into a *Formal and Express Contract, Stipulation and Agreement* with *David*, which he very readily *Accepted* of. And this they *mutually Ratified* one to another, by *Promises and Ingagements*, and, as would seem also, by *reciprocal Oaths*, entred into a *Publick, Solemn and Sacred manner*, as in the presence of God; taking him thus to be Witness of their sincere concern to Act mutually to one another, as became them in their different Stations, Capacities and Relations: And then 3. Upon the bottom of this Contract between *David* and *Them*, and not otherwise, they proceeded to declare him to be their King, by *Anointing* him as such, which was the publick Sign and Form of his *Inauguration*, or *Coronation*. So that, without this, Gods own former Anointing, was not enough to do this. For which, no other Reason can be possibly assign'd than this. That, tho' the *Israelitish Government* was peculiarly a *Theocratical* One: Yet, as he hated an *Arbitrary Rule*, and foresaw the Evil of it, and therefore would do nothing that might give an occasion to the *after Abettors* of *Tyranny* to plead a *Precedent* this way, from any Act of his: So he would lay a direct Foundation here, by
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which Men in all future Ages, might easily Judge, how *Necessary* and even *Essential* the *Peoples Choice* was, as declar'd by their *proper Representatives*, in order to Constitute any Man King over them, in a proper and full sence.—— Now all these things are evidently and plainly, tho' briefly, declar'd in these express Words, 2 *Sam.* 5. 3. & *Chron.* 11. 3. *So all the Elders of Israel came to the King to Hebron, and King David made a League with them in Hebron, before the Lord. And then they Anointed David King over Israel.*

And now, if God did so far suspend his own Right and Authority of Electing and Inaugurating a King upon the Right of the People, to Chuse and Inaugurate him, even during the *Jewish Theocracy*; because, as the *Supreme Good* and the *God of Nature*, it was Alien from him to Act Arbitrarily, or to do any thing that lookt like an Invading the Interest, Liberty and Priviledges of a Society of Reasonable Creatures, whose Interest was so deeply concerned, in a matter of this Nature and Consequence; seeing for God himself to Act thus, had been liker *Satan* than God: I say, seeing God did thus far suspend his own Right, and that by reason of the Peoples Right, even then, when he himself was most properly King of *Israel*; certainly it is an Argument *a fortiori*, from the most forcible Consideration that possibly can be; That the *Best Title*, that any *Prince* ever had, or can have to a *Throne*, is his being *Chosen* by the *People*, in a *free Convention* of *proper Representatives*. For, if God did leave *Dauids Title imperfect*, and did himself Act, as if it was *properly* no Title at all, until the *Nation freely Chose* him. Surely we, who live in the later times, and who can have no immediate Declaration from God, as to the fittest Person to fill a *Throne*, nor any *Samuel* sent to us to Anoint one as such; We, I say, can only be left to the use of our best Reason, in our chusing of Princes, and submitting to them. By this therefore, and this only, can we now judge of the Right of Princes, *viz.* that the

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Primores Populi, the Heads and Representatives of such or such a Nation, have chosen such or such a one, as their Supreme Ruler, and set him Solemnly apart to the Regal Office; whether this Choice be limited to one Person only, or extended to the Family also belonging to that Person; for the Modes of things of this kind must be judg'd of, by the various Settlements, Laws, and Regulations of different Countries, none of which can properly pretend to any more than a *Human Right*.

Hence therefore it is evident, that the determination of *Hushai*, 2 *Sam.* 16. 18. (if we abstract from the occasion of his mentioning it) is as certain a *Maxim* both of *Reason* and *State*, in the present Case, as any thing can possibly be; when he says, *Whom God and this People, and all the Men of Israel Choose, his will I be, and with him will I abide*, i. e. his Title will I only own to be good. *Absalom* had charg'd him with Treachery to his Friend *David*: *Hushai* replys, that he ought not to lay private Friendship in the Ballance, with his Duty to God, his Prince and his Country. And seeing there was then a Competition between two Princes, as to the juster Title, *Hushai* lays down this solid Maxim; *That private Men are to own, as King, whatever Person God marks out as such, when this is fully determined by the Choice of the whole People, or the bulk of them.*— I readily Grant, that this Politick Statesman spoke this, with a cunning reserve, and to cover another design; and therefore he uses such Words, as were capable of a *double Interpretation*, as it is certain they had, in his own Eye, a *double Aspect*. For, tho' the Words at first, seem positively to include this, *That Absalom was now as rightfully King as David was before*; yet really the Words contains only a General, which *Hushai* secretly applys not to *Absalom* but *David*; seeing he thought inwardly, *that neither God by his Providence, nor the People by their Representatives, had as yet chosen Absalom to be King*, seeing he was only set up hastily by a great *Mobb*, and that the War hinder'd any free and legal Convention to meet, to deter-

mine things Legally. ————— But let *Hushai's reserve* and *secret Application* of this, be what Men please, still it is certain, that his *Maxim* abstracted from this, is, in it self, what all Men must be obliged to own, and settle upon at last, as the only certain foundation of Allegiance to Princes. Whereas, if we once quit this, I defie the whole World to find any one solid Foundation, that People can fix upon, that can satisfie Mens Reason, or quiet their Conscience, or regulate their Practice. For every Maxim of Submission except this alone, will be found to be only a Subject of endless Disputes; and the occasion of perplexing Mens Minds and Consciences; as sad experience may, long ago, again and again, have taught us to conclude. I might illustrate this by innumerable Histories; but I must now forbear. Let me then only desire the Reader to consider, that both *Nebuchadnezzar* and the *Roman Emperors* afterwards, were no better than Usurpers over *Judea*; as being neither Kings of that Country by Descent, nor by the free Choice of the People; and yet God commanded his People, in both these Cases, to own them as their Lawful Rulers, and submit to them as such, and threatn'd to punish them if they did not so. And our Saviour, both payed Tribute himself, and exhorted others to do so, and to render thus to *Cesar* what was his due. Now how much more had he done so, had *Cesar* been chosen, by the joint-Concurrence of the whole Nation, in a *Free Convention* or *Parliament*; which yet was the Case of our *late King and Queen*, and of *her present Majesty*; and which will be found still to be her best Title, and a better one than that of a *Certain Gentleman* without such a Choice; even upon the supposition of this, that his *Legitimacy*, in point of Birth, were altogether uncontroverted. For the voice of the People, in this Case, when declared by a Free-Parliament, is indeed the Voice of God. And therefore whoever is *thus* Sovereign *de Facto*, is also to be owned, upon that very account, to be Sovereign *de Jure*; nay and has a better Title to the Throne,

Throne, than if he could prove himself to be Lineally Descended from *Cain* or *Japhet*, by *Hereditary-Right*, in case he wanted such an Election of the People. So that this distinction, in this case, is just as Ridiculous, as if I should say, that *King William* was King, *ipso Facto*, but was not King, *reali Facto*. For indeed *de Jure* and *de Facto* can only then be said to convey different Ideas to us; when the *First* is applied to a King, who is a Nations Choice, as were *David* and *King William*; and the *Second* is applied to *One*, that by Military Force Dissolves a Parliament; and does without any Choice, at all, or at least without a Free one, make himself King, as was the case of *Julius Cesar*, and most of his Successors, and in some sence, of all of them; for if they had any Choice of the Senate and People, it was only a subsequent one to their setting up themselves, or the fear of their doing so, and consequently only a forced or brib'd consent.

One thing indeed *David* had, which was never promised to *Saul*, viz. That the Crown was intail'd on his Family, and thus far made *Successive*. But then, it is evident, that this was not a Strict and Lineal Succession, tyed up by the Law of *Birth-Right*. No, no, the *Greater Worth* was lookt to, and made the Foundation of the Election of the next Successor, without the least regard to *Hereditary Right*; which, if any then had pretended to, would have only been rewarded with the Character and Treatment of a Mad Man.

This is evident from plain matter of Fact. For *David* had a great many Sons; seeing six were Born to him while he Reign'd in *Hebron*, 2 Sam. 3. 2, &c. viz. *Ammon*, *Chileab*, *Abfolom*, *Adonijah*, *Shepatiah*, *Ibream*; and Eleven, when he Reign'd in *Jerusalem*, Chap. 5. 14, &c. viz. *Shammua*, *Shobab*, *Nathan* and *Solomon*, (who seem to be Sons of his Wives) and *Ibhar*, *Elishua*, *Nepheg*, *Japhiah*, *Elishama*, *Eliada* and *Eliphalet*, (who by being distinguish'd by an *also* from the preceding ones, seem to have been the Sons of the Concubines

mention'd v. 13.) As therefore it is certain, that *Solomon* was the 10th Son of *David* only; so it seems to be evident from the History of *David's* Life, that he was the Youngest of all the Sons that ever *David* had; and that the Reason why he is mention'd before the 7 Sons last named, was only because they were Illegitimate ones. So that, as *Solomon* was the 10th and Youngest Legitimate Son of *David*; he seems to have been, in point of Birth, the 19th Son; and so the Person that had the least Claim of any of them all to the Crown, upon the bottom of *Birth Right* or *Hereditary-Right*. And besides, his Title might have been disputed, even upon the score of Illegitimacy; considering the Rape of his Mother. For, tho' her true Husband *Urijah* was Dead before *Solomon* was Begotten, yet God had so publickly and severely Condemned *David's* Marrying her, as might well have laid a foundation, in the minds of the Elder Sons of *David*, to call in question *Solomon's* Legitimacy. By all which it is abundantly plain, that *Solomon's* best Title to the Throne of *Israel*, was Gods Providence, and *David's* and the People's Choice of him to be King. And certain it is, beyond the power of Contradiction, that neither he, nor any else, did ever Dream then of *Hereditary-Right*, in the Modern senseless notion of it. Nor dare any Man say, upon the least pretence to Plausibility, that all the successive Kings of the *Davidical Line*, or indeed any one of them, was ever made King, merely upon the bottom of *strict Hereditary-Right*, or because of *meer Seniority*. Nay, much may be said to render the very contrary of this highly probable, if not certain, *viz.* That the Eldest Son rarely if ever Succeeded his Father, with the Peoples consent, excepting upon the real or supposed Character of greater Merit. But I must not expatiate. However a few hints I shall venture to add here.

Solomon had no fewer than *Seven Hundred Wives*; who were *Princesses*; and *Three Hundred Concubines*, besides his First and most Honourable Wife, *Pharaoh's*

Daughter, with whom he was solemnly Wedded, *1 Kings* **11.** 1, 3. And yet we Read not of any Son or Daughter that he had by any of them, except *Rehoboam* only. Now, as it is evident that *Solomon* was as great a *Womans Man*, as perhaps ever was in the World: As it is said of him, *1 Kings* **11.** 1. So it is incredible to think, but that he must have had a multitude of Children, when he kept so vast a *Seraglio* of at least a *Thousand Women*. And surely all his Children did not Die, before they arrived at the Estate of of Men and Women. To avoid therefore such absur'd suppositions, no reason can be assign'd for the silence of Scripture, as to *Solomons* Children, but these only; *viz.*

1. That they were so many, that it had been tedious to have number'd them up: And
2. That the most of *Solomons* Sons were abominable Idolaters, and otherwise Wicked like their Mothers. For, if *Pharaohs Daughter* and his other Wives (who were almost all of them *Moabitish, Amonitish, Edomitish, Zidonian, Hittite* or other such *Heathenish Ladies*) had that influence upon *Solomon* himself, as to turn him to be almost a down-right Heathen, in point of Idolatry, as we see, *1 Kings* **11.** 1, 2, 5, 7, 8. to that degree, as to get him to erect a *Pantheon*, wherein all their senseless Deities were erected; as it is expressly told us, *v.* 7, 8. *Then did Solomon build an High Place, for Chemoth the Abomination of Moab, in the Hill that is before Jerusalem, and for Molech the abomination of Ammon; and thus did he likewise for all his strange Wives, which burnt Incense, and Sacrificed unto their Gods, i. e.* all their Gods were erected together, with their Altars; and were Worship'd also, and had their Priests, in that one great *Pantheon* or *High Place*. Now, I say, if his Wives influenc'd himself so far, and if they had the Publick Authority to Countenance their several Idolatries; no doubt they had allowance and power likewise, to Educate their Children in their own way. And it would seem, by the Words *1 Kings* **11.** 1, 2, 3. that

among *all his Wives* he had not *one Israelitish Woman*; tho' perhaps many of his Concubines were such: for it is not improbable, but that *Solomon*, partly from Pride, and partly from Policy, might reckon it beneath him, to elevate any born Subject so high, as to make her his proper Consort; and certain it is, that all his Wives were Born *Princesses*, v. 3. So that, it is highly probable, that *Rehoboam* tho' the Son of an *Ammonitefs*, Chap. 14. 3. was the only Son, that was Educated in the *Israelitish* way, either because his Mother was a Profelyte to the *Israelitish* Religion, or was so Politick as to advise him to make profession thereof. For, if this had not been the Case, I cannot imagine, why the *Israelites* should all agree to make *Rehoboam* King, who was *half Fool* and *half Tyrant*. And yet, that they did so is evident, *1 Kings* 12. 1. *And Rehoboam went to Shechem: for all Isiael were come to Shechem to make him King*. So that the plain Case was, that they had no Choice left of *Dauids Line*; and therefore they must have him or none; no other Son being left that could be called an *Israelite*, or that profets'd the true Religion.

But then, let us observe, (1.) That the *Heads* of *Israel* did not come to *Jerusalem* to *Rehoboam*, but met at *Schechem* without him, and laid down first a *Scheme* of rational Procedure in the Choice of a King, and then, out of Deference to *David's* Family, they sent to *Rehoboam*, who was glad to go to them. (2.) When *Rehoboam* comes, the *Parliament* of *Schechem*, having made choice of *Jeroboam* (whom they had sent for on purpose) to be their *President*, *1. K.* 12. 3. Present *Rehoboam* with a *Claim of Right*, and a *Bill of Grievances*, wherein they lay before him, in plain Words, upon *what Terms* only they would chuse and own him to be their King; which were this, for Sum and Subsistence, *That they might be ever freed from the Impositions laid on them arbitrarily by Solomon, and entirely restor'd to their Original Constitution, Laws and Priviledges*, v. 4. This, it seems, was surprizing to the Young

Prince; and therefore, (3.) He takes Three Days time to consider the *Proposal*, which they agree to, v. 5. And during this time, he calls two several Councils together. The *First* consisted of the Old Counsellors of his Father, who gave him Politick, rather than Honest Advice, v. 7. for they plainly aim'd at the continuance of the Old Arbitrary Power, that *Solomon* had introduc'd. *If say they, thou wilt be a Servant to this People to day, and if thou wilt but give them good Words, then, upon breaking up of this Parliament, they will be thy Servants for ever; and thou may afterwards continue in the Exercise of Arbitrary Authority, in spite of them.* By which we may see, what rare Patriots of their Country those Old Tools of Arbitrary Power, during the former Reign, were. But the *Second Council* of the Young Blades, that had been his School-Fellows and Companions, v. 8, 9, 10, 11. was brisk and sanguine, and deliver'd *Cavalierement*, viz. *That it was below a Prince, to come upon Terms with his People, or so much as to give them soft Words. No, no, say they, the People are to be Threatn'd and Cudgeld into Obedience.* And indeed, this is the only most proper Text, that I know of, for our *Modern Hereditary and Passive-Men* to Preach upon, in order to Declaim nobly, upon the admirable Doctrines of *Indefeasible Succession, Irresistible Authority, and Non-Resistance.* What a brave Hero was *Rehoboam*, and what a Wise set of Counsellors had he; when he durst tell *Jeroboam* and the *Parliament of Israel*, as became a *King of the High Church* stamp, v. 10, &c. *My little Finger shall be thicker than my Fathers Loins. And now therefore, whereas my Father did lade you with an heavy Yoke, I will teach you Passive Obedience better still; for I will add to your Yoke. And whereas my Father only Chastised you with Rods, I will Chastise you with Scorpions.* Bravely said! The *Oxford Decrees* could not have dictated a finer Speech, or ever have wish'd for a more finish'd Prince. (4.) But alas! *Jeroboam* and the *Princes and People*, were *Wicked Low Church Men*, nay and arrant

Republicans, I warrant you. They drunk in *Revolution Principles* so very deep, that I am afraid, that they would have treated even *Dr. Sacheverel* himself, with more severity, than the late *British Parliament* of 1709 did. For so, all is in an uproar on a suddain. They Disclaim the whole Family of *David*, for *Rehoboams* sake, and threaten it with Ruin, v. 16. They Stone poor *Adoniram* the Tax-Master to Death; nor had the Sacred Person of *King Rehoboam* been any better Treated, had he not scamper'd for his Life, to escape the designed blow. (5.) But however, tho' they did not kill the Man, they did Abdicat the King; and a *Revolution* follows. But how do they this? In a *Parliamentary* way, in a Solemn *Convention*; as we see 1 *Kings* 12. 20. For, after they had departed to their own Home's, v. 16. we find them met together again the second time, in a Solemn *Congregation*, or *Convention*, v. 20. Wherein, they again send for *Feroboam*, and make choise of him to be their King, upon the *Terms* formerly propos'd to *Rehoboam*; and, upon the bottom of this *mutual Contract*, they proceed to make him actually King, and Inaugurate him Publickly as such. (6.) But were they not guilty of the Sin of Rebellion, in this Case? Nay, is it not said, 1 *Kings* 12. 19. So *Israel Rebelled against the House of David unto this day*? Answer, Should I be led away with the Opinions of Divines, by Reason of their Fame and Number, I should need to say no more, but to assent to the Affirmative of this, without any farther inquiry. And then I need only found my Faith implicitly on the doughty reasoning of Honest Mr. Pool, in his *Annotations* on that very Verse. " *Their Revolt is called Rebellion,*
" *and therefore was Sinful,* says he, because it was
" contrary to Gods Authority and Command of sub-
" jection, to *David* and *his Seed for ever*; from
" which the People were not freed by Gods Promise
" and Grant made to *Feroboam*, which was but a secret
" Transaction, not yet sufficiently reveal'd to them,
" and

“ and was not a grant of present and actual Possession,
 “ but only a Promise, that God would give it to him
 “ in his own time and way ; which might have been
 “ done, though neither *Joroboam*, nor *they* had used
 “ these indirect and evil Courses to bring it about ; as
 “ it befel *David* upon the same Occasion. Besides, the
 “ People did not do this in compliance with God’s
 “ Counsel, but to gratifie their own Passions, and to
 “ get themselves a little Ease.

Bless me! What stuff is this? And yet seeing this *Farrago* or confused Bundle contains all, that can possibly be said in defence of that Opinion, which that otherwise Learned Critick unluckily falls in with ; I cannot forbear to shew the weakness of every thing, he advances on this Head ; that Honest Men, for the future may not be gull’d by such sort of Harangues, which of late we have been almost Deafned with : I call such Discourses Harangues, for indeed the Cause will not bear the Name of *Reasoning*, in any proper Sense of the Word. Whereas therefore, 1. He says, *their Revolt is called Rebellion, and therefore was sinful* ; I am almost ashamed to repeat the Words. Where is their *Revolt* so much as called *Rebellion* ? In our *English* Version ? Yes forsooth. But then I have shewed above, that even that word is not always taken in an ill Sense, either in our Language, or in the Latin : And if this be the Sense of our Translators here, yet no good Version besides does understand it so. Nor does the *Hebrew* word denote any such thing, but barely a *Breaking off* from *David’s House*, or a *falling off from it* ; in the very same Sense, wherein it is said, *2 Kings 18. 7.* That, *Hezekiah Rebelled against the King of Assyria, and served him not.* Upon which words our Annotator, does not say, *his Revolt is called Rebellion, and therefore was sinful.* But, on the contrary he says, *He shook off that Yoke of Subjection and Tribute, to which his Father had wickedly submitted, &c.* Well then, the Word *Rebellion*, even in our Version, is not
 ○ always

always taken in an ill Sense. And why must the *Ten Tribes* be blamed for shaking off that Yoke of Subjection, far more terrible than that which *Hezekiah* was under to the King of *Assyria*, with which *Rehoboam* threatned them, nay and made the Condition of his accepting the Kingdom. He denyed them *Protection*. And sure then they owed him no *Allegiance*. Nay, their Act is much more justifiable, than even that of *Hezekiah*. For *Hezekiah* was Tributary to the King of *Assyria*, upon the Foot of a Solemn and Publick Contract between *Abaz* his Father and *Tiglath-Pileser* King of *Assyria*. For *Abaz* being in hazard of being intirely ruin'd by the Confederacy of *Rezin* King of *Syria* and *Pekah* King of *Israel*, sends this Message to that King, *2 Kings* 16. 7. saying, *I am thy Servant and thy Son, come up and save me, &c.* The King of *Assyria* does so, and Conquers his Enemies, *v. 9.* Upon which *Abaz* goes to *Damascus*, to meet with him, and to thank him, and to become his Tributary; he having merited this Superiority by his Delivering him, and thus performing the Condition on which *Abaz* promised to become his Servant. And yet for all that God did approve *Hezekiah* for shaking off the *Assyrian*. And if so; surely the *Ten Tribes* were much more justifiable. For the Case was quite otherwise with the *Israelites*, who had not as yet come under so much as any Relation at all to *Rehoboam*, as Subjects, but were perfectly at Liberty to chuse him, or any body else, to be their King. 2. And whereas Mr. *Pool* pretends, that the Right of the House of *David*, to rule over *Israel* was *Indefeasible*, because of God's Promise to *David* and his Seed for ever; he forgets, that the primary Intent of that Promise related to *Christ* and his everlasting Kingdom. For, so far as it related to Temporal Government, it is evident, that it was wholly *Conditional*, as the Event declared, *viz.* if they did not forfeit their Privilege this way, as it is evident they afterwards did, to that Degree, that from the Days of *Nebu-*

Nebuchadnezzar to this day, there never was one proper King of that Race; nay, so intirely was the whole *Davidical Family* *Abdicated* and cast off this way, that, for the sake of their Wickedness, even *Regal Govern-ment* it self was never erected over the *Jews* any more, either by the Command of God or Consent of the People; though now and then an Usurper presum'd to assume that Name and Dignity, as *Hircanus* and *Herod*.

3. But, says our Author, the People were not freed from their Subjection to the *House of David*, by God's Promise made to *Feroboam*. I grant they actually were not, while *Solomon* liv'd; nor did they pretend it. But upon his Death, they were perfectly free, in case *Rehoboam* refused to rule them as *Israelites*, especially when he declar'd that he would Rule them no other-wise than as an Incarnate Devil. 4. When Mr. *Pool* adds, that *Feroboam's* being chosen King by God, and mark'd out by him as *Solomon's* Successor, was a *Secret Trans-action*, not yet sufficiently revealed to them, and was not a grant of present Possession, but only a Promise that God would give it him afterwards: all this is so Weak, as that one would think, he must have wrote it without due Consideration. For the two first Articles are absolute mistakes, and the Third not at all to the purpose. I say the two first are absolute mistakes. For, though the Transaction of *Abijah* the Prophet (who rent his new Garmet in twelve Pieces, giving him Ten of them and promised in the Name of God, that he should be King over Ten Tribes) was indeed Secret at first, 1 Kings 11. 29. &c. Yet it was soon made so publick, that *Solomon* sought to Kill him, on that account, to prevent his succeeding him, v. 40. upon which *Feroboam* fled to *Egypt*, where he remained until the Death of *Solomon*. Now was it possible, that this should be a Secret; after such publick Occurrences must have spread the News over *Egypt* as well as *Israel*. Nay, it is evident, that it was on this very Score, that the *Israelites* sent for him out of *Egypt*, that in

Case *Rehoboam* were not willing to grant their Requests, they might be at Liberty to chuse him; who had as fair a Pretence to a *Jure-Divino* Title as *Rehoboam* himself, and rather a better, because it was not only Personal, but of a Posterior date, which therefore superjeded the former, even as a later Will does a Prior One. And now, as to the *Third Article* of Mr. *Pool*, that it was not a *Promise*, that he was to have present Possession; how Impertinent is this, in the present Case? when *Solomon* was now dead, and when *Rehoboam* had rejected the Offers of the *Israelites*. This was therefore the time, when the Promise made to *Jeroboam* many Years before, was in course to be fulfilled, and that in *God's own time and way*; by a peculiar appearance of God himself, even at this time, to ripen the Accomplishment of his Promise: for had not God judicially Infatuated *Rehoboam* to give the People so mad an Answer, there had been, as yet, no apparent sign or likelihood, that the Prophecy would ever have been fulfill'd. 5. Mr. *Pool* is pleas'd to charge *Jeroboam* and *Israel* with using *these* indirect and evil Courses to bring this about. By the word *these* one would think that either the *Sacred Historian*, or at least *He* himself had specified (in something he had said before) some indirect and evil Courses that had been used by them in this Affair. But nothing like this is mention'd by either of them. And therefore certainly, Mr. *Pool* did not weigh the matter duely when he wrote this. therefore, after all, I am bold to say, that the whole Transaction of *Israel* was the fairest and most honourable, that ever was. Nay, God himself did visibly and publickly approve the whole Procedure, *1 Kings* 12. 15, 24. ———— *Ye shall not go up against Israel*, says God to *Rehoboam* and *Judah*, *for this thing is from me*. Upon which words Mr. *Pool* Notes again, "That this was from God, as to the Event, that is from his Counsel and Providence, though they procured it by sinful Means. But what those sinful means were, he never

ver tells us. But sure God did not only contrive this secretly at first, but did openly declare and own it both first and last. So that, unless we will confound Gods openly Revealed Will, with bare Secret designs, and mere Providential Events, (which were to confound the most different Idea's of things) we must suppose that God meant more by his solemn owning of this Transaction, by sending an eminent Prophet to publish it, than Mr. Pool pretends, was in it. 6. He adds, in the close of the first place cited, " That the People did not reject *Rehoboam* in compliance with God's Counsel, but to gratifie their own Passions, and to get a little ease. But how comes he thus to judge of the Secrets of the Hearts of all the *Israelites*? Sure neither God nor the Sacred Historian give the least occasion for such Aspersions: Nay, both seem plainly to have past the very contrary Judgment upon the *Israelites* procedure in this Case. It seems Mr. Pool would have had them very tamely lye down, to have their Backs lash'd with *Scorpions*. Which if they are not such Passive-Asses to do, they must be shigmatized with *minding their ease, and the gratifying their own Passions*. But I am quite Sick of this way of reasoning. And yet to do the Author Justice, he has said all that the Cause will bear.

Having now shewed fully, that the *Choice* of the People, was the very Essential Thing, that Constituted any Man King of *Israel*, and that this was that which formally and actually made them *Jure-Divino* Princes; and having thus demonstrated the Truth of this, by Six Evident Facts, viz. the Choice of *Saul, Ishbosheth, David, Solomon, Jeroboam* and *Rehoboam*, who were all of 'em *Jure-Divino* Kings alike, in a Relation to the Peoples Right at first as their *Electors*, and the *Measures* of their *Obedience* afterwards as their *Free Subjects*: I hope I may be excused, in cutting short the detail of the History of the Successors of *Jeroboam* and *Rehoboam*.

However, this *General* I take to have ever remained a *Fixed* and *Fundamental Foundation* of both Kingdoms,

doms, That the Choice of the King was intirely in the People or their Representative Senate. And, if this Course was not always followed, it was only because the Knavery and Power of some strong Faction prevailed at a time, and was too hard for a legal and regular Procedure.

But indeed I believe, that the People did more frequently Exert themselves this way, than the Authors of the *Books of Kings* and *Chronicles* have told us of, and that for this just Reason ; because it had been needless, nay, tedious and almost endless to have told us so often, over and over again, that such and such a Man, was made King by the People, seeing they had so distinctly describ'd the manner of this, in the Case of *Saul, David* and *Feroboam*. And therefore, in all ordinary Successions, where a meer usurping Power did not prevail and put things out of their proper Channel, we are to believe, that the Princes succeeding one Another, came in by the Peoples Choice, and no otherwise ; though it is probable, that Prudence and Experience taught after Princes, (in order to prevent Competitions and Insurrections, such as those of *Absolom* and *Adonijah* had been) to exert their Interest, while alive, with the Heads of the People, that such or such a Darling Son, might be chosen to succeed them after their Death. And probably they might get such a one often declared *Prince Elect*, or *Prince Electoral*, during their own Life, to prevent all Confusion and Competition afterwards.

And thus it was, probably that *Abijam* succeeded *Rehoboam*, 1 *King* 15. 1. and *Asa* *Abijam*, v. 8. and many others, afterwards if not molt, of the succeeding Kings of *David's Line*.

As for the Kings of *Israel*, many of them came in by meer Usurpation and Violence. Thus *Baasha* made himself King by Murdering his Prince *Nadab* the Son of *Feroboam*, and, to make sure work of it, destroyed the whole Family and Kindred of *Feroboam*, both Male and

and Female, 1 Kings 15. 27, 29. And, in like manner, did *Zimri* afterwards serve King *Elah* the Son of *Baasha*, and all the Males of his Family, Chap. 16. 9, 11. Against this *Zimri* the *Israelites* rose up, and reassumed their former Authority in making their own Kings. But unhappily they were divided in two parts, between two Competitors *Omri* and *Tibni*. But the former having been fortunate in destroying *Zimri*, whom both Parties were joyntly pursuing; his Party increased this way, and poor *Tibni* Died, that he *Omri* might Reign securely; as we see 1 Kings 16. 16, 17, 21, 22. To him succeeded his Son the wicked King *Ahab*, and to him *Abaziah*, one of his Sons, and afterwards *Jehoram* another of his Sons; but none can positively say, which was the Eldest and which the Youngest.

But I shall not meddle further with the History of the Kings either of *Judah* or *Israel*, except to produce one Instance more, viz. That upon the Death of *Josiah*, we Read, 2 Kings 23. 30. and 2 Chron. 36. 1. That all the People of *Judah* took *Jehoahaz* the Son of *Josiah*, and Anointed him, and made him King in his Fathers stead, at *Jerusalem*. Here then let me be allowed to make Two Memorable Observations, with which I shall conclude this Second Age or Period of the Succession of Jewish Rulers, called Kings.

(1.) Obs. We see, in this instance, that the Right of the People to Chuse and Inaugurate their Kings, was never wholly either taken from them by force, or quitted by them voluntarily, down from *Saul* their First King, to *Jehoahaz*, who was their last Proper, or Legal Prince. For his Two Brothers and his Nephew, who Succeeded him, were Arbitrarily imposed upon the People, against their consent, viz. *Eliakim*, afterwards called *Jehoiakim*, 2 Kings 23. 34. the Elder Brother of *Jehoahaz*. Then 2 *Jehoiachin*, the Son of *Jehoiakim*, and Nephew of *Jehoahaz*, Chap. 24. 6. And then 3 *Mattaniah*, whose Name was changed to *Zedekiah*, v. 17. in whose time the final blow came upon the whole

whole Nation of *Judah*. Now the *First* of these *Three Kings*, and consequently the *Second*, was imposed upon the Kingdom by *Pharaoh-Necho* King of *Egypt*, and the *Third* and *Last* by *Nebuchadnezzar* King of *Babylon*. So that it is evident, that as often as ever the People had opportunity, they *Exerted* their *own Authority*, both in *making Kings*, and *Abdicating Tyrants*.

(2.) *Obs.* We see likewise, in this last Election of a *Jewish King*, that the People had no regard to *Hereditary Right*. For *Jeboabaz* was a Younger Son of *Josiah*; it being evident, to a demonstration, that *Jeboiakim*, whom they pass'd by, and whom *Pharaoh-Necho* impos'd upon them afterwards, was his Elder Brother; seeing *Jeboabaz* was but 23 Years of Age, when he was made King, *2 Kings* 23. 31. whereas *Jeboiakim* was 25 Years Old, when he was made King, *v.* 36. And yet between the one Inauguration and the other, there interven'd no more than 3 Months, which was all the time of the short Reign of *Jeboabaz*, the last Legally Constituted King of the *Davidical Family*.— By all which it is evident, to a Demonstration, that neither God nor the People of *Israel*, had ever Established any thing, like a strict *Hereditary Right*, far less an *Indefeasible One*, even in the *Davidical Line*, which yet, of all others, that ever were in the World, might have laid the fairest Claim to it. But indeed, neither *Israel*, nor any of their *Princes*, were ever so sottish (unless perhaps *Rehoboam* for a little while, during the heat of that whim, that his young sottish Counsellors had made him drunk with,) as to Dream of any such frantick Notion, as now obtains among our Modern, *Tantivy*, *St. Germain's* Men.—— And thus I have done with the *Second Age* of the *Jewish Government* under their Kings.

The 3d Age of the *Succession* of *Jewish Rulers*, down from *Nebuchadnezzar* to *Christ*, and so down to the Destruction of that Nation; during which
time

time they were under no certain Species of Government, only for Distinctions sake, we shall call their *Rulers*, of what sort soever, by the general Name of *Governors*.

I have rather mention'd this Age for Orders sake, than that I have any thing properly to say, in Relation to *Hereditary-Right* under it. For two things are equally Evident in Relation to it. (1.) That, during the whole of this Time, the *Jews* were hardly ever a Free People. For *first* they were in Captivity for Seventy Years, during the Continuance of the *Babylonian Monarchy*: And *then*, though they had Liberty afterwards to return back to their own Country, under the *Persian Empire*, yet not as an Independent Nation, but as Tributaries to the *Persian Monarcks*, *Judea* being one of the many Provinces of that Grand Empire. In the *Third* place they became Subject to the *Grecian Monarchy*; 'upon the Division of which, after the Death of *Alexander the Great*, among his Chief Captains, they fell in to be almost constantly Subject to the *Seleucian Family*, who Rul'd over all *Syria*; though sometimes they were Conquer'd by the *Ptolomaean* or *Lagian Family*, who Reign'd over *Egypt*. And *Lastly*, when the *Romans* Conquer'd all those Eastern Kingdoms, *Judea* fell in with the Rest of the Countries of the *East*, to be a Province of *Rome*——So that, until our *New Hereditary-Men*, who are for the *Jure-Divino Succession* of *Hereditary Monarchs*, in a direct Line down from *Adam* and *Noah*, can prove that *Nebuchadnezzar*, *Cyrus*, *Alexander*, *Seleucus*, *Ptolemy* and *Augustus Caesar*, and their *Successors*, down to the last Destruction of *Jerusalem*, were all descended from *Noah*, in the *direct Hereditary Line*, they say nothing. We need not at present swell this Discourse, with any Account of their several Claims to Sovereignty; which indeed center'd all in one, *viz.* the greater Strength and Success, in the same manner, that two Cocks Fight for the Sovereign-

ty of the Dunghil. (2.) I observe that while this last Judicial Period lasted, during the Successive Regnancy of the Four *General Monarchies*, the-Governors of the *Jewish Nation*, were either the *Hasmonean Priests* only; or some *Deputies* sent by their Foreign Sovereign Masters, the *Emperors*, or otherwise some Great Men of their own Country, or their Neighbourhood, that bare Rule over them at certain times, without any sort of Succession, but what chance made, and time measur'd, just as Tennants of a Manour might have been Registred in some sort of History, if a Record of them had been kept; as that *E. G. Jack Sprat* had the Manour of *Lark Hall* so long, and during so many Years, in the Reign of such a Prince, and that to him succeeded *Tom Noakes*, and then *Will Styles*, &c. Now, if such an *Hereditary Succession* can be useful to our High Flyers, then I advise them to draw up the Catalogue of them, out of *Josephus*, from *Gedaliah*, whom *Nebuchadnezzar*, first Constituted Governour over those that were left in *Judea*, down to *Herod the Great*, and his Successors of that *Edomite Family*; which last Governours of *Judea* may perhaps have some Affinity with *Hereditary Right*, since the *Edomites* were the *Israelites Elder Brethren*: So that this may perhaps help our New *Hereditary-Zealots* out, at a dead Lift, in case they can but find out *Herod's Genealogy* so, as to prove him to be Lineally Descended from the Eldest Son of *Esau*, in the Right Line. But, in the mean time, until this Noble Work shall be undertaken by some Learned *Filmer*, and brought to Light too, I see not that I have any Reason to Canvasse any part of the History of this Period.

Nor have I therefore any more to add, except to consider the *Genealogy* of our Saviour so far, as to see whether he was descended from *Adam*, according to the Flesh, in the Direct *Hereditary Line*. But, in doing this, I shall spend no time about the Criticisms and Disputes of Learned Men, as to the two Catalogues of

Christ's Ancestors, in *Matthew* and *Luke*: Nor, is it worth while to Inquire, whither the one Catalogue be that of *Joseph* or *Mary's Paternal Ancestors*, and the other of *his* or *her Maternal Ones*, or whether the one contains his Ancestors by the Father's side, and the other her Ancestors the same way. For, *Joseph* and *Mary* being both of the *same Tribe* and *Family*, the Catalogue of the One's Ancestors serves both. When therefore some of the Ancients inquired, why *Jesus* was Conceived and Born of a *Virgin Espoused*, and not of one perfectly at Liberty? They give this Reason, *viz.* That the Family of *Mary* might thus be certainly known, by the Family of *Joseph*; seeing the *Jews* were tyed up to Marry those of the same *Family*, if conveniently they could, as well as to Marry those of the same *Tribe*. And it was a received Rule also among the *Jews* (which does well deserve our Consideration, as an Additional Reason of this) *That the Family of the Mother was not called a Family*, but run in, as it were, by Marriage, into that of her Husband, as being indeed the same in some *common Grand Father*, at some Removes upwards. But, to *both* these Reasons, I must be allowed to add a *Third*, and I think a very Material One, though never observed before, that I know of; *viz.* That God order'd this *Virgin* to be thus Espoused, not only to Mark out publickly, that both were descended from *David*, as well as *Judah*, but also & indeed principally for this End, *vz.* to *Assure*, all Men, beyond the possibility of doubt, that *Mary* was a *pure Virgin*, that never knew Man. For those that are well acquainted with the *Jewish* Customs, know this; that when a Man Espoused a *Virgin*, she came under a Scrutiny, in point of *Virginitie*; which all true *Virgins* were, to be sure, more willing to undergo, for the sake of their Reputation, (see n^o 3 this was done by *Grave Matrons*) than the Men were to have this done. So that *Mary* by being espoused, was known by all Men, to have been a *Virgin*; whereas had she not been espoused,

she might have been liable to Suspicion, when she was Discover'd to be with Child.-----But, though it is not Material, whether any or both of these Catalogues, relate most directly to *Joseph* or *Mary*; yet I cannot forbear to say something here to clear up this Point. Now, to me it seems highly Probable, that the *Genealogy* in *Matthew* is that of *Joseph*, and the *Genealogy* in *Luke* that of *Mary's* Paternal Ancestors. And I do reckon, that *Matthew* copied out his Catalogue from the *Tabule censuales*, i. e. the *Authentick Genealogical Tables*, containing the *Register* of Families that was ever kept in the *Temple*; and I believe *Matthew* took his Copy from that old Register of *Joseph's* Family, that was taken before the days of *Taxing*, under *Augustus Caesar*. And therefore, as all Learned Men know, that *Matthew* wrote his Gospel long before *Luke* wrote his, so it is observable that he begins his Gospel with this *Catalogue*, and then afterwards comes to talk of the *Espousals* of *Joseph* and *Mary*; nay, he says expressly, *Chap. 1. 16.* that as every one of those begat the other, so particularly that *Jacob* begat *Joseph the Husband of Mary, of whom was born* (i. e. after this *Espousal*, and long after this *Genealogy* was taken,) *Jesus who is called Christ*. And here, by the way, it is Memorable, that *Matthew* does almost exactly divide *Joseph's* Ancestors, in Relation to time, as I have done, into three Periods or Ages, viz. in Relation to the *Three sorts* of Government the *Jews* were under; which were *First* their *Patriarchal* Government, under *Prophetical Judges*; *Next*, their *Regal* Government under *Kings*; and *lastly*, their *mixt and uncertain* Government, under *different sorts* of *Governors*: and the Series of each of these Periods he marks out, by the Names of *Fourteen* Illustrious Men, to denote *Fourteen Generations*. And, seeing this was certainly his View, and seeing also these are enough in all Reason, to shew the certainty of *Joseph's* being *Lineally* descended from *Abraham*, *Judah* and *David*, which was the main Scope of producing this

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Catalogue; it will be no ways Material, one way or other, though we should not only believe, that there are several Persons omitted in this Catalogue, who were also real Ancestors of *Joseph*, (as it is certain, that three Kings are wholly left out, viz. *Azariah*, *Josiah*, and *Amaziah*, as is also *Pedajah*, the Son of *Salathiel* or *Shealtiel*, and the Father of *Zerubabel*, 1 Chron. 3. 19.) but though we should also suppose, that *Matthew* did on purpose omit those Men, that he might ballance his Periods, by the same number of *Fourteen*, it being sufficient thus to shew the even Thread of this Line and Family, and no necessity requiring to mention all Persons nicely. So that the word [*begat*] must, in some of these instances, be understood, not in an *Immediate Sense*, but in a *Mediate Sense* only. But now, if we consider *Luke's Genealogy*, and particularly that it is brought in, *Chap. 3.* after that Account which he gives us, *Chap. 2. 1. &c.* of the *Great Taxing*, that all Men came under, by the Decree of *Augustus*; I cannot but think, that the *Catalogue* he mentions was that of *Mary*, by the Fathers Side. For, it is evident from the History, that Women were Taxed, as well as Men, and that a Genealogy of their Family, as well as of their Husbands, was taken on this Occasion, and likewise that the Paternal Line of both Men and Women was only Inquir'd after; and all this was observed with that Exactness, that Women as well as Men were oblig'd to repair to the Original Seat of their Family: So that *Mary* was forced to Travel thither as well as *Joseph*, though she was big with Child, and so near her time, as that it was dangerous to undertake so great and difficult a Journey of several Scores of *Italian Miles*, as it was certainly from *Nazareth* in *Galilee* to *Bethlehem* in *Judea*, and that at a time, when the Croud of People was so great, that she could expect no convenience of Lodging or Accommodation fit for one in her Condition. But God ordered all these things for wise and great Ends. Now, let us consider here, that had this been a New Genealogy taken

of *Joseph's* Paternal Race it had been the same materially with that of *Matthew*, whereas it is quite another Line, down from *David* to *Joseph* and *Mary*, excepting only that they are made to joyn together in *Salathiel* and *Zerobabel*, who therefore must be considered, as *Natural Fathers* in the one Genealogy, and the *Legal Fathers* in the other: For it is evident here, that (excepting these two) all the Persons mention'd from *David* to *Joseph* are different; the one Line being drawn from *Solomon*, and the other from *Nathan*, another Son of *David*. If any Person contend, that *Luke's Catalogue* is a List of *Joseph's* Ancestors by the Mothers side; I shall only say, that this may be then said with probability, when it can be made good, that the Mothers Genealogy was equally Registered as the Fathers, and particularly that the Persons deputed by *Augustus*, to take these Genealogy's, did trouble themselves to inquire into Four several Lists of Names, for no other purpose, but to spend time, and merely to perplex themselves; when two Lists did abundantly answer their End. And therefore, seeing this could neither be the *Natural Genealogy* of *Joseph*, by Fathers side nor Mothers side, I conclude that it was his *Legal Genealogy*, as he was intitled to it, in Right of *Mary*; whose Family, as I have said, run into that of *Joseph*, in course, and according to the *Jewish Rule*; and thus, in the Sense and Language of the *Genealogical Law* of the *Jews*, *Luke* speaks exactly, when he says, *Chap. 3. 23.* that *Joseph was the Son of Heli*; for he was so, by his having espoused his Daughter *Mary*. But *Luke* says not of *Heli*, as *Matthew* does of *Jacob*, that he begot *Joseph*. Nay, so far is he from this, that he avoids so much, as to call him the *Son of Heli*. For, though [Son] is in our Version, yet it is not in the *Greek*: For *Luke* only says, that *Joseph was of Heli*, and *He* of *Matthat*, and *He* of *Levi*, and so on; by which he barely Marks out their Succession, without determining whether the

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one was the others *Son in Law* only, or his *natural Son* by Procreation. And indeed this List, which goes in the inverted Order, is so unlike the *Jewish Method* of reckoning up of Genealogy's, as is plain by comparing it with all others preserv'd in the Bible; that I cannot but reckon it a Transcript from the Genealogy that *Mary* gave in, by the Hand of *Joseph*, to the *Roman Officers*, who in Course would ask him, when they came to demand his Wife's Genealogy; *whose Son in Law are you?* and upon his answering of *Heli*; they must be supposed to ask again, *of whom He?* Of *Matthat*, would he Answer. *Of whom He?* Would they say again. To which he must reply, *of Levi*; and so on. By all which, we see how natural the Catalogue of *Luke* is, and what evident Marks it has of being a *New Genealogy* made at that time, and after the *Roman Mode*. And we may be sure, (which does also well deserve our Observation) that the *Romans* were much more concern'd to be Exact in Inquiring after *Joseph* and *Mary's* Genealogy, than after the Pedegree of other *Jews*, because *both* of them descended from the *Royal Family*; and that in searching into this, they had the Satisfaction to have an Exact and Successive Line of Men, from *Augustus* his Reign upwards to *Adam*, the first of all Mankind: So that without doubt this *particular List* was sent to *Augustus*, and Copies of it handed about, in those days, as a Piece of very great Curiosity; by which, (without any farther History) Men might pretty plausibly guess, in case they did give any credit at all to the Truth of it, about how many Generations or Ages of Men had liv'd in the World from its first Formation till then. I do therefore make no doubt, but that the Genealogy both of *Joseph's natural Ancestors* and his *Legal ones*, (who were the *natural Pregonitors* of *Mary*) was taken at *Bethlehem*, in the days of *Taxing*, just as *Christ* was born there. But *Luke* (who, by the very first Words of his Gospel, let's us know that he was

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well acquainted with all the Gospels, written before by others, and was therefore certainly acquainted with that of *Matthew*, the most excellent of them all, and most probably the first of all) thought it no way proper to give us the *Natural Genealogy* of *Joseph*, seeing this was materially done already by the *Apostle Matthew*. And therefore he judg'd it highly convenient to add his *Legal Genealogy*, as recently taken; especially, seeing *Christ*, as Man, was really descended in this Line, as he was born of the *Virgin Mary*, who was the *Daughter of Heli*, &c. whereas He was not the real Son of *Joseph*. And I cannot but think, that the inserting of this *Genealogy* was reckon'd by *Luke* to be so very material a thing, that it was one of the principal Inducements that mov'd him to write his Gospel, seeing all others had omitted it. — And now, after all, I am much mistaken, if I have not set this Point, in a clearer Light, than was ever done yet by any: Which may be Apology enough for my Digressing so much, from the main design of this Discourse.

But now, to return; let us View which of these Genealogy's we please, and we shall see evidently that *Christ*, as Man, was not descended, by the Rules of strict *Birthright*, or by *Hereditary-Right*, from any of those Illustrious Persons, that had the Promise made them, that he should descend from them and their Family. Though therefore he was descended from *Adam*, yet not in the Line of *Cain* the Eldest Son, but from *Seth* a younger Branch; and) as I have said above, from younger Sons all along even down to *Jacob*; and so likewise from him, in the Line of *Judah*, down even to *Joseph* and *Mary*. And certain it is, that *Solomon* was only the 10th *Legitimate Son* of *David*, and *Nathan* his 9th Son; from the first of whom *Christ* was reckoned to Descend *Legally*, as he Really did Spring from the *Latter*. So that, let us Canvass *Christ's Genealogy*, as we will, down from *Adam* to himself, still we shall be oblig'd to own; that God, not only never shewed

shewed any Respe& to *Hereditary Right* or *Birthright*; but did constantly Act so, as if he had a Mind to Brand all pretences to a *Jus Divinum*, or just Claim to Sovereignty on this bottom, with an Indelible mark of Infamy. And certain it is, that the Notion of its *Indefeasibleness* cannot be otherwise judg'd or, after what I have said, or be reckon'd in Justice to deserve any other Character, as it is of late cryed up, (in order to Inslave and Ruine a free Nation, both as to this World and a better;) than as being a *Complication*, or *Composition of Impiety, and downright Madness*.

I only further add, that as God almost ever Honoured some *Young Cadet* of a Family, by subjecting his Elder Brethren to him; so he was resolv'd to Honour this Method for ever, by *Christ's* being such a one himself also. And, that this might never be forgotten, he Characterizeth Christ, again and again, by the Name of *the Branch*, that grew out of the Root of such or such a Person and Family. And therefore, as he is called *the Beautiful Branch of the Lord*, *Isaiah 4. 2. and Gods Servant the Branch*, *Zech. 3. 8. and a branch of Gods planting*, *Isa. 60. 21. and the Branch of Righteousness*, *Jer. 33. 15.* So he is called *a Rod, or Cyon, springing out of the stem of Jesse, and a Branch that should grow out of his Roots*, *Isa. 11. 1. And the Righteous Branch, which God was to raise up to David, and out of his Family*, *Jer. 23. 5.*

And thus I have come to the conclusion of the whole History of the Bible, in relation to the subject of *Hereditary Right*; and therefore, it is high time to take leave of this *Second and Principal Inquiry*. But, seeing I propos'd a *Third*, and that the *Noise*, tho' not the *Reason*, of the unthinking Herd of *Priests* and *Priest-ridden* People, does almost deafen our Ears, at present, with the Authority of the New Testament, as if *Christ*, and *Paul*, and *Peter* had really Preach'd up, tho' not *Hereditary Right* and its *Indefeasibleness* directly, yet Implicitly in having Taught us the Doctrines of *Passive Obedience*, *Non-Resistance*, and *Unlimited Submission* of

Subjects, and consequently the Doctrines also of the *Unlimited Power, Absolute Dominion, and Irresistible Authority of Princes*: I shall not grudge a little pains more, to shew the madness of this set of Men, in this respect also; even tho' I have materially done it already, in several considerable touches, interspers'd in the preceding History.

III. *Inquiry, Into the Doctrine of the New Testament, so far as it relates to the Principles of our New Hereditary Right Men, such as the Irresistible Authority, and Absolute Power of Princes, and the Unlimited Submission and Passive Obedience of Subjects.*

It is astonishing to me, to think of the gross and fundamental Errors, that most Men of all Denominations and Party's have taken up, in relation to the *Constitution of Christianity and the Gospel Dispensation*, from Worldly Views and Ideas, in spite of all the Learning and Wisdom, that these latter Ages pretend to. And were it not for fear of swelling this Discourse too much, I durst venture to disprove many of those Notions, that are most currently believ'd among us, and Preach'd up with such assurance, as if they were self-evident Principles. However, I cannot but advance some Propositions, which, tho' they may appear Paradoxical to many, yet I hope I shall be able fully to make good, in case any Man pretend to refute them.

The most Fundamental Notion of *Christ's Kingdom*, is that of an *Heavenly or Divine Kingdom*, of a quite different nature from *Worldly or Political Kingdoms*. And hence, in the Gospels, the *Christian Dispensation* is almost constantly called the *Kingdom of God and the Kingdom of Heaven*. Thus *John the Baptist* came Preaching that the *Kingdom of Heaven was at hand*, Mat. 3. 2. And *Christ* told the *Jews*, that *the Kingdom of God was actually then come unto them*, Mat. 12. 28.

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But threatens them afterwards, that, because of their Infidelity and Wickedness, *the Kingdom of God should be taken from them and given to the Gentile Nations*, Ch. 21. 43. And all the Parables almost do constantly run in this strain, *whereunto shall I liken the Kingdom of God*, &c. *Mark* 4. 30. *Luke* 13. 18, 20. That is, by what similitude shall I describe the *Christian Dispensation*.

Now the *First and Radical Government* was the *Paternal or Patriarchal One*. Thus it was at the beginning of the World, when there was but One Family under Adam; which afterwards split into two parts, under Cain and Seth. Thus it was afterwards under Noah; which split into three, under *Japhet, Shem and Ham*. And thus also the Kingdom of Israel was one little Family under Abraham, Isaac and Jacob successively; which, tho' afterwards split into *Twelve Families*, yet kept united, upon the Foot of a *Federal Union*, until they were more closely joyn'd by an *Incorporating Union*, under *Moses*.

Christ therefore, in order to erect his Kingdom among Men, thought proper to Erect, at first, a *Parental Government* over his Disciples, whom he often calls, *my little Children*, as he himself is called the *Everlasting Father*, the *Church his Family*, and all Convertis *his Seed*, and, upon this Account, the *Children of God*.

In order therefore to Erect a Mild and Divine Government over Men, and to carry on the grand purposes thereof, both for the Temporal good of Human Society, and the Eternal good of Souls, he proceeded, while on Earth, by Easy, Natural, and Rational steps. Let us take a Transient view of some of them. (1.) Having made many Converts by his Preaching, and knowing that he was to continue but a little time on Earth; he found it necessary to have *stated Attendants*, that might be Witnesses of what he said and did, and so far instructed as to the nature and design of Christianity, as to be capable to carry on the ends thereof,

when he should go to Heaven, and whom he was afterwards to qualify miraculously, in order to give evidential proofs of their Divine Mission. And therefore, when the Apostles did afterwards design to fill up the vacant place of *Judas*; this Fundamental or Preliminary Maxim, was that which they founded upon, *Acts* 1. 21, 22. That he that was fit to be an Apostle, must be *one of Christs Stated Attendants, who had accompanied them, all the time that Jesus went out and in amongst them; beginning from the Baptism of John, unto that same day that Jesus Ascended to Heaven, that he may, say they, be capable to be a witness, together with us, of Christs Resurrection.* Whence it is evident, that the *Twelve Apostles* were not the only *stated Disciples* of Christ at first, seeing the *Two Disciples* they proposed, viz. *Joseph* called *Barsabas*, and *Matthias*, had been Christs *Stated Attendants* and *Witnesses*, from first to last, as well as they. And probably there were many more such *Disciples* besides them. So that Christ had Three sorts of *Disciples*; *First*, those that believed in him, tho' their Business and Concerns in the World, did not allow them *Statedly* to attend Christ or follow him; and who indeed were never called by Christ, to be his *Disciples*, in this peculiar sense, and of this sort, that *Scribe* seems to have been, mention'd *Mat.* 8. 19, compar'd with *v.* 21. *Next*, those who did *statedly* attend him, as *Disciples*, but never were called to be *Apostles*; and such a one was he, mentioned, *Mat.* 8. 21. And of this number were the *Seventy Disciples* afterwards, who were indeed sent out, upon a special occasion, to Preach thro' the whole Land, but never were Erected into any *fixed* or *abiding College* or *Order* afterwards, as has been precariously, tho' generally, believed hitherto: for we never Read of them, so much as once afterwards. *Thirdly*, as the *Stated Disciples* were selected out of the general Bulk of his *Disciples*, so the *Twelve Apostles* were a good while such *Disciples* only, before they were Chosen to the *Apostleship*. Nay, it is very fallly imagin'd,

gin'd, that the Apostles were all of them the first called Disciples of Christ, tho' it is probable that some of them were so. For, by the Account, that *Matthew* gives of his own Vocation, Chap. 9. 9, &c. it is evident, that it was pretty late, before he was so much as called to be a *Disciple*. And it would seem, that it was a good while after that, before Christ Selected *Twelve* out of the number of his Apostles, Chap. 10. 1, &c. The account of this Transaction we have most distinctly in *Marks* Gospel, who gives it thus, Chap. 3. 13, 14, 15. *And he goeth up into a Mountain, and calleth unto him whom he would; and they came unto him. And he Ordained Twelve, (viz. for these special purposes) 1. That they might be (more constantly and more closely Witnesses of what he did and said, and thus in a more special manner to be) with him, (than the rest, seeing the number of Disciples was now vastly increased;) and 2. That he might send them forth, (as the First and Principal Persons) to Preach: and (in order to be the better Credited, in both these respects, and the more successful) He gave them Power to heal Sickneses, and to cast out Devils. (2.)* But, whatever was the Honour or Authority of the *Twelve*, who were in a special manner called Apostles, yet certain it is, that all the other Disciples of Christ had equal Liberty to Preach as well as they, and that without any Check or Restraint from the Apostles. For we Read, Acts 8. 4. *That those that were scattered and forced to leave Judea, by the Persecution that Raged there after Stephens Death, went every where Preaching the Word.* And, it is further said of them, Chap. 11. 19, 20, 21. *That they Travelled as far as Phenicia, Cyprus and Antioch, Preaching the Word to none at first, but unto the Jews also. But that afterwards some of them, who were of Cyprus and Cyrene, when they were come to Antioch, spake also unto the Grecians, Preaching the Lord Jesus. And the Hand of the Lord was with them.* And sure they had Gods and Christs Approbation in all this. For it is immediately.

diately added ; *And the Hand of the Lord was with them, and a great many Believed and turned unto the Lord.* Nay, it is certain, that the Gift of *Real Miracles* was given, not only to other Disciples of Christ, but even to such as only Believed in him, and who did so little follow him, (perhaps because the necessities of their Families, or other pressing concerns, would not allow of this,) That the were not so much as known personally, or by Name, by the Apostles. And yet, they did not only Preach, but had Gods Broad Seal also, the *Gift of Miracles*, to Authorize them to do so, and had Christs open Testimony too; that they did well in doing so, at the same time, that the Apostles were Censur'd for attempting to silence them. This is evident from the instance, mentioned *Mark 9. 38, 39, 40.* and *Luke 9. 43.* *Master we saw one casting out Devils in thy Name, and he followeth not us,* (it had been more respectful to have said, *he followeth not thee*) *and we forbad him, because (forsooth) he followeth not us.* But *Jesus said, forbid him not, for there is no Man, which shall do a Miracle in my Name, that can lightly speak Evil of me : for he that is not against us, is on our part.* Or as *Luke* has the Words, *He that is not against us, is for us.* (3.) If therefore, the Apostles did afterwards Institute Ordinary and Stated *Pastors*, with *Deacons* to assist them, in all Countries where they had made Converts, it was only for Orders sake, and to avoid Confusion ; but was never design'd to be exclusive of the Liberty of Qualified Persons, to propagate Christianity, in the way of Preaching, when this was done decently and in order, and did not prejudice the Stated Pastors, but rather facilitate their Work. And far less, was it ever dream'd of then, that it would ever be thought Unlawful, to Preach and Administer the Sacrament, where no Ordinarily appointed Pastors could be obtain'd, or none but Profligate, Atheistical, or Idolatrous Priests, with whom no good Man could joyn, without Renouncing True Christianity ; as has been the

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Case of true Christians often, even for whole Ages, as it was evidently in the days of the old *Albigenses* and *Waldenses*.

These things being thus Premised, as *Preliminaries*, I proceed now to consider the *Main Essential Points*; which I look upon as *Principally Constitutive* of the *Christian Church*, considered as a *Spiritual Kingdom*.

The 1st *Essential* and *Constitution-Point* of *Christ's Kingdom* on Earth, according to his Appointment, was, that ordinary Pastors should have no separate Authority and Power, in the Management and Determination of the Publick Affairs, relating to the Church or Community, to which they were Related, without the Concurrence and Approbation of the Major Part of the said Society, or their Delegates and Representatives. This I know will be loudly bawl'd out against by some of all sorts. But, in case I durst venture to Expatiate upon it here, I think I could prove it almost to a Demonstration; and perhaps may do so afterwards. But at present I shall only just mention a few of my Grounds. In the first Place, I take notice of this, that even the Apostles themselves were tyed up to do nothing, relating to the whole Church, in point of Discipline in Relation to Publick Scandal, without the Concurrence of the Church, even then when, what has been called the *Keys*, was to be solemnly made use of; as we see *Matthew* 18. 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20. For, unless the Church mention'd there, (when Christ says, *v.* 17. *tell the Church*) can be proved not to be meant of the Church, but of the Pastors of it, as Contradistinct from it (a pretty sort of Contradiction, which yet *Priestcraft* would fain have us swallow as a Plain Demonstration) the Apostles themselves never had any such Superiour and Separate Power, over the Church, and without its Consent, as most Clergy Men have pretended they had, nay and pretend to themselves upon this very nonsensical Reason. But indeed we have not any one Instance, wherein the Apostles themselves did

ever act thus Separately from the Church, in matters relating to its general Interest. Not surely, when the Choice of Deacons was made, *Act. 6.* Nay, they leave the whole of it to the Community, and tye up their Approbation to whatever Choice they shall make, *v. 3.* *Wherefore Brethren, look ye out among you Seven Men of honest Report, — whom we may appoint over this business.* Well, they did so, and the Apostles, without more ado, Prayed for a Blessing on them, and laid their Hands on them, in sign of Consent and Benediction. And, though great stress is laid on the Word [*We*] in Contradistinction to [*Ye*] yet to me it appears most Probable, that by [*We*] the Apostles mean *Ye and We conjunctly, or we also*; i. e. *chuse whom ye like best, that we may bless those that are most to your liking.* However, this I am sure of, that none can refute this Sense, as unreasonable, or indeed as Improbable. Nor did the Apostles Act separately from the Church, in the famous First Synod, as it is usually called of *Jerusalem*, *Acts 15. 22.* *Then Pleas'd it the Apostles and Presbyters, with the whole Church, to send Men, &c.* And *v. 23.* *The Apostles and Presbyters and Brethren* (i. e. *the Church, called Laick Members in later Ages*) *send greeting unto the Brethren which are of the Gentiles in Antioch, &c.* Where we see, that they wrote not, neither inscribed their Letters to the Pastors of Churches, but to the Churches themselves. And indeed, in this Strain run all Epistles of Christians in those days, that related to the Common Concerns of Churches. Thus *Paul* directs all his Epistles. That to the *Romans* is inscribed, *Chap. 1. 7,* *To all that be in Rome, called to be Saints, i. e. Christians.* And the 1st Epistle to the *Corinthians* runs thus, *Chap. 1. 2.* *Unto the Church of God which is at Corinth.* Nor are the Pastors ever honoured to be nam'd distinctly in the Inscription of any one Epistle, excepting that only to the *Phillipians*; where they are indeed named, but then it is in a *Secondary* Respect, and as an *Appendicle*, only of the

the Church; Chap. 1. 1. *To all the Saints, or Christians, which are at Philippi, with the Bishops and Deacons.* And thus also the Epistles, called Catholick, are Incribed; that of *James*, Chap. 1. 1. *To the Twelve Tribes, which are scattered abroad, i. e. to the Christians, who were of those Tribes; the 1st Epistle of Peter thus, Chap. 1. 1. To the Strangers scattered throughout Pontus, &c. and the 2d thus, Chap. 1. 1. To them that have obtained like precious Faith with us; and the Epistle of Jude thus, v. 1. To them that are Sanctified.* And hence I look upon it, as none of the least Arguments of the Antiquity and *Genuiness*, of the Epistle of *Clemens to the Corinthians*, that it is inscribed to that whole Church, from the Church of Rome, without the least mention of the Pastors, either of the one Church or other. But then this shews likewise, that the inscribing it to *Clemens* is a meet forgery of later Priests, for their own Party Ends:

The 2d *Essential* and *Constituent Point* of *Christ's Kingdom*, is this; that *Christians should, by all Means, take care, in the Church Government and Discipline, never to imitate the Secular or Civil Political Constitutions, that then obtain'd in the World, and therefore never to meddle with Worldly or Civil Jurisdiction and Management.* This is Evident from *Christ's Example*, who in the Case of *the Woman taken in Adultery*, Joh. 8. refused to meddle in a Point of that Nature, v. 7. 10, 11. By which it is evident, that *Christ reckon'd Marriage, Adultery*, and whatever related to these, to be Civil Points, which neither he, nor the Christian Church, had any direct concern with; nor indeed any at all, excepting so far as Edification and Scandal were concerned in the Point. For Men *Marry* not into the Church, but into the State; and *Adultery* is a Civil Transgression of the Laws of Families and Nations, and is a sin by the Law of Nature and Reason, which Christianity, rather supposes than formally includes. And thus, when one came to *Christ*, Luke 12. 13. and said,

Master, speak to my Brother, that he divide the Inheritance with me; Christ refuseth so much, as to give his Advice in any such matter, because it was of a Civil Nature, v. 14. And he said unto him, Man, who made me a Judge or a Divider over you? And agreeably to his Practice was the Essential Character which he gives of his Church, wherein he gives us a Full and Final Determination of this Point, John 18. 36. My Kingdom is not of this World. And therefore, let the Romanists and all High Prelatists tenter their Brains for ever, to obscure plain Words; yet still it is evident to all that have any Candor and Honesty left, that Christ forbids Christians ever to attempt to Model the Church, after the Civil Methods, Forms and Politics, that obtain'd either in the Kingdoms and Provinces Subject to the Roman Empire at that time, or indeed in any other worldly Kingdom, or secular Government whatsoever. For what can be plainer than these Words Matthew 20. 25, 26, 27, 28. Ye know that the Princes of the Gentiles (i. e. the several Nations of this World) Exercise Dominion over them, and they that are Great Exercise Authority over them. But it shall not be so among you: But whosoever will be great among you, let him be your Minister, i. e. Servant. Even as the Son of Man came not to be Ministred unto, i. e. to be served) but to Minister, (or to be a common Servant) and (as a Proof of this) to give his Life a Ransom for many. Luke, Chap. 22. 25, &c. has the same Passage, with some little Variation as to Expression, but none as to Sense.

————— Now, how well the Christians kept to this Rule afterwards, all Men see at this day, especially in the High Church of Rome. Indeed the very contrary Rule to that of Christ has been followed, by the united concurrence of the Church Guides, from Doctor Diotrephes (the Primitive High-Church Champion, who first brought in Prelacy, Schism, imposed Forms and Persecution into the Church, and who first despis'd the Superior Authority of the Apostles, and declaim'd against

against his Betters, as we are told by St. *John* himself 3. Ep. v. 9. 10.) down to his Modern Successor and Imitator *Doctor Sacheverell*. And, in Case it please God, that I be well, and that things continue in Settlement and Peace among us, I may perhaps shew this fully in another Discourse, intitl'd to this purpose, *An Ecclesiastical History of the Uninterrupted Succession of High-Church Guides, and Priestcraft, from Doctor Diotrephes to Doctor Sacheverell*.——In the mean time, I hope the Reader will bear with me, in giving a few short Hints here. I say then,

1. That, even while the Apostles liv'd, nay pretty early too, (as appears pretty evidently from both *Paul's* Epistles to the *Corinthians*, and the Second Epistle to the *Thessalonians*) the *Mystery of High Church iniquity began to Work*, 2 *Theff* 2. 7, &c. And this increas'd to that vast Degree, before the end of the first Age, that we could not have had any Idea of so suddain and so strange an Alteration, as this was, had not St. *John* hinted this plainly, in the Instance of *Diotrephes*. And hence it is, that we need not wonder, that in the Second Age, especially towards the end of it, *Bishops* and *Presbyters* began to be spoken of as Distinct, as if the Former were in some respect become Superior to the other; and that thus New Ideas and Phrases, quite contrary to the Apostolick ones, but smelling rank of Pride and Wordlyness, began to be insinuated first, and to grow current afterwards.

2. After this we begin to read of new sorts of Church-Officers, that by degrees crept in and Multiplied, just as the *Bishops* grew in Riches and Authority; for his Retenue must bear Proportion to his State and Possessions. And therefore *my Lord Bishop* must have *Sub-Deacons* and *Arch-Deacons*, *Exorcists*, &c. Nay, he must have a *Throne* too, like Magistrates and Princes, with a Thousand Fopperies and Superstitions. And, least the Poor *Bishops* of Villages should Rival those of the Opulent Cities, they shall be indeed Comple-

mented for a time, with the Title of *Chorepiscopi*, i. e. *Rural*, or as some call them, *Suffragan Bishops*; but then this is granted, with a *Provided always*, that they do nothing of themselves, but in the Name of the *City Bishops*, as their *Vicarji* only or *Deputies*. But, lest those *Vicars* should in time come to have their Eyes open, to see that they were *Equal* in point of *Office* and *Authority* with the *City Bishops*, and thus presume to *Rival* their *Masters*, Care was taken afterwards insensibly to abolish their *Office*, (that with it, the Name of *Bishop* might cease as to them, and thus come to be peculiar to the *City Bishops*) which they did, by appointing some *Presbyters*, (trusty Creatures of the *City Bishops* to be sure) to *Oversee* the *Country Churches*, under the Name and Character of *Visitors*, who sometimes were called *Rural Presbyters*.

3. But then, seeing there were some *Cities*, called by the *Romans Metropolis's* or the *Mother Cities* of the *Provinces*, under the *Dominion* whereof the other lesser *Cities* were, and where the *Courts of Civil Judicature* were ordinarily kept; the *Bishops* of the *Christian Churches* of those *Cities*, bethought themselves to mount one step higher, on this very *Foundation*. As therefore, the *Bishops* of *Cities* had *Lorded* it over the poor *Country Bishops*, the *Metropolitans* *Gentlemen*, by laying their *Plots* well, came to *Lord* it over their *Brethren*, the *Bishops* of lesser and poorer *Cities*; and then they must be *Honour'd* with the *Superior Title* and Character of *Arch-Bishop* and *Metropolitans*.

4. But there are no *Bounds* in the *Ambition* of such *Priests*. For, it was not long after, that there sprung up a *New Usurped Claim*, *Pragmatically* laid, by the *Greatest* and most *Powerful* of those *Metropolitans*, to *Subject* their *Fellow-Arch Bishops* to themselves, under the *Title* of *Primates*, as far as they had before jointly *Subjected* all *Bishops* to their *Authority*. Upon what *Foundation* this *Claim* was laid, may be seen in *Breerwoods Patriarchal Government*, &c. and in *Dr. Carves Primitive*

Primitive Christianity, Chap. 8. who thus Cites the Sum of what the former treats of, pag. 227. ' The whole Empire of Rome was divided into 13 *Dioceses*, (for so they called those Divisions,) which contained in all, about 120 *Provinces*, and every Province *several Cities*. Now, as in every City there was a *Temporal Magistrate*; so also there was a *Bishop*, whose *Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction* was of like Extent and Latitude. But then, in every *Province* there was a *Proconsul* or *President*, whose *Seat* usually was at the *Metropolis* or *Chief City* of that *Province*; whither all Men came from inferior Cities for Judgment, in matters of Importance. In a proportion therefore to this, there came to be an *Arch-Bishop* or *Metropolitan* in the same *Province* and *City*. And then lastly, in every one of the 13 *Dioceses* the *Emperor* had a *Vicarius*, i. e. a *Lieutenant*, who dwelt in the *Principal City* of the whole *Diocess*, where all the Imperial Edicts were first Publish'd, and from whence they were sent abroad into all the *Provinces*, of which the *Diocess* was composed; and where also was the *Chief Tribunal*, where all Causes, not determinable elsewhere, were judged and decided. Now to Answer this, it was natural for the *Arch Bishops* and *Metropolitans*, of those *Principal* and *Superior* or *First Cities*, to lay a Claim to the Title and Authority of *Primates*, by reason of their Relation to the *Prima Metropolis* of the *Diocess*, and so of being the *First Arch-Bishops* and *Metropolitans*, to whom all the *other Arch-Bishops* and *Metropolitans* of the *Provinces* of that *Diocess* were to be subject.

5. But this was not all, that *some* of the *Clergy* would be contented with, as is noted by *Salmasius de Primatu Papæ*, Chap. 12. p. 331. Now, there was a *certain Roman Governor*, that was Superior even to the *Vicarius* of a *Diocess*, and under whom *several Diocesses* sometimes were, who was called *Præfectus Pretorio*. And, tho' this great Officer, was never in this respect a Fixed

ed or Stated Institution, but was sent upon Occasions, and as pleased the Emperors, tho' there was always *One so called* : Yet this Pretence and Handle was enough for some of the *Primates* to found a New Claim upon, to a Superiority, at least in point of Honour, above the other *Primates* ; pretending no other Argument for this, but the Secular and Vainglorious one, (which yet the Fathers forsooth make a mighty pother with) *viz.* That the Cities, where their *Seats* or *Sees* were fixed exceeded all others, in some secular respect or other. And there were five such, *viz.* *Jerusalem*, which pretended to be first of all, in point both of *Antiquity* and *Sanctity* ; *Alexandria*, upon the account of its *Greatness*, *Riches* and *Dominion* ; *Antioch* upon the same Reasons ; *Rome*, because it was the *Origin*, *Mistress*, and *Seat* of the whole Empire ; and *Constantinople* because that City came afterwards to be the *Imperial Seat*. Now these *Primary Primates*, as I may justly call them, must invent a Title, suited to their Dignity, in order to distinguish them from the other *Primates* ; and that, which came to obtain at last, was the Title of *Patriarch*, or as some call'd it *Papa* or *Pope*. But, in process of time, *Jerusalem* sunk to low, and *Antioch* declin'd so much, that nothing hardly remain'd to them, but the bare Name of *Patriarch* : by which there continued but *Three* of the *Five Patriarchs* in Power. But these were afterwards reduc'd to Two by the decay of *Alexandria*, and at last by its subjection to those of the *Mahometan Religion*. So that *Constantinople* and *Rome* only remain'd to Contest for the Supreme Power over all Churches, Therefore *Rome* prevailing, especially upon the Declension first, and upon the Destruction at last of the *Eastern Empire* ; the *Bishop* thereof, under the Name of *Pope*, Seated himself in the *Imperial Throne* it self ; not as Christ's Successor to be sure, but as Successor to *Nero*, *Heliogabalus* and *Phocas*, from which last Monarch he was first *Intitled* and *Inaugurated* the *Supreme and Universal Bishop*, and has since, as all Men know,

improv'd his new Character so well, that he has trampled upon the Necks of Emperors, and taken upon him, to dispose of all the Crowns and Kingdoms of the World, as he pleases, without controul. — I hope the distinctness and Importance of this Historical Account of the Practice of the *High Church Clergy* in all Ages, and the discovery made thereby, of their Acting this way, *directly in Opposition to Christs Practice*, and to his Rule and Commandment, in *Mat. 20. 25, &c.* will be Apology sufficient for my enlarging upon it, so far as I have done.

The 3d Essential and Constituent Point of Christs Kingdom, or his Church, I take to be this; *That all Christians, both the People and their Pastors, should Obey the Governors and Government, under which they Live, in all things Lawful and that were purely Civil, without meddling with any thing that related to the State, or the Secular Factions and Parties, that struggl'd and Contended, at any time, for Superiority and Power.* Now, as to this Point, I reckon I shall have no opposition from our *Passive Obedience Men*. Nay perhaps they may think, that I have hereby yielded all they desire; and in order to rivet this, will, it may be, desire me to Preach up, as well as they, their Notions, as founded upon *Rom. 13. 1, 2, &c. Let every Soul be Subject to the Higher Powers, &c.* and *1 Pet. 2. 13, 14, 15. Submit your selves to every Ordinance of Man for the Lords sake, whether it be to the King as Supreme, &c.* — I come therefore to let them know, that I am not yet so near joyning with them, in their Conclusions, as they may Imagine. For, instead of their Principles, I lay down mine thus.

1 Principle. *That Government in General, is a Divine Ordinance.* This Paul asserts, *v. 2.* where he calls it *the Ordinance of God.*

2 Princ. *That yet all Particular Forms or Models of Government, particularly the Monarchical one, and more especially Absolute Monarchy, is a mere Human Ordinance*

nance only. This Peter declares, when he says, v. 13. *Submit your selves to every Ordinance of Man, — whether it be to the King as Supreme, &c.*

3 Princ. *That Princes cease to be proper Princes, in so far as they do Evil, especially if they essentially destroy the ends of Government; and are therefore only to be look'd upon, in so far as they are proper Rulers, and thus only are to be Submitted unto, in an Active Sence of the Word Obedience or Submission, viz. when they do Justly.* Both parts of this Proposition are equally asserted, v. 3, 4. *For Rulers are not a Terror to Good Works, but to the Evil. — Do that which is Good, and thou shalt have praise of the same. For he is the Minister of God to thee for Good, &c.* And Peter has the very same Ideas of Princes, when he enjoyns us to *Submit* to them for the Lords sake; adding, that he means *such Kings and Governors only, as are for the Punishment of Evil doers, and for the praise of them that do well.* So that Tyrants have nothing at all to do with any of these Texts, nor can *Active Obedience* receive any patrociny from either of them, no, nor yet *Passive Obedience* to them, as such, any more than to the Devil; for, in this Case, our *Passive Obedience* is due only to God, who permits Good Men sometimes to suffer by such Hellish Instruments. And far less are we voluntarily to yield our selves into the Power of such Wicked Princes, merely because they Command us, in case we can escape from them, or otherwise get off from Suffering, by Lawful means: For Christ adviseth us, *that when we are Persecuted in one City, we ought to flee to another.*

4 Princ. *That there is nothing at all, in either of these places of Scripture, nor indeed in all the New Testament, that relates to Nations or National Constitutions, and Establishments as such; but only to private Christians, or Tolerated Societies of them, in Countries, where the Government is of a different or opposite Persuasion from them.* Three things concur to evince this; 1. The Nature

Nature and Design of Christianity, and the declared Maxims and Rules laid down by Christ and his Apostles, consonant to both, in order to Ingage and Regulate all Christians, to act such a Spiritual part, as never to intermeddle directly or indirectly, in any Affairs of a Publick or Political Nature as Christians. By all which it is evident, even to a Demonstration, that Christianity never was design'd to interfere or meddle with National Constitutions, as such. For, tho' Statesmen and Princes, when they became Christians might be enlightned by the Gospel, to make the better Civil Laws and Regulations for the good of the Community, and thus learn to Govern better; yet this does not alter the Case in the least. So, that by the nature and design of the Gospel, and by all that Christ and the Apostles did, said and wrote, Christians, as such, and especially Church Guides, have nothing at all to do with Secular Employments or Honours. And sad Experience has taught us, That Clergy-mens Intermeddling beyond their Sphere, in Political Affairs, has ever been attended with Fatal Consequences, both to the State and Nation, and at length to themselves; as if there were a visible Curse upon their Order for doing so, and upon Governments and Nations for allowing them therein. 2. Neither of the Texts in Rom. 13. and 1 Pet. 2. nor indeed any thing in the New Testament does, in the least, insinuate any thing that relates to Nations and Politick Bodies and Establishments, but barely what might be of use to private Christians, scattered up and down in Heathen Nations; and therefore can only be applied to Subjects, as they are Private Persons, and as they are Private Christians, in Order to Regulate their Conduct towards the Government under which they Live, be that what it will: For indeed all that these Apostles say, amounts to this only. Obey the Rulers and Governments that you Live under, in all things that are Lawful, and meddle not with the Party's or Factions of State, that thus you may, as much as in you lies, Live

peaceably and securely under the Government. 3. And that this is the very Case, and the whole of it appears from the State and Circumstances of those Christians, to whom those Two Apostles Wrote. For, by this Inscription of *Peter's* Epistle, it is evident that he Wrote to the *Jewish Christians*, that were scattered up and down *Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia Minor* and *Bithynia*, all which were Subject to the *Roman Emperor* at that time, and Govern'd by *Roman* Governors. And, it appears pretty evident, as Learned Men have observed, that this Epistle was Written to those Christians, that were scattered and dispersed, by reason of the Persecution, that arose after the Martyrdom of *Stephen*, mentioned, *Acts* 8. 1. and Chap. 11. 19, 20. So that perhaps all those Christians put together did not amount to One Thousand in all, nor yet to the half of that number; besides that they were no doubt scattered by two's, or three's, or ten's, up and down those vast Countries. What madness then is it, to make their Case and Parallel to the Case of Nations and States, and particularly to that of *England, Scotland* and *Ireland*, at the Revolution, when they met in free Conventions to settle all that was dear to Men, in an Orderly and Regular manner, at a time when all their Rights and Properties were in extreme danger. Now, the Case was the same in the main, with the Christians at *Rome*, to whom *Paul* Writes his Epistle, as it was with those to whom *Peter* Wrote: For it was written, as all Men know, pretty early and many Years before he was sent Prisoner thither; which was in the Year 57, as *Dr. Pearson* conjectures. Now, for any thing I can think, all the Christians of *Rome*, are mentioned in the last Chapter of that Epistle, either by Name, or by the Relative Character of being of such a one's Family or Household; seeing *Paul* seems to insinuate this, not only, by not adding, *Salute all the rest of the Saints that are with you*, but by concluding thus, v. 16. *Salute one another with an Holy Kiss, i. e.* when all of you mentioned are met

met together for Worshipping God; the *Kiss of Love* being then the common Custom in those days, at such times. And it was an easy thing then, to have a distinct Catalogue of all Christians in any of the greatest Cities of the Empire. It is therefore highly probable, that the number of Christians then at *Rome* did not amount to above One Hundred Persons in all. Now is such an Inconsiderable *Private Society*, any *Parallel* to an *Imbodied Nation*, inclusive of the whole *Government* too, excepting only the *Supreme Tyrant* himself and a Party of *Tyrannical Tools*, that serv'd his Malice and Passions, and not the *Government*, nor any of the ends of it. Therefore, if our *Hereditary Passive Men*, would make a just Application of the Apostles Doctrine, they must make this, or the like Preliminary supposition; *That, in case the whole Senate of Rome, and the bulk of the People, had turn'd Christian, it had been unlawful for them by Christs Doctrine and Pauls, to Determine and Decree, That Nero was Hostis Humani Generis, the Enemy of all Mankind; and that it was therefore Lawful and necessary for any Man to Kill him, that could do it, and a Commendable and a Rewardable thing also.* Now, seeing we know that the *Senate of Rome* did so, a few Years after *Paul* Wrote his Epistle, I ask my Antagonists, *whether this was sinful?* and *whither, had the whole Empire been then Christians, Pauls Rule given to a few private and obscure Men and Women, had been binding upon the Senate and People of Rome, in an Essential, Civil, Publick, and National Concern?* Should the *English Convocation* Write over *Pauls* Words, and send them with a Comment on them, to the *English Factory at Smyrna or Aleppo*; would this be binding on the *Turkish Government, and Nation*, in case they turn'd Christian, and had a mind at the same time, to get rid of an *Emperor*, that was another *Monster* like *Nero*? This is the State of the Case, and the real Question. And now, let who will attempt to prove the Affirmative of this, in case any Man dare do it? Till

that be, I only add this one thing further, which may easily be seen to be true from several things in the Apostolical Epistles, particularly in that of *Jude. v. 4. 8.* &c. *that, not only the Unbelieving Jews, but many that falsely pretended to be Christians, particularly the Gnosticks, were then wrought up, from wicked and secular Ends. into such a ferment, as to be inclinable to shake off the Roman Yoke; as we know the Jews afterwards did, to their utter Subversion. Now, the Apostles, who clearly foresaw this, and knew certainly that this would End in the total Ruin of that People, and all that should join with them, reckon'd it no small part of their Duty and Commission, to Forewarn Christians of such Pestilent Principles and Designs, and the terrible Consequents of the same. And I cannot but think that Paul had this in his view, when he says, v. 2. That they that Resist the Roman Government, shall receive to themselves Damnation, i. e. Destruction.*

THE
CONCLUSION,

BEING

A Final and Alarming Warning to all true *Protestant-Britains*, of all Denominations; To prepare either for Speedy and Thorow Reformation and Defence, or for Suddain and Total Ruin from *France* and *Rome*.

Honest Countrymen,

I Have now fully Refuted all the False Principles and Notions Coin'd in the Mints of the *Vatican*, *Versailles* and *St. Germans*, and propagated here by the Factors and Agents of those *Courts*, to Gull and Infatuate you, in order to your Destruction, and the Final Ruin of our Dear Country, and our Poor Posterity. And now, let me beg you, for God's sake and your own, to consider how near you are to see *Britain* a Footstool to *France*, and in no better a Condition than as a meer *Horse-Block*, for *Lewis Le Grand* to step up upon, in order to Mount up to that *Universal Monarchy*, that he has ever affected, and which nothing ever put a full stop to, but the late *Revolution*, and our Adhering hitherto to its *Principles* and *Ends*.

Are the Chains of the *Romanists* and the *French* softer and finer now, than they have been formerly? Or will the *French King* treat you more Mildly and Kindly, after *Twenty Two Years Wars* against him, than he did his own Natural-Born Subjects formerly, who
helped

helpt to settle him on the Throne, and never once oppos'd him? Can *James Steward*, or *Jaques Oglethorp*, ever come in, but by Assistance from him, and in Concert with him? And will he forget his own Interest so far, as not to demand our Refunding him, above an Hundred Millions of Money laid out and expended by him for us, and in our Service, (as the Dialect then must be) since the Revolution? And, in stating those Accounts, in case you should dispute any *Items* in them, will he not tell you by *Absolute* and *Irresistible Authority*, that by the Principles of *Hereditary Right* and *Passive-Obedience*, it is Rebellion to call your Superiors to any Account? and therefore will he not twit you with your own old *English Proverb*, *He that Reckons without his Host reckons twice*? Do you think, that less than Full Payment will satisfie him? Or that he will neglect to Garison and Dragoon you, till it be paid? Nay, will he not seize on all, to pay himself? Will he be more Merciful than the *Assyrian King* of old to the *Ten Tribes*, or the *Monarch of Babylon* to the *Jews*, or the *Roman Emperor* afterwards to the same People? Is he more Merciful, and less Politick, or less Provoked? Did not the late *King James*, with his dying Breath, Charge his Pretended Son, *never to change his Religion, and always to look upon the French King as his Father*? Perhaps justly, because the Scheme of his Birth was laid by him, Will *James* therefore (or indeed can he, or dare he) Act any otherwise, than by the Direction of his *French and Popish Father*, who has Adopted him, and under whose Inspection and Teaching, he has suckt in, with his Infant Milk, all the Maxims, that his *French Father* and *Italian Mother*, and their *Ghostly Fathers* could possibly teach him? Think therefore, I pray you, and think again, whither all these things be not Realities. And if they be, where are you, my Friends? and whither are some Men now driving you, with such precipitant and rapid Zeal and Fury?

Look back, upon the many Deliverances we have had from *Romish* and *French Plots* down from the *Reformation* to this day. Are you altogether ignorant of the old *Marian Days*, and *Smithfield Burnings*? Did good old *John Fox*, who was then alive, write nothing but Lies in his *Acts* and *Monuments*? Did not *Queen Mary* take *Philip* of *Spain* to be her Husband? Was there not a pretended *Great-Belly* then, to exclude *Queen Elizabeth*, but that the Plot was happily prevented? Was there no *Spanish Invasion*, in the Year 1588? Nor any *Gun-Powder-Plot*, in the beginning of *King James* his Reign? Were there no *Popish Designs*, in and about the Year 1678? And were all the Discoveries then made, and all the Resolutions and Remonstrances of several *Houses of Commons*, altogether Groundless? Was there never any League, to root out the *Northern Heresie* and *old British Liberty*, entred into between the *French* and *British Kings*, about the time, when the *Edict of Nantz* was Revoked, and the Protestants of *France* persecuted? Were not the *Butcheries* in the *West*, after *Monmouth's* Landing, all of them very mild and legal Proceedings?

But to come later still; was there no *designed Assassination Plot*, in the Year 1696, to make way for a formidable *Invasion* from *France*, and an *Insurrection* at home? Did not *Perkins*, *Friend*, *Charnock* and others, own this, even with their dying Breath, and leave Speeches behind them to put us out of doubt about those things? Was there never a Letter of my Lord *Melford's* intercepted, that told of another Plot of the like kind, dated *Feb. 18. 1701*, known to be his own Hand-writing, and publish'd as such, by order of the House of Lords? Are all the Papers, Discoveries and Depositions, printed by Order of the Lords, in that Large Book, concerning the *Scottish Conspiracy*, in the Year 1704, mere *Chimæra's* and *Forgeries*? Were all things relating to *Gregs Papers*, and the Discoveries about *Valiere*, *Bara*, &c. invented by a few Lords,
without

without either Papers, or Witnesses, or Confessions to support them? And, was there no Invasion made on Scotland, in *March 1708-9*?

I might run out upon Scores, if not Hundreds of things, that have occurred since, and which indeed occur almost every day, that might alarm Men, to awake out of their Lethargical and Fatal Infatuation. But to do this were endless, not to add other just Reasons that call me at present to put a stop to the Career of my Pen. However, some things I cannot forbear to mention. Have we not had many Discourses, and even Sermons of late, Printed, that have Asserted the Necessity of our being *Re-united to Rome, as far as the Gallican Church is*, and that even Salvation is not to be expected unless we do so? Has not the *Revolution* been openly declaim'd against as Rebellion; and this Asserted that we cannot be saved, unless we restore the *true Hereditary Prince* to his just Possessions? Are there no *Medals* of that Prince handed about with the Delineation of the *Britannick Territories* upon its Reverse, and these words as the *Motto, Reddite ei cujus sunt*? Are there no Pictures of a certain Gentleman near *Westminster Hall*, with this *Motto* underneath, *Cognoscunt mei me*. Did not Mr. *Lesly*, in his *good old cause*, tell us almost a Year ago, that we should see a *Revolution* against the next 29th of *May*? And does not he Scandalize the Bulk of the Nation, when he pretends to say, that the Bulk of the Nobility, Clergy, Gentry and Commonalty, are all Ingag'd in this Design? Which surely they ought to call him to an Account for? And especially, seeing he does not only Reflect upon the Protestant Succession, but even upon the Queen Her self, p. 12. by insinuating that his *Young Hereditary King* will be brought in without any Competition at all. For, after he had said, that there must be an *Alteration and Return*, and that we must be sure, for that end, to keep out Foreigners; he adds, that there is no doing that, but by returning to our Duty. For, says

says he, while there is a Competition for the Crew, there can be no Peace, because Forreigners will put in their Oar.

But, Alas! my Friends, we have not one Progno-
stick of Ruin, that to me is more speaking, than the
general and almost universal Infatuation that Men of all
sorts are under; which is such, as that I look upon it
to be really *Judicial*, inflicted by God immediately upon
us, by way of *Judgment* and *Curse*, and as a Forerun-
ner of those Desolating Judgments that hang visibly over
us, and are likely very speedily to fall down. Even
the Heathens made this Observation of old, so that it
came to be Proverbial among them. *Quos perdere vult*
Jupiter eos prius Dementat, i. e. *When God has a mind*
to punish a People, he infatuates them beforehand.
And this is evident in all the Instances of Judgments and
Calamities mention'd in the Scripture. *For the Day of*
God's Anger always comes as a Thief in the Night; so
that when they shall say, Peace and Safety, then sudden
Destruction cometh upon them, as Travel upon a Woman
with Child, and they shall not escape, as Paul's Words
are, 1 Theff. 5. 2, 3. Thus it was both with the *An-*
tediluvians, and with the *Jews*, before their last De-
struction by the *Romans*, *Mat. 24. 37, &c.* *As it was in*
the Days that were before the Flood, they were eating and
drinking, marrying, and giving in marriage, until that
very day that Noah entred into the Ark, and knew not
until the Flood came, and took them all away: So shall
also the Coming of the Son of Man be. And, in like
manner, he compares the Security of the *Jews* then,
to the Security that the *Sodomites* were under, when
God rained Fire and Brimstone from Heaven upon them,
and destroyed them all, Luk 17. 28, 29. And there-
fore Christ reproves them for their *Stupidity*, in not
foreseeing the Events of Things, when God gave them
such plain and convictive Evidences of such terrible
Judgments hastning upon them, *Mat. 16. 3.* O ye Hy-
pocrites,

*pocrites, ye can discern the Face of the Skie; but can ye not discern the Signs of the Times? And one plain Mark of approaching Destruction which he gives us, is this, which sure is as applicable to us, as ever it was either to them or any Nation in the World, Mat. 12. 25. Every Kingdom divided against it self, is brought to Desolation. Now it is evident, that the Jewish Insatiation was sent down upon them, as a heavy Judgment, and indeed, as the Introducer or Preliminary Judgment that usher'd in all others, and that because of their Universal and National Sins: for it is prophesied of, under this Character, *Isai. 6. 9, 10, 11, 12. Goye and tell this People, Hear ye indeed, but understand not; and see ye indeed, and perceive not; and make the Heart of this People fat, and their Ears heavy, and shut their Eyes; lest they see with their Eyes, and hear with their Ears, and understand with their Hearts, and so turn, and be healed. Then said I, Lord, how long? And he answer'd, until the Cities be wasted without any Inhabitant, and the Houses without Man, and the Land be utterly desolate, and the Lord have removed Men far away, (i. e. by Death, Captivity, or Flight,) and there be a great forsaking in the midst of the Land. Now, that this had its Accomplishment, in the last Destruction of the Jews by the Romans, as well as by the Babylonians, is evident from this, that it is four times over applied to this last and final Insatiation of the Jews: for so Christ himself applies it, *Mat. 13. 14, 15.* and so does the Apostle *John, Chap. 12. 38, &c.* And so also does *Paul* twice over, viz. *Rom. 11. 8.* and *Acts 28. 26, &c.* And, Oh! that I could say, that our Case now were better than theirs was. But, alas, it is materially the very same. Our Iniquities are not only *Universal*, but, in many respects *National*, and most dreadfully *Aggravated*. For indeed we may as justly say of our selves, as ever they could, what the Prophet *Isaiah* says of the Jews of Old, *Chap. 1. 4, 5, 6, Ab,***

sinful

*sinful Nation, a People laden with Iniquity, a Seed of Evil doers, Children that are Corrupters: they have forsaken the Lord, they have provoked the Holy One of Israel to Anger, they are gone away backward. Why should ye be stricken (or tryed any more? For ye will revolt more and more. The whole Head is sick, and the whole Heart is faint; so that from the Sole of the Foot even unto the Head, there is no soundness in it, viz. in the whole Body Balatick, both as to Church and State) but Wounds and Bruises and Putrifying Sores; which neither have been, nor can be, closed, neither bound up, nor yet mollified with Ointments. And therefore we may Conclude, in our Case, as well as He, in the Case of the Jews, what he necessarily infers from those Premises, as the just Consequence resulting from them, in v. 7, 8, &c. Therefore your Country is desolate; (i. e. shall as certainly be so, as if it now were) your Cities are Burnt with Fire; your Land Strangers devour it in your presence, and it is Desolate being overthrown by Strangers; and the Daughter of Zion is left as a Cottage in a Vineyard, as a Lodge in a Garden of Cucumbers, as a Besieged City, &c. The sequel of the Chapter, even to the end of it, is fully as applicable to our Case now, as it was to them then, and therefore equally deserves to be as well Considered, as what I have Cited. But I must leave the Reader to think it over himself, as he will find it in his Bible, because I dare not expatiate now upon such Cases. And, for the same Reason, I shall barely Mark out these few Passages farther, for any, that has a just Concern for his Religion and Country, and for himself and Family, to Meditate a little upon, viz. the 14, 15, and 18 Chapters of *Jeremy*; the 18, 19, 20, 21, and 22 Chapters of *Ezckiel*; the 2d of *Amos*, particularly v. 2. *Joel* 1. 15. and 2. 2, 3, &c. *Luke* 19. 41, 42, 43, 44. compar'd with Ch. 21. and the 24th Chapter of *Matthew*, and all these three last compared with the History of the final Destruction of *Jerusalem* and *Judea*, written by *Josephus*.*

Now certainly there cannot be a more dismal State, than for a Nation, blest with eminent Priviledges, and particularly Revelation, to provoke God to that degree, *that He is oblig'd at last, as he is the Supreme and Righteous Ruler and Judge of Nations, in a consistency with his own Character and Nature, as well as declared Rule of Government, (which we have most clearly set down, Jer. 18. 7, 8, 9, 10. compar'd with Amos 2. 2.) to punish the same, without any possibility of doing otherwise, unless he should break his Word, and the Fundamental Rules of a just Government, nay and act too inconsistently with himself.* For, that this was the Case with the Israelites of Old, is evident from *Jer. 14. 11, 12. Pray not for this People for their good. For when they Fast and Pray, I will not hear their cry, ——— but I will consume them by the Sword, and by the Famine, and by the Pestilence, and Chap. 15. 1, 2. Tho' Moses and Samuel stood before me, yet my mind could not be toward this People; Cast them out of my sight, and let them go forth. And, if they shall say, whither shall we go forth? Then thou shalt tell them, thus says the Lord, such as are for Death, to Death; and such as are for the Sced, to the Sword; and such as are for Famine, to Famine; and such as are for Captivity, to Captivity.* Which passage compare with *Ezek. 14. 14.* So that, after these Considerations, I must be so free, as to advance this Proposition, pursuant to the former; that, if our Case be the same, as that of the *Jews*, both in their First and Last Desolations, then it is such also, as *That God cannot save us, neither according to his Ordinary nor Extraordinary Providence.* Not the Former way; because we have the means of safety in our own Hand, and yet are so far from using the same, that we abhor them, and are weary to get rid of them, yea, and Curse the Memory of those by whom God brought about our *Salvation*; nay further are enraged, even at God himself, who wrought such deliverance for us; seeing many now of all Ranks are, in a most

most formidable manner, *Associated* together to put a final End to it, and seem to have malice enough to cut off all those that had any Hand in our Preservation hitherto, or that are so much as suspected to befriend it. Nor can God therefore save such a Nation, by *Extraordinary Providences*, when we are so Wicked and Mad, as to refuse to be secure, and voluntarily renounce, and give away our Securities, and are resolutely bent on Misery; and that with such Impiety and Blasphemy, as to inscribe their Frantick and Hellish Doctrines of Tyranny, Slavery, *Superstition*, Persecution, &c. to God himself; when he does so often and so openly, in his Word, declare his detestation of such things, as I have fully proved in the preceding Discourse. So that, tho' *the Name of God* be the only Topick pleadable by good Men, in such a desperate State of a Nation, when no real Argument can possibly be drawn from Man, but from God only; and has therefore been always pleaded *as such* by Eminently Holy Men, under such Critical and Dismal Circumstances, and in such Dangerous times, as we see, in the Instances in *Exod. 32.* and *Numb. 14.* and *1 Sam. 12. 22, 23.* *Josh. 7. 8, 9.* *Jer. 14. 21* *Dan. 9. 19.* *John 12. 27, 28.* Yet it is possible, that this very Topick and Consideration may be really against us, when we may perhaps be apt to flatter our selves, that it is for us; for this was certainly the Case of the Jews of Old, as every one must own, that will be at the pains duely to ponder and consider *Jer. 34. 16, 17.* and *44. 26.* and *Mal. 1. 6, 10, 12.* and *3. 16.*

I have wholly confin'd my self here to Scriptural Prophecies, without taking notice of the many odd Propheticall Expressions, that have dropt from great and good Men, such as the Learned *Lisber*; of which I might have cited some scores. Far less have I troubl'd any body with *Astrological Observations* and *Predictions*, tho' some such have been very unaccountably verified. However I hope it will neither be unpleasant nor unedify-

edifying, to Cite some lines out of a former High Church Man, but such a one as all to Celebrate as a Holy Man, as well as an Elegant Poet. It is the Devout Mr. *George Herbert*, in his Poem called the *Church Militant*, Written near 80 Years ago; seeing his Poems were Composed some Years before 1636, at which time he Died.

*Religion stands on tip-toe in our Land,
Ready to fit to the America strand.
When height of Malice and prodigious Lusts,
Impudent Sinning, Witchcraft and Distrusts,
The Marks of future Bane shall fill our Cup
Up to the Brim and make our Measure up;
When Sein shall swallow Tiber and the Thames
By letting in them both pollutes her Streams,
When Italy of us shall have her Will,
And all her Calender of Sins fulfil.
By which One may foretell what Sins next Year,
Shall both in France and England Domineer.
Then shall Religion to America flee
They have their time of Gospel even as we.*

When *Herbert* Wrote these Lines, every one knows, that the *Tagus* and not the *Sein* had swallowed up the *Tiber*, i. e. that *Spain* and not *France*, was at the Head of the *Romish Interest*. But, now his Prophecy being thus far fulfilled, by the *Seins* swallowing up both the *Tiber* and the *Tagus*; I shall give these Lines the following turn; adapting the main drift of them to the Event, as it is now in part accomplish'd, and I am afraid will soon be more evidently.

*Now Sein has swallowed Tiber and the Thames,
Has let in both and Poison'd all her Streams.
Now Italy of us, hopes for her Will,
And does her Calender of Sins fulfil.*

*May God prevent the Crimes and Sins next Year
 That would in France and England Domineer.
 Here's height of Malice, and Prodigious Lusts,
 Impudent Sinning, Witchcrafts and Distrusts.
 These marks of suddain Bane now fill our Cup,
 Up to the Brim, and make our Measure up.
 Nay lead us to Concur, as well as Wink,
 Of France and Rome to make our Land the Sink,
 God change the Omen; or Migremus hinc.*

This last short Latin Sentence, refers to the Story of *Josephus*, of noises heard in the Temple, a little before its Destruction, with an articulate Voice, as of a Multitude crouding out of it, saying, *Let us depart hence*, which he supposes was spoken by Angels, when God withdrew wholly the pledges of his presence, from that place and Nation. And perhaps it may deserve our Consideration, to compare this Sentence mention'd by *Josephus* with the same or like Expression in *John 7. 3.* but especially with those in *Matth. 23. 38.* and *Luke 21. 21.*

Good Lord! what shall come of us, if our God fully take his leave of us? And yet sure we can less Claim an Immunity this way, than the *Jews* of Old, who were so long not only the darling, but indeed the only National People of God also. Nay, what if God be already departed from us? It is in vain to say, that there are many good Men among us. For so there were in *Israel*, who were saved, even of those Men whose Carcasses did yet fall in the Wilderness, as we learn *Heb. 3. 17.* And we are sure, there were many good Men, at the time of the *Babylonish Captivity*, besides *Jeremy, Ezekiel, Daniel* and his Companions.

Allow me therefore, after all these Considerations, to suppose that God is now materially, by the Voice of his Providence, loudly speaking to this Nation, what he did of Old to the *Jews*, *Isa. 5. 1, 2, &c.* And up-

on the Foot of this Supposition, I beg you to think, if the Words there be not as justly applicable to us now, as they were then to them. And, seeing therefore, I reckon the Cases to be *this* exactly Parallell, I think we ought to read them, as directed now to our selves. *My well-beloved hath a Vineyard in a very Fruitful Hill. And he fenced it, and gathered out the stones, and planted it with the choicest Vines, &c.*——— *And now, O Inhabitants of London and Men of Britain, Judge, I pray you, betwixt me and my Vineyard. What could I have done more to my Vineyard, that I have not done in it?— And now, I will tell you what I will do to my Vineyard. I will take away the hedge thereof, and it shall be eaten up; and break down the wall thereof, and it shall be troden down; and I will lay it waste, &c.* And it well deserves our Consideration, how our Saviour draws the very same sort of Application of this Parable, out of the Mouths of the *High Priests and Scribes*, so as to make them thus pass Sentence on themselves, as we see *Matth. 21. 33, &c.* (which compare with *Mark 12. 1, &c.*, and *Luke 20. 9, &c.*) where he asks them this Question, *v. 40. When the Lord therefore of the Vineyard cometh, what will he do unto those Husband Men? They Answer v. 41. He will miserably destroy those Wicked Men, (viz. themselves, tho' they did not just then apprehend that they were the Husbandmen meant, as we see they soon did afterwards, even almost the very minute after their pronouncing this Sentence, as appears v. 45.) and will let out the Vineyard to other Husband Men, who shall render him the Fruits in their Seasons.* Thus the *Chief Priests, Pharisees, Elders and Scribes*, passed this Sentence. For it was the joynt Body of all they that spoke this, as we see *v. 15, 23, 45.* and consequently the *Jewish Government* it self; being thus over-ruled by God, to pass Sentence upon themselves, and that Prophetically too, tho' beyond their Intention; just as *Caiphas* was over-ruled also to do afterwards, as we see *John 11. 49, 50, 51, 52.* And, as they

they applied this Parable thus against themselves; and as Christ thus explains to them the design of their own Words, in their having done so, when he says, *v. 43. Therefore I say unto you, the Kingdom of God, i. e. the Gospel Dispensation, shall be taken from you, and given to a Nation, i. e. to the Gentiles, that shall bring forth the Fruits thereof*: So I must be so bold, as to tell you, my Countrymen of Great Britain, that God charges you to tell: *What one thing God could have done more to these Britannick Nations, for their Peace and Salvation, both Temporal and Eternal, than he hath actually done already.* And, seeing this Question is as unanswerable in our Case now, as it was in that of the Jews of Old; I hope it is no presumption in me to tell you, *That God is about to destroy utterly these Wicked Husband Men among us, that now betray the Interests both of God and Men, and are making Sale of us to France and Rome; and that he will, if Repentance prevent not, take his Gospel, for a time, from us, and give it to other Nations, who (as Old Herbert says,) must have their times of Gospel, even as we have had ours.*

Now, as God has left nothing undone, on his part; that was proper for him to do, for our good: So I dare venture to say, as in the sight of him that knows all things, that I have labour'd to do all, on my part, that a private and obscure Man in my circumstances, could possibly do for the publick Interest. And tho' I have had little thanks from Men this way, yet I have sweet Composure and Peace of Mind, in making this Review of time Past; that I cannot Recollect any one thing omitted by me, towards the Publick Safety, from the beginning of the Revolution to this present day, April the 11th 1711. (on which I happen providentially to wind up this Discourse, and which day 22 Years ago, I remember to have seen as solemnly and nationally observed, on a Coronation occasion, as seems now to be despised or forgotten) *but what had*

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been either sinful or imprudent for me to have meddl'd with. As therefore it is above Twenty Years ago, that I began to look upon the *Revolution*, as the *Last and Greatest Tryal of Britain*, by which they were brought into a *New State of Probation*, whither they would improve or sin away so signal a *Deliverance*, by which the *Ballance of all Europe* was intrusted into our hands, *in order to our becoming* (upon this very Account, and accordingly as we should be found *True or False* hereafter to that great and important *Trust*,) *at last*, either to the *Most Glorious and Renounced People* in the *World*, or otherwise the *Most Miserable and Despicable* of all *Nations*: So I ventur'd very early to give publick, as well as private Warning this way, even then when Youth might have been thought excuse enough for my total Silence. But the publick Good overballanced all other Considerations with me, though I did what Service I could then, without any more Affectation to be known, than I now do to be talk'd of; for which end I did then, as now, veil my self under the Mantle of an Innocent Disguise. As therefore I did then labour to discover the exact *Dilemma of these Nations*, and as I do have often since enlarged in thoughts of this Kind: So I now give you my Last and finally Conclusive Thoughts in this present Treatise, which, I shall end, with an *Applicatory Citation*, (after the same manner, that I applied the former) of *another Prophetical Account* of what I expect, though with fear and trembling, to see very speedily Verified, if God dont give us the Grace of Repentance, it is the Words of *Habbakkuk, Chap. 1. 1, 5, 6, &c.* Concerning the *Chaldeans*; which I thus cite to you.——— *I will work a work in your days, which you will not believe, (alafs! For this your Infatuation) though it be told you. For lo, I raise up the French* (for I say of them, in opposition to the vain boasts of Valour and Successes hitherto as *Jeremy* did of old of the *Chaldeans, Chap. 37. 10. though ye had smitten*

smitten the whole Army of the Chaldeans, and there remained but wounded Men, yet should they rise up, and burn this City with Fire,) that bitter and hasty Nation; which shall march through the Breadth of the Land, to Possess the Dwelling Places, that are not theirs. They are Terrible and Dreadful,——their Horses, (i. e. their Cavalry, and particularly their Dragoons) are swifter than the Leopards, and more fierce than the Evening Wolves; and their Horsemen shall spread themselves, and come from far, and shall fly as the Eagle that hasteth to devour. They shall come all for Violence,——and they shall gather the Captivity, i. e. the Captives to be transplanted, as the Sand. And they shall Scoff at your Kings, and your Princes shall be a Scorn unto them: And they shall Deride every strong Hold; for they shall heap up Earth, and soon take it. But at last shall the French Monarch change his Mind, and he shall pass over all the Bounds, even of the Barbarities of an Heathen Conqueror, and he shall offend, by his Cruelties on a Religious Account, and by Imputing his Success to his Idol Gods: And then will God arise, and destroy both him and his Kingdom. If you would know, how this shall be done, apply to the French King, what you read of, as spoken to the Assyrian King of old, Is. 10. 5, 6. &c. O you French Monarch, thou art the Rod of mine Anger, and the Staff, which is in your hand, is my Indignation. I will send him against au Hypocritical Nation; and against the People of my Wrath will I give him a Charge, to take the Spoil and the Prey, and so tread them down as Mire in the Streets. Howbeit, he meaneth not so, neither doth his heart think so, but it is in his heart to cut of Nations not a few.——Wherefore it shall come to pass, when the Lord hath performed his whole work upon London and Britain, that he will punish the proud heart of the King of France, and the glory of his high looks——And it shall come to pass, in that day, that the Remnant of

Britain; and such as are escaped out of England, Scotland and Ireland shall no more be fond of a French Arbitrary Monarchy, and of an Italian High-Church; but they shall stay themselves upon the Lord and his holy Revealed Religion, not barely by a Profession, but in Truth and Reality. And thus I have open'd a Window to you, and given you a Perspective Glass, through which you may look, as through a Telescope, and view both the Dark Scenes that seem now to be passing upon us, and the Bright Ones that will be opened at length. But, as for the Times and Seasons of these, especially the the more distant ones, I leave them to God, who has reserv'd the Secret of them in his own Hands. And therefore, having once and again formerly given my thoughts of these, by way of modest Conjectures: I shall only say this here, that as I presume to no farther certainty, as to these, now than then; so I reckon it impertinent to swell this Discourse by a Repetition of any thing of this Nature.

I shall therefore only add, that, from the evident Foresight of what I have mention'd, I have often been forced to Act over again, what Christ is said to have done, when he drew near Jerusalem, Luke 19. 41, 42, 43, 44. For, I have frequently, as I drew near to London, wept over that City, in this or the like Train of thoughts, which have sometimes been so Impressive, as to draw forth Words, to this purpose. 'Ab! Poor City, if thou hadst known, even thou, in this thy day, the things that belong to thy Peace! Happy hadst thou been, even till now. But alas! They are hid from thine Eyes. Therefore the days shall come, when thine Enemies shall destroy thee, and lay thee even with the Ground, and thine Inhabitants within thee, because thou wouldest not know and improve the day of thy Visitation. Alas, O Lord, who shall live when thou dost these things. If therefore, O God, they must come to pass, if indeed they must be, I say again if they

' they must needs happen, and that soon, without any
 ' possibility of Prevention; then, be pleased O Lord
 ' to grant me these *Requests*, which I do most humbly
 ' and yet most importunately lay before thee; *First*,
 ' that a peculiar regard may be had to thy most faith-
 ' ful and sincere Servants, that a way of Escape may
 ' be opened to them; and if this Favour cannot be
 ' granted to all, *then* let those that suffer be as emi-
 ' nently Animated for, and supported under their
 ' Sufferings, as were they Martyrs of old; that
 ' thus again it may be seen, *that the Blood of thy*
 ' *Saints is still the Seed of thy Church.* *Secondly*, I beg,
 ' that thou wouldest, in Mercy, *shorten* the Calamities
 ' of that time; for, as Christ says, unless those *days*
 ' *should be shortened*, (Matt. 24. 22.) *there should no*
 ' *Flesh be saved.* As therefore he promised then; so
 ' let it be seen also in our Case, *that for the Elects sake*
 ' *those days shall be shortened.* And *Thirdly*, my Re-
 ' quest is also, that thy *Holy Religion*, and true *British*
 ' and *Revolution Liberty*, may Revive again, and that
 ' the *Glory* of the *Future Constitution* of these Nations
 ' may far exceed the *Glory* of the former; that thus,
 ' though the *Carcasses* of this *Generation* fall in the
 ' *Wilderness*, yet these *Glorious Privileges*, may be in-
 ' joyed by our poor *Posterity* afterwards, even with
 ' far greater Advantage than ever we have enjoyed them,
 ' in our day. Oh! Lord, allow my Prayers, allow my
 ' Sighs and Tears, so far to prevail, that these Petiti-
 ' ons may be graciously granted: Which I beg earnestly
 ' for the sake of thy dear Son, and our dear Saviour,
 ' *Jesus Christ* our Lord. *Amen.*

But, while I recollect and write these things, my
 Tears and Sighs interrupt me so, that I can proceed no
 farther.———Oh! Good God, accept my Labours and
 Endeavours, to serve thee, and to be useful to my Fel-
 low Creatures and Countrymen.———And Oh! Ye
Britains, despise not the Information, Counsel and

Warn-

Warning, of *one that has obtain'd Grace*, both to *know* much of Gods mind, and to *be faithful* in imparting it to you, for your good: *For God hath roared already as a Lion*, in awful Dispensations; *and who then will not fear?* *and he hath spoken also distinctly*; *and who then can forbear to Propheste*, Am 3. 8. And therefore let me beg you, my Friends, if you can do no more, to joyn with me, in those Requests I have just now mention'd. This is that I demand of you, for all my Study and Pains, in your Service; who have always been, and ever shall Continue,

Your Orator, at the Throne of Grace,

and your true Friend to serve you,

F. T.

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A .
COLLECTION
OF
PAPERS, &c.

A
COLLECTION
OF
PAPERS &c.

A
COLLECTION
OF
PAPERS
AGAINST THE
Scots Toleration and Patronages,

THAT
Have been Printed or Presented to
Her MAJESTY, and the Two
Houses of PARLIAMENT.

To which is added, the

Abjuration OATH,

WITH AN

Introductory LETTER;

CONTAINING

Some REMARKS upon it.

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AGAINST THE

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THAT

Have been Printed or Presented to
Her Majesty, and the Two
Houses of PARLIAMENT.

To which is added, the

Adjuration OATH.

WITH AN

Index of LETTERS.

CONTAINING

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this in duplicate, 1788. Price One Shilling.

But since you tell me there are
some of your own who are
in the same manner
I shall not presume to say any
further about the said Laws, than what you will here
meet

A

COLLECTION

OF

PAPERS, &c.

S I R,

I Herewith send you all the Publick Papers
that have been writ or printed in behalf
of the Church of *Scotland*, against the
Toleration Bill, and that for restoring
of Patronages. . . By these Papers you will ea-
sily see, That the Commission of the General
Assembly of our Church has not been want-
ing to espouse her Cause; and that others of
her Members have also given Proofs of their
Zeal for Her on this Occasion.

I shall not presume to say any Thing further
about the said Laws, than what you will here

meet with. But since you tell me, there are some Men of Worth and Piety, who still scruple the Oath of Abjuration, I shall make bold to give you my Thoughts upon that Head, in as few Words as I can.

I know that no Presbyterian Objects against Abjuring the Pretender, or Swearing to maintain the *Hannover* Succession, but only against those Words of the Oath, which oblige them to maintain the said Succession, as *the same is and stands settled by the Act, for the further Limitation of the Crown.* Because they think that this obliges them to maintain the Limitations on the Successor, the First of which is, *That whosoever shall come to the Possession of this Crown, shall join in Communion with the Church of England as by Law establish'd.*

It must be own'd, that at first View this seems to lay an Obligation upon them, to maintain what is contrary to their own Principles; but, if the Matter be duly consider'd, it will appear to be a Mistake; for in the Oath of Abjuration, Enacted by the 13th and 14th of *William III.* Cap. 6. by the First of *Anne* Cap. 22. and by the Fourth of *Anne* Cap. 8. it is evident, That the Oath obliges those who take it, only to defend the *Limitation* and Succession to the Crown, according to the Acts which settle the Succession on Her present Majesty, the Protestant Heirs of Her Bo-

dy, and the Protestant Line of Hannover, without binding any Man, as I conceive, to stand by or maintain the particular Limitations, contain'd in the Acts for settling the said Succession, as they import Conditions upon the Hannover Family. I am the more confirm'd in this Opinion, because it appears plain, that our Legislators did never intend these Conditions upon the Hannover Family to be unalterable, otherwise they would not have repeal'd that Clause in the Limitations, which obliged all Privy Councillors to sign the Resolutions taken in the Privy Council, to which they gave Advice or Consent, as it is plain they have done by the Fourth of Anne Cap. 8. Sect. 24. and that other Clause in the said Limitations, *That no Person who has an Office or Place of Profit under the King, or receives a Pension from the Crown, shall be capable of Serving as a Member of the House of Commons;* which is also repeal'd by Sect. 25. of the said Act.

Now since it is very well known, That all Persons in Trust, had before this Repeal, been obliged to take the Oath of Abjuration, and to promise to support, maintain and defend, the Limitation and Succession of the Crown, as it is, and stands limited to the Princess Sophia, &c. it is absurd so much as to think, that the Legislature wou'd have oblig'd those who had taken the said Oath to perjure themselves, as they must certainly have done, had

those particular Limitations or Conditions upon the *Hannover* Family been made unalterable.

It is likewise very well known, That the *English* Dissenters did make the same Objection against the said Oath, but were told by the Judges, That the Oath did not oblige them to any Thing contrary to heir own Principles, the Freedom of which was allow'd 'em by the Toleration Act, but only obliged them to stand by the Protestant Succession as limited to the Protestant Line.

The Case is yet more plain, with Relation to the Presbyterians of *Scotland*, who by the Union Act are exempted from all Oaths, Tests or Subscriptions, contrary to, or inconsistent with, their Establish'd Religion, Presbyterian-Church Government, Worship and Discipline; and since the Union Act not only stands unrepeal'd, but is in its own Nature unrepealable, except the Two Nations who agreed to the Treaty return to their former separate State by the Dissolution of the Union; the Presbyterians *Scotland* can in no Construction of Law or Reason be suppos'd to stand oblig'd to any Thing in the said Oath of Abjuration, which is Contradictory to their Establish'd Principles, Government, Worship and Discipline.

This must appear plain beyond Contradiction, not only by the Union Act, but by the Sense of the Legislature, when they enacted the Toleration of the Episcopal Party in Scotland; for it is very well known, That the House of Lords alter'd the Words, *as the same is and stanas settled*, and made 'em, *which is and stands settled*, on Purpose to obviate the Scruple: And when the Commons would not agree to that Alteration, and the Lords thought fit to pass from it, it was declared openly by both Parties in the House, who were for and against the said Alteration, That the Word *As*, did not import that the Presbyterians of Scotland were oblig'd to any thing contrary to their known Principles and Church-Government, ratify'd by the Union Act; otherwise the Clause must have run thus, *That they were so oblig'd, notwithstanding that Clause of the Union Act, which exempts all the People of Scotland within that Kingdom for ever, from any Oath, Test or Subscription, contrary to, or inconsistent with, their Establish'd Religion, Church Government, Worship and Discipline, &c.* And since it is a known Maxim with respect to the Legislature, That *Cujus est condere, ejus est explicare*; this Explication at passing the Act, is certainly sufficient to remove all Scruples on that Head, and to demonstrate in what Sense the Legislature impos'd the said Oath.

But

But to make this more plain, and to re-
 move all Scruples on that Head, the Commis-
 sion of the General Assembly of the Church
 of *Scotland*, did very judiciously as well as ho-
 nestly in their Address and Representation
 to Her Majesty, take Notice of that Scruple,
 as if the Conditions mention'd in the Act of
 Parliament, ' Establishing the Succession re-
 ferr'd to by the said Oath, were to be un-
 derstood as a Part thereof; and that to
 swear to some Things in those Conditions,
 seems not consistent with their known Prin-
 ciples; and that it is expressly declared and
 statuted, by the Treaty and Articles of Uni-
 on and by the Acts of Parliaments of both
 Kingdoms ratifying the same, That none of
 the Subjects of *Scotland* shall be liable to,
 but all and every one of them for ever, free
 of any Oath, Test or Subscription within
Scotland, contrary to, or inconsistent with,
 our present Presbyterian Church Establish-
 ment; (therefore say they) we in the most
 humble and dutiful Manner most earnestly
 beseech and Obtest, That this our Address
 and Representation, and most sincere De-
 claration therein contain'd, may be Graci-
 ously Accepted by your Majesty, without
 respect to the aforesaid Conditions
 scrupled at, as the just and true Signifi-
 cation of our Allegiance and Duty, and our
 Sense of the aforesaid Oath and En-
 gage-

engagement, to prevent all Mistakes
and Misrepresentations that possibly
we may be liable to in this Matter.

Now since here are such plain and explicit Declarations, and Explanations by the Legislature, who impos'd the Oath, and by the People who are to take it, as to the Sense in which it is impos'd and taken, it is evident, that it can admit of no other Sense as to the Presbyterians in Scotland; so that they may safely take it *in Judgment, Truth, and Righteousness*, which are the necessary Qualifications in all Oaths.

One wou'd think it needless to say any more in a Thing so plain of itself; yet it may not be improper to add, That Her Majesty did graciously accept this Representation of the Commission of the General Assembly, and the same having been Published and Printed at *London*, while the Parliament that Enacted the said Oath is Sitting, without the least Contradiction to it, or Animadversion upon it from them; there cannot be a plainer Proof, that all the Parts of the Legislature do accept of and agree to this Explanation by the Commission of the General Assembly.

I know, Sir, that it had been needless to say so much upon a Subject so plain to a Man
of

of your Judgment and Penetration ; but I hope you'll bear with me, since what I say is design'd for the Satisfaction of those, who living remote from the Seat of the Legislature, have no Opportunity to know these Things, without being informed by some such Method as this.

'Tis very well known here, that the Adresse of the Commission, which is the Representative of the Church of *Scotland* for the Time; has given very great Satisfaction to all the Friends of the *Hannover* Succession. It is equally known, that it has very much mortify'd the Enemies of that Illustrious Family, who had industriously represented the Presbyterians of *Scotland*, both in Print and Conversation, as Enemies to the Protestant Succession, because some of them scrupled this Oath, upon the Reasons above-mentioned.

'Tis likewise very well known, That the Enemies of the Church of *Scotland*, and of the *Hannover* Family, conceiv'd very great Hopes, that the End of imposing this Oath, would be frustrated, and their Friends exempted from taking it, because they flatter'd themselves that the *Scot's* Presbyterian Ministers wou'd refuse it upon those Scruples; and therefore you are not to wonder that they are very much fretted at this Representation
of

of the Commission, because it contains so strong and plain a Renunciation of the Pretender's Claim, and such an explicit Declaration of Zeal for the *Hannover* Succession.

It is therefore the Hopes of all your Friends here; that as the Commission has so happily begun, the Assembly will as happily conclude this Important Affair, by approving what the Commission has done, which, 'tis hop'd, will remove all the former Scruples that any of the Ministers of the Church of *Scotland* did entertain upon this Head.

If it should happen to be otherwise, (which God forbid,) you may assure yourselves your Enemies will Triumph. They will then loudly proclaim; that what they formerly said of your being Enemies at bottom to the *Hannover* Succession, is now confirmed by your selves; and it will be impossible that all your Past and Future Declarations to the contrary can rub off the Slanders.

This must weaken the Hands of your Friends, and put them out of a Condition to appear for you. It will make the Church of *Scotland* liable to the Resentments of the *Hannover* Family, whenever it pleases God to bring them to the Crown; and it is impossible

possible that ever the Church of *Scotland* can expect any Favour from the Pretender, if God, for our Sins, shou'd suffer him to Reign over us; for tho' (which I don't so much as apprehend) our Church, or any considerable Number of her Ministers, shou'd refuse this Oath, they must expect; to be no otherwise rewarded for it, than as King *Charles II.* did reward them for refusing to abjure him, as indeed they neither cou'd, nor ought in Conscience to have done; but the Case, according to our known Principles, is quite otherwise as to the Pretender.

Certainly there's no Presbyterian in *Scotland* so weak, but they must needs know that the Pretender's Friends are their avow'd Enemies; and since they give you so much Trouble at present, while the Law is on your Side, what can you expect from them, but the Revival of those Sanguinary Laws, which our Parliament after the Revolution justly declared to be Impious, and a yet more barbarous Execution of those Laws, than that you formerly groan'd under, when your Lives and Estates were at the Mercy of Men, without Bowels of Compassion, who depriv'd you of both, without so much as a Form of Trial.

You may depend upon it, that your having renounced the Pretender, the voluntary

Act of your Church enjoining the *Hannover* Family to be pray'd for, and this Representation of the Commission, will never be pardon'd by the Court of *St. Germain's*.

It is therefore hop'd, That no considerable Number of the Presbyterians of *Scotland* will bring such a Danger and Scandal upon the whole, as must necessarily result from the Refusal of this Oath, since the said Refusal cannot oblige her Enemies, but will certainly lose her Friends; and if the *Hannover* Family shou'd come to the Throne with so just a Prejudice against you, as this Refusal will occasion, you may easily guess what will become of the Church of *Scotland*.

I don't urge these Things, Sir, from any Diffidence that I have of the Bulk of the Presbyterians, nor that I wou'd persuade to any Severity by the Church in pressing her Members to take this Oath. Her General Assemblies, which have been so favourable to those who decline her Communion, can never be supposed to want a due Tenderness for those who adhere to it. But all I plead for is, that Proper and Christian Methods may be taken to remove those Scruples, which in my humble Opinion can't be done more effectually, than by the Assemblies approving the Representation of the Commission, which will sufficiently vindicate our Church

Church from all Suspicion of being averſe to the *Hannover* Succeſſion; and if any of her Members continue in thoſe groundleſs Scruples, and make themſelves incapable of poſſeſſing their Churches, the Charge will be imputed to their own particular Weakneſs, and not in the leaſt affect the whole Body. I Pray God to direct that Aſſembly, of which you have the Honour to be a Member, to prudent Meaſures in this Nice Conjuncture, when ſo many wait for their Halting, and am,

S I R,

With the greateſt Reſpect,

Your moſt Humble,

London, April 4.

1712.

and Obedient Servant.

The Author

T H E
A C T

For Securing the
Protestant Religion

A N D

Presbyterian *Church-Government* :
With the Statutory A C T.

Which were Ratify'd by the Touch of the Royal Scep-
ter at *Edinburgh*, the 16th of *January*, 1707.

By his Grace James Duke of *Queensberry*, Her Majesty's High Com-
missioner for that Kingdom.

OUR SOVEREIGN LADY, and the E-
states of Parliament, considering, That by the
late Act of Parliament for a Treaty with *Eng-
land* for an Union of Both Kingdoms, it is pro-
vided, That the Commissioners for that Trea-
ty should not treat of, or concerning any Alteration of
the Worship, Discipline, and Government of the Church of
this Kingdom, as now by Law Established : Which Trea-
ty being now reported to the Parliament ; and it being
reasonable and necessary, that the true Protestant Reli-
gion,

gion, as presently profess'd within this Kingdom, with the Worship, Discipline, and Government of this Church, should be effectually and unalterably secur'd; Therefore Her Majesty, with Advice and Consent of the said Estates of Parliament, doth hereby Establish and Confirm the said true Protestant Religion, and the Worship, Discipline, and Government of this Church, to continue without any Alteration to the People of this Land in all succeeding Generations: And more especially Her Majesty, with Advice and Consent aforesaid, Ratifies, Approves, and for ever Confirms the fifth Act of the First Parliament of King *William* and Queen *Mary*, entitul'd, *An Act ratifying the Confession of Faith, and settling Presbyterian Church Government, with the hail other Acts of Parliament relating thereto, in prosecution of the Declaration of the Estates of this Kingdom, containing the Claim of Right, bearing date the Eleventh of April 1689.* And Her Majesty, with Advice and Consent aforesaid, expressly provides and declares, That the foresaid true Protestant Religion, contain'd in the above-mention'd Confession of Faith, with the Form and Purity of Worship presently in Use within this Church, and its Presbyterian Church Government and Discipline; that is to say, The Government of the Church by Kirk Sessions, Presbyteries, Provincial Synods, and General Assemblies, all Establish'd by the foresaid Acts of Parliament, pursuant to the Claim of Right, shall remain and continue unalterable; and that the said Presbyterian Government shall be the only Government of the Church within the Kingdom of *Scotland.* And further, for the greater security of the foresaid Protestant Religion, and of the Worship, Discipline, and Government of this Church, as above-establish'd, Her Majesty, with Advice and Consent aforesaid, Statutes and Enacts, That the Universities and Colleges of *St. Andrews, Glasgow, Aberdeen* and *Edinburgh,* as now establish'd by Law, shall continue within this Kingdom for ever: And that in all time coming, no Professors, Principals, Regents, Masters, or others, bearing Office in any University-College or School within this Kingdom, be capable, or be admitted, or allow'd to continue in the Exercise of their said Functions, but such as shall own and acknowledg the Civil Government in manner prescrib'd, or to be prescrib'd by the Acts of Parliament: As also that before or at their Admissions, they do, and shall acknowledg, and profess, and shall subscribe

subscribe to the foresaid Confession of Faith, as the Confession of their Faith; and that they will practise and conform themselves to the Worship presently in Use in this Church, and submit themselves to the Government and Discipline thereof; and never endeavour directly or indirectly, the Prejudice or Subversion of the same; and that before the respective Presbyteries of their Bounds, by whatsomever Gift, Presentation, or Provision they may be thereto provided.

And further, Her Majesty, with Advice foresaid, expressly Declares and Statutes, That none of the Subjects of this Kingdom shall be liable to, but all and every one of them for ever free of any Oath, Test, or Subscription, within this Kingdom, contrary to, or inconsistent with the foresaid true Protestant Religion and Presbyterian Church-Government, Worship and Discipline, as above establish'd: And that the same within the Bounds of this Church and Kingdom, shall never be impos'd upon, or requir'd of them in any sort.

And lastly, That after the decease of Her present Majesty, (whom God long preserve) the Sovereign succeeding to her in the Royal Government of the Kingdom of *Great-Britain*, shall in all Time coming, at his or her Accession to the Crown, swear and subscribe, That they shall inviolably maintain and preserve the foresaid Settlement of the true Protestant Religion, with the Government, Worship, Discipline, Rights and Privileges of this Church, as above-established by the Laws of this Kingdom, in prosecution of the Claim of Right: And it is hereby Statute and Ordain'd, That this Act of Parliament, with the Establishment therein contain'd, shall be held and observ'd in all Time coming, as a Fundamental and Essential Condition of any Treaty or Union, to be concluded betwixt the Two Kingdoms, without any Alteration thereof, or Derogation thereto, in any sort for ever: As also, that this Act of Parliament and Settlement therein contain'd, shall be insert and repeated in an Act of Parliament that shall pass for agreeing and concluding the foresaid Treaty or Union betwixt the two Kingdoms; and that the same shall be therein expressly declar'd to be a Fundamental and Essential Condition of the said Treaty or Union in all time coming.

The Conclusion or Statutory Act.

WHICH Articles of Union, and Act immediately above-written, Her Majesty, with Advice and Consent foreſaid, Statutes, Enacts and Ordains, to be and continue in all time coming, the ſure and perpetual Foundation of ane compleat and intire Union of the Two Kingdoms of *Scotland* and *England*, under this expreſs Condition and Proviſion, That this Approbation and Ratification of the foreſaid Articles and Act ſhall be no ways binding on this Kingdom, until the ſaid Articles and Act be Ratify'd, Approven and Confirm'd by Her Majesty, with and by the Authority of the Parliament of *England*, as they are now agreed to, Approven and Confirm'd by Her Majesty, with and by the Authority of the Parliament of *Scotland*; Declaring nevertheless, That the Parliament of *England* may provide for the Security of the Church of *England*, as they think expedient, to take place within the Bounds of the ſaid Kingdom of *England*, and not derogating from the Security above-provided, for eſtabliſhing of the Church of *Scotland* within the Bounds of this Kingdom: As alſo the ſaid Parliament of *England* may extend the Additions, and other Proviſions contain'd in the Articles of Union as above inſerted, in Favours of the Subjects of *Scotland*, to, and in Favours of the Subjects of *England*, which ſhall not ſuſpend or derogate from the Force and Effect of this preſent Ratification, but ſhall be underſtood as herein included, without the neceſſity of any new Ratification in the Parliament of *Scotland*.

And laſtly, Her Majesty Enacts and Declares, That all Laws and Statutes in this Kingdom, ſo far as they are contrary to, or inconfiſtent with the Terms of theſe Articles as above-mention'd, ſhall from and after the Union ceaſe, and become void.

T O T H E
Queen's Most Excellent Majesty.

*The most humble Representation and Petition of
the Commission of the late General Assembly of
the Church of SCOTLAND.*

May it please your Majesty,

THE Church of Christ in *Scotland* being, as we apprehend, in hazard of sad Alterations and Innovations, inconsistent with, and contrary to that happy Establishment secur'd to us by the Laws, both of God and the Realm, from a Bill, intituled, *A Bill to prevent the disturbing those of the Episcopal Communion, in that Part of Great-Britain, call'd Scotland, in the Exercise of their Religious Worship, and in the Use of the Liturgy of the Church of England; And so repealing an Act of Parliament against Irregular Baptism and Marriages:* We do in all Duty and Humility fly to your Majesty's Royal Protection, so often and so graciously assur'd to us, both by your Royal Word and Letters.

If the Matters in Question did only relate to our own Ease, and better Accommodation, we should patiently bear the same: But when we see the Glory of God, and the Power and Purity of our Holy Religion, and of the Ordinances of Jesus Christ in this Church so much concern'd, and the Peace and Quiet thereof, and of this whole Country so visibly in danger, to the Prejudice of your Majesty's Honour and Government; we cannot but hope your Majesty will allow us to plead our just Right, with that gracious Liberty you were pleas'd to give to the meanest of your Subjects.

When after the great and many Hardships, Troubles and Vicissitudes, wherewith the Church of *Scotland* had been toss'd even from its first Reformation from Popery; it pleas'd our Gracious God, at, and by the late Revolution,

tion, to bless us with a full and compleat Restitution, and that by the Claim of Right, and the Acts of Parliament following; *viz.* The 5th Act of the Parliament 1690. entitled, *An Act for ratifying the Confession of Faith, and settling Presbyterian Church Government*; whereby Presbyterian Church Government is establish'd, ratify'd and confirm'd, as the only Government of Christ's Church within this Kingdom; rescinding, annulling and making void all Acts of Parliament, Statutes and Ordinances in the contrary; allowing and declaring the General Meeting, and the Representatives of the Ministers and Elders, in whose Hands the Exercise of the Church Government is establish'd, to have Power to try and purge out all insufficient, negligent, scandalous and erroneous Ministers, by due Course of Ecclesiastical Process and Censures; and likewise to redress all other Church Disorders. By which Act it is evident, that Presbyterian Church Government being thus establish'd, the Ministers and Elders of this Church have all the Powers, committed by our Lord and Master to his Ministers and Officers, to watch over his Flock, and to guard it against all Usurpers and Intruders. 2^{ly.} By the 23^d Act of Parliament 1693. entitled, *An Act for settling the Quiet and Peace of the Church*; whereby it is expressly Statute and Ordain'd, That no Person be admitted, or continu'd to be a Minister, or preach within this Church, unless he first take and subscribe the Oath of Allegiance and Assurance, and also subscribe the Confession of Faith as the Confession of his Faith: As likewise, that he owns and acknowledges Presbyterian Church Government to be the only Government of this Church. And further, That he observe the Uniformity of Worship, and of the Administration of all publick Ordinances, as the same are at present perform'd and allow'd within this Church; and that no Minister or Preacher be admitted or continu'd, unless he subscribes to observe, and do actually see observ'd the aforesaid Uniformity. 3^{ly.} By the 22^d Act of the Parliament 1695. entitled, *An Act against intruding into Churches, without a legal Call and Admission thereto.* By which Act it is Statute and Declar'd, That whosoever shall intrude themselves into any Church, or shall exercise any Part of the Ministerial Function within any Parish, without an orderly Call from the Heretors and Eldership, and legal Admission from the Presbytery of

of the Bounds, shall be remov'd, and also incapable for the Space mention'd in the Act. And 4^{thly}. By the 3^d Act of the Parliament 1702. entitled, *An Act for securing the true Protestant Religion and Presbyterian Government*. Whereby the aforeſaid Act 1690. is fully ratify'd; by which Acts, and ſeveral others to that Purpose, which we humbly preſume to lay together for your Maſteſty's more full Information; we, with all Submission, conceive that Presbyterian Church Government is as fully ſettled and ſecur'd as could be devis'd. And as the Worſhip, Diſcipline, and Government of this Church were comply'd with, and ſubmitted to without any Alteration in all time, ſince the Reformation, when Presbyterian Government was eſtabliſh'd by Law; ſo there is no reaſon to doubt but the ſame chearful and univerſal Compliance had been given thereto, at, and ever ſince the late happy Revolution, if it had not been for that woſul Seed of Diſaffection to the Revolution, and your Maſteſty's Government as thereby eſtabliſh'd, and which indeed has been the principal, if not the only Cauſe of theſe few Proſecutions, that occaſion'd ſo loud and unjuſt a Clamour.

But that your Maſteſty may further be ſatisfy'd of the Injuſtice of theſe Calumnies, wherewith we are reproach'd for exceſſive Rigour, we cannot but lay before your Maſteſty this pregnant Inſtance of our Moderation: That ſince our late Eſtabliſhment, there have been taken in and continu'd Hundreds of Diſſenting Miniſters, upon the eaſieſt Terms; and we are further aſſur'd, that when any juſt Trial ſhall be made, we ſhall ever be found inclin'd to all that Chriſtian Tenderneſs that can be expected from ſuch as fear God, and love our Lord Jeſus Chriſt in Sincerity. Your Maſteſty then, by what is here humbly repreſented, may plainly perceive what Security we have had for our preſent Settlement before the Union; but then in order to the Union, and for the facilitating thereof, we have the Sixth Act of the Parliament 1707. entitled *Act for ſecuring the Protestant Religion and Presbyterian Government*, whereby the ſaid Acts above ſet down are ratify'd and approv'd. And your Maſteſty further, with Advice and Conſent of the Eſtates of Parliament, expreſſly provides and declares, That the aforeſaid true Protestant Religion contain'd in the above-mention'd Confeſſion of Faith, with the Form and Purity of Worſhip preſently in uſe within that Church,

and its *Presbyterian* Church Government and Discipline, all establish'd by the aforesaid Acts of Parliament, pursuant to the Claim of Right, shall remain and continue unalterable; and that the said *Presbyterian* Government shall be the only Government of the Church within the Kingdom of *Scotland*: And furder after the Decease of your Majesty (whom God long preserve) the Sovereign succeeding, shall in all time coming, at his or her Accession to the Crown, swear and subscribe, That they will *inviolably* maintain and preserve the aforesaid Settlement of the True Protestant Religion, with the Government, Worship, Discipline, Rights and Privileges of this Church above by Law Establish'd: And it is further Statute and Ordain'd, That this Act of Parliament, with the Establishment therein contain'd, shall be held and observ'd in all time coming, as a Fundamental and Essential Condition of any Treaty of Union, to be concluded betwixt the Two Kingdoms, without any Alteration thereof, or Derogation thereto in any Sort whatsoever; as also that this Act of Parliament and Settlement therein contain'd, shall be insert and repeated in any Act of Parliament that should pass, for agreeing and concluding the aforesaid Treaty of Union betwixt the Two Kingdoms, and that the same shall therein be declar'd to be an Essential and Fundamental Condition of the said Treaty of Union in all time coming: And accordingly, and that our Church might have the Plenary Security above provided, and that as was then plainly said, and as the Acts sufficiently import, our Security above-mention'd might be stated and establish'd in a manner even beyond the Reach of Parliament; in both Acts of Parliament pass'd in both Kingdoms, ratifying, approving the Treaty of Union, the aforesaid Act for securing the Protestant Religion and *Presbyterian* Church Government, is expressly insert, and is thereby Statute and Ordain'd, That this Act, with the Establishment therein contain'd, shall be held and observ'd in all time coming, as a Fundamental and Essential Condition of the aforesaid Treaty of Union, without any Alteration thereof, or Derogation thereto in any Sort for ever.

This being our great and plenary Security in Law, that we have for our present Church-Government and Establishment, and we being in danger on the other hand of Alterations and Innovations intended by the aforesaid Bill, depending
before

before the Honourable House of Commons, wherein beside the hard Reflections contain'd in the Preface, it is propos'd to be Enacted, That *Episcopal Dissenters* shall have Liberty to meet and assemble, for the Exercise of Divine Worship in their own manner, and to use in their Congregations the Liturgy of the Church of *England* without any Disturbance; and that for qualifying such Pastors, *Episcopal Orders*, and presenting Letters of their Orders to the Justice of the Peace, shall be sufficient; and that no Person or Persons, shall incur any Penalty whatsoever, upon his or her resorting to the said *Episcopal Meeting*; and that it shall be Free and Lawful, for all the Subjects in that Part of *Great-Britain* call'd *Scotland*, to assemble and meet for Divine Service, without any Disturbance, and to settle their Congregations where they think fit, and for the *Episcopal Ministers*, not only to pray and preach in their Congregations, but to administer the Sacraments, and may without incurring any Pain or Penalty whatsoever, or without any other Caveat, that appears for their Doctrine, save that they shall not deny in their preaching or writing the Doctrine of the Blessed Trinity; and withal that the *Presbyterian* Clergy are still allow'd to inflict Ecclesiastical Censures upon those of their own Communion, which plainly imports an Exemption from all, who shall disown their Communion.

We cannot but in the first place express our astonishing Surprize, and deep Affliction, to hear of such Bill offer'd for such a large, and almost boundless Toleration, not only threatning the Overthrow of this CHURCH, but giving a large Licence, almost to all Errors and Blasphemies, and throwing up all good Discipline to the Dishonour of GOD, and the Scandal and Ruin of the true Christian Religion, and the infallible Disturbance of the Quiet, and to the Confusion of this Church and Nation. And therefore in the next place, we do with all Humility, but with the greatest Earnestness beseech, nay obtest your Majesty, by the same Mercy of God that reitor'd this Church, and rais'd your Majesty to the Throne, to interpose for the Relief of this Church, and the Maintenance of the present Establishment, against such a manifest and ruining Encroachment, in such manner, as in your Royal Wisdom and Justice you shall think needful.

That

That the Gracious GOD may ever guide your Majesty with his Counsels, till after a long and happy Reign upon Earth, he crowns you with Glory in Heaven, shall be the earnest Prayers of

*May it please Your Majesty,
Your Majesty's most Faithful, Obedient,
and most humble Servants and Subjects,*

*The Ministers, and Elders, Commissioners of the late
General Assembly of the Church of Scotland.*

Sign'd in our Name, and at our Appointment, by Six.

Subscribitur, *William Mitchel, Moderator.*

The CASE of the Church of Scotland with relation to the BILL for a Toleration to the Episcopal Dissenters to set up Meeting-Houses, and use the English Service in Scotland.

IN the Preamble there seems to be a Mistake in Fact; for those of the Episcopal Way in *Scotland* never embrac'd the *English* Liturgy before the Abolition of Episcopacy there; nor have any of the Episcopal Preachers, who are allow'd to retain their Churches and Benefices there, since Episcopacy was abolish'd, offer'd to set up the *English* Liturgy in their Congregations. Nor do all those of the Episcopal Party, who keep Meeting-Houses, use the *English* Liturgy; and of the few who do so, none have been prosecuted on that account, but for disorderly Practices contrary to Law, and chiefly with respect to the Civil Government to which they refuse Submission, or to take the Oaths. Nor is there any one Instance that Ceremonies have been allow'd in Churches, which have not been establish'd by some Ecclesiastical Authority, in any Kingdom, Diocess or Province. Nor can they be establish'd by any such Authority now, because tho the two Kingdoms be united in all Civil Matters, the two Churches are establish'd for ever upon separate Foundations. The

The first Clause allows the Episcopal Dissenters to set up Congregations for Worship in their own manner, by Pastors Episcopally Ordain'd ; to whom alone 'tis restricted in the second Clause, with liberty to use the *English* Liturgy without Disturbance ; and requires all Magistrates to protect, aid and assist such Ministers, and those of their Communion in their Assemblies in any Town or Place in *Scotland*.

1. This is contrary to the Union-Act, *Vol. III. p. 733.* which takes notice, that it was expressly provided, as it really was, by the Act for the Treaty, *Vol. III. pag. 696.* ' That the Commissioners for the Union should not treat ' of or concerning any Alteration of the Worship, Discipline and Government of the Church of *Scotland* as by ' Law establish'd ; and that the said Treaty being reported to the Parliament, and it being reasonable and necessary that the true Protestant Religion, as at present ' profess'd within *Scotland*, with the Worship, Discipline ' and Government of the Church of *Scotland*, should be ' unalterably secur'd ; it does, *p. 733.* establish and confirm ' the said *true Protestant Religion, and the Worship, Discipline ' and Government of the said Church, to continue, ' without Alteration, to the People of that Land in all succeeding Generations.*'

2. To allow such Meetings, with such a particular Emphasis only to Pastors Episcopally ordain'd, is expressly contrary to the Claim of Right refer'd to in the Union-Act ; and that Article of it, *Vol. III. p. 151.* declaring, ' That Prelacy, and the Superiority of any Office in the ' Church above Presbyters, is and hath been a great and ' insupportable Grievance and Trouble to this Nation, and ' contrary to the Inclinations of the Generality of the ' People ever since the Reformation (they having reform'd ' from Popery by Presbyters) and therefore ought to be ' abolish'd ; as it was accordingly, in pursuance of this Article, *Vol. III. p. 197.*' And as her Majesty accepted the Crown of *Scotland* upon these Terms, 'tis provided by the Union-Act, *Vol. III. pag. 757.* ' That all future Princes ' are to swear and subscribe *inviolably to preserve and maintain the said Settlement of the True Protestant Religion, ' with the Government, Worship, Discipline, Rights and Privileges of the Church of Scotland, as above establish'd by ' the Laws of this Kingdom, in prosecution of the Claim of ' Right.*

‘ *Right.* And ’tis hereby statute and ordain’d, That this
 ‘ Act of Parliament, with the Establishment therein con-
 ‘ tain’d, shall be held and observ’d in all times coming as
 ‘ a fundamental and essential CONDITION of any
 ‘ Treaty or Union to be concluded betwixt the two King-
 ‘ doms, without any *Alteration thereof, or Derogation there-*
 ‘ *to, in any sort, for ever.* As also, That this Act of Par-
 ‘ liament, with the Establishment therein contain’d, shall
 ‘ be insert and repeated in any Act of Parliament that
 ‘ shall pass for agreeing and concluding the said Treaty of
 ‘ Union betwixt the two Kingdoms; and that the same
 ‘ shall be therein expressly declar’d to be a *Fundamental and*
 ‘ *Essential Condition of the said Treaty of Union in all*
 ‘ *time coming.*——And that the Parliament of *England*
 ‘ may provide for the Security of the Church of *England*
 ‘ as they think expedient, to take place *within the Bounds*
 ‘ of the said Kingdom of *England*, and *not derogating from*
 ‘ *the Security above provided for the establishing of the*
 ‘ *Church of Scotland within the Bounds of this Kingdom.*’
 This Act is accordingly inserted in the Union-Act made
 by the Parliament of *England*, § *Anne*, chap. 8. Article
 25. Stat. at large, Vol. III. pag. 2471. So that to allow
 the Toleration propos’d, seems to weaken the Foundation
 of her Majesty’s Title to the Crown of *Scotland*, which she
 receiv’d upon the Claim of Right, as well as a fundamen-
 tal Article of the Union, by which alone the *Hanover* Suc-
 cession is establish’d in *Scotland*, Article II.

At the same time it seems to weaken the Security of
 the Church of *England* in her Doctrine, Worship, Disci-
 pline and Government, which is provided for in the same
 manner, and no otherwise by the Union-Act, which, if
 kept to, must continue unalterable in all succeeding Ages to
 the People of *England*, notwithstanding any such Turn of
 Affairs as has formerly happen’d, from which the Church
 of *England* can’t be exempted no more than the Church of
Scotland, if the Union-Act comes once to be broke.

3. To oblige all Magistrates to protect, aid and assist the
 Episcopal Ministers, and those of their Communion, in
 their Assemblies, in any Town or Place in *Scotland* they
 think fit to chuse, as in the first and sixth Clauses of the
 Bill, seems not only to give them a liberty to set up their
 Worship in Parish-Churches and Chappels, which is more
 than Dissenters are allow’d in *England*, but in effect an-
 nuls

nuls all those Acts by which Magistrates are oblig'd to protect, aid, and assist the Ministers and Assemblies of the Establish'd Church of *Scotland*. And particularly, (1.) the Act for settling the Quiet and Peace of the Church, *Vol. III. p. 355.* by which ' Magistrates are oblig'd to give all due Assistance, for making the Sentences and Censures of the Church and Judicatories thereof to be obey'd, or other-ways effectual; as Accords against all Ministers and Preachers that don't take and subscribe the Oath of Allegiance, and subscribe the Assurance, and also the Confession of Faith, declaring the same to be the Confession of his Faith, and that he owns the Doctrine therein contain'd to be the true Doctrine which he will constantly adhere to; and likewise that he owns and acknowledges Presbyterian Church-Government to be the only Government of this Church, and that he will submit thereto and concur therewith, and never endeavour, directly or indirectly, the Prejudice or Subversion thereof; and likewise against all Ministers and Preachers that don't subscribe to observe, and do actually observe the Uniformity of Worship, and of the Administration of all publick Ordinances, as the same are at present perform'd and allow'd therein, or shall be hereafter declar'd by the Authority of the same; and likewise against such Ministers as are scandalous, erroneous, negligent or insufficient, who are declar'd to be subject to the Power and Censures of the Church.'

(2.) It seems to derogate from the Act against intruding into Churches without a legal Call and Admission, *Vol. III. pag. 430.* by which all such Preachers as intrude into any Church, Mansion or Benefice, or exercise any part of the Ministerial Function within any Parish, without an Orderly Call from the Heretors and Eldership, and legal Admission from the Presbytery of the Bounds, are liable to the Penalties therein-mention'd, and to be remov'd by the Magistrates upon Complaint from the Presbytery of the Bounds, or from any Person having their Warrant, &c.

(3.) It seems to derogate from the Act against Profaneness, *Vol. III. pag. 585.* which orders all Persons who shall be excommunicate for not answering, or for not obeying and satisfying the Church, when process'd before them for Profaneness and Immorality, or shall be declar'd by the Church to be contumacious, upon Representation to the Sovereign,

Sovereign, to be incapable of any publick Trust, Civil or Military, as appears by the close of that Act.

The third Clause of the Bill, That all such Pastors are to take the same Oaths to the Queen and Government, and in the same manner and place as the Presbyterian Clergy, seems not to be strong enough; for the Presbyterian Clergy are all known to be well-affected to the Revolution, to her Majesty, whom they own to be our only Lawful and Rightful Sovereign *de Jure*, as well as *de Facto*, and likewise firm to the Succession in the Protestant Line of *Hannover*, which they own to be a legal and good Establishment, according to our Constitution: Whereas the far greatest part of those who preach in Episcopal Meetings are known to be Nonjurants, and others save their Consciences with swearing to the Queen as Sovereign *de Facto*; therefore it would seem to be necessary, that the Episcopal Preachers, if tolerated, should be oblig'd to own her Majesty *de Jure*, as well as *de Facto*, in the plain meaning of the words, without Equivocation or Mental Reservation, and to abjure the Pretender and the whole Popish Line; and likewise to pray for Queen *Anne* by Name, and for her Royal Highness the Princess *Sophia* Electress Dowager of *Hannover*, and the Royal Family of the Protestant Line, because it is known they equivocate by praying for the Sovereign or Queen in general, or for Princess *Sophia*, by which they intend the Pretender, his Mother the late Queen, and his suppos'd Sister, one of whose Names is *Sophia*.

In a Toleration of this kind, Policy and Order do require, that the Ministers who are indulg'd this Favour, should be of the Protestant Religion at least; and for that reason the Dissenters in *England* are oblig'd to sign the Doctrinal Articles of the Church of *England*, which is the Confession of Faith of that Church; and therefore for observing the decent Equality betwixt the two Churches in point of Security, intended by the Treaty, the Ministers now to be tolerated in *Scotland* ought to sign the Confession of Faith, as it is inserted in *Act. 5. Vol. III. fol. 206. Parl. 1690.* which is declar'd to be the Confession of Faith of that Church, with exception of such Chapters or Heads of the Confession, as concern the precise Heads of Difference tolerated. But if Gentlemen for Punctilio (and there can be nothing else in it) will not admit this Confession to be the Test, yet at least the Episcopal Clergy in
Scotland

Scotland can have no exception against signing and swearing the Confession of Faith, which they were bound to swear, sign and subscribe, and which they actually did subscribe till the Revolution, according to the 6th Act of the Parl. 1681. *Vol. II. fol. 534.*

It seems also necessary, that those who give a Call to such Episcopal Ministers, be oblig'd to take the Oaths and Assurance, as those who give a Call to the establish'd Ministers are oblig'd to do by the Act for taking the Oath of Allegiance and Assurance, *Vol. III. pag. 338, and 604.* by which they are oblig'd, in the sincerity of their Hearts, to assert, acknowledge and declare, That Her Majesty Queen *Anne* is the only Lawful and Undoubted Sovereign of this Realm, as well *de Jure* as *de Facto*; and that they will Maintain and Defend Her Majesty's Title and Government against the Pretended Prince of *Wales* and his Adherents, and all other Enemies, &c. And it were to be wish'd that the Clause in the Bill, appointing the Episcopal Clergy to take the Oath of Allegiance and Assurance, had been express'd in more plain Terms; for as it stands, 'tis so delicate and tender upon that Point, as if Men were afraid to touch a Sore.

The sixth Clause of the Bill for repealing the Act of 1695, against irregular Baptisms and Marriages, is scarce reconcilable to the Union-Treaty, which ratifies the Presbyterian Government, and the Rights the Church stood possess'd of. 'Tis not consistent with civil Order and Policy; for 'tis obvious, that the Registration of Baptisms in Meeting-Houses will be neglected, because of the too apparent Dissension betwixt the Regular and Episcopal Clergy; and the Articles of Marriages will expose the Matter of Succession and Propinquity to inextricable Difficulties: for these Meeting-Houses being precarious as to their Settlement, and perhaps not numerous, the Proclamation of the Bans in those Places will be no Publication. Besides, Legal Publication should be where the Legal Establishment is; because the Law only presumes that People come there, tho they Tolerate them to go elsewhere: and there can be no Scruple of Conscience in point of Marriage, except among Papists, who account it a Sacrament. Besides, 'tis inconsistent with the Equality of the two Churches, that the Dissenters in *England* should be prohibited the Solemnizing of Marriages, and the same should be allow'd to the Episcopal Dissenters in *Scotland*. The

The same Clause of the Bill is also against the Equality, which by the Union 'tis conceiv'd ought to be between the two Churches, since it forbids any Disability or Incapacity upon such as resort to Episcopal Meetings; whereas those who resort to Dissenting Meetings in *England*, are made incapable of publick Posts by the Test Act, and that against Occasional Conformity; tho' the *English* Dissenters are known to be firm to the Establish'd Government and the *Hannover* Succession, which cannot be said of the Episcopal Dissenters in *Scotland*.

The impowering of the *Scots* Episcopal Ministers by this and the first Clause, to set up their Meetings in any Town or Place in *Scotland*, seems also to derogate from the Act against Intruding into Churches, abovemention'd, Vol. III. pag. 430. And at least 'twould seem to be necessary, that the Acts made to secure the Church against Intruders, should by some just Proviso be clearly preserv'd, viz. That part of the Act concerning the Church, p. 436. which encourages Preachers at vacant Churches by *North Forth*, and Acts of the same nature, Vol. III. pag. 492. and pag. 532. for preventing of Disorders in supplying and planting of vacant Churches; wherein the Episcopal Party is charg'd with Rabblings and Tumults against Ministers lawfully sent to preach in vacant Churches; and to prevent this, Magistrates are order'd, under the Penalties therein contain'd, to concur with the Presbyterys in planting of vacant Churches.

The ninth Clause declares and enacts by the Authority aforesaid, That no civil Pain, Forfeiture, or Disability whatsoever, shall be in any ways incurred by any Person or Persons, by reason of any Excommunication, Prosecution in order to Excommunication, by the Church Judicatories in that part of *Great Britain* call'd *Scotland*; and all Civil Magistrates are hereby expressly prohibited and discharg'd to force or compel any Person or Persons to appear when summon'd, or to give Obedience to any such Sentence when pronounc'd, any Law or Custom to the contrary notwithstanding.

This makes a perpetual Divorce betwixt the Civil and Ecclesiastical Powers, and leaves the Church of *Scotland* no more power than a Philosopher: they are establish'd in the Correction of Manners; they are confirm'd in their Government; they are in many Acts of Parliament, particularly in the 6th Act Parl. 1579. Vol. I. p. 410. granted to have a Jurisdiction; and these words do necessarily imply a coercive

cive Power. The Church has enjoy'd the Concurrence of the Civil Power for bringing her Members under due Ecclesiastical Correction and Censure in every Establishment. The Privileges of Haly Kirk were confirm'd in every Reign before the Reformation; and there is no Man, the least known in Canon Law and Church History, ignorant that the Civil Magistrate did concur to make effectual Ecclesiastick Processes and Censures. At the Reformation, the Laws in favour of the Church were not simply rescinded, but in so far as they were contrary to the Reformation; and after the Reformation, the Power of the Church, their Processes and Censures were of the same Force, and had the same Concurrence and Authority of the Civil Magistrate under the different Forms of Government, Presbyterian or Episcopal. The Coronation Oath binds the Sovereign to root out Hereticks and Encmies to the true Worship of God, that shall be convicted by the true Kirk of God; and the true Kirk by the Laws as they stand, is the Establishment of the Kirk of *Scotland*: and thus even the supreme Civil Authority is engag'd to support the Censures of the Church Judicatories. And 'tis observable, that when Episcopacy was abolish'd by the Third Act of Parliament 1689. *Vol. 3. p. 197.* the Laws establishing Episcopacy were not abolish'd simply, but in so far *alterly*, as they were inconsistent with the Act. And the Twenty Second Act of the Parliament 1693. *Vol. 3. p. 355. in fine*, does Statute and Ordain, That the Lords of Her Majesty's Privy-Council, and all other Magistrates, Judges and Officers of Justice, give all due Assistance for making the Sentences and Censures of the Church and Judicatories thereof to be obey'd, or otherwise effectual as Accords.

'Tis true, that some have vainly imagin'd that these words *as Accords*, do take off from the force of the plain and Statutory Words; but with great respect, this is directly contrary to the Will of the Law, which commands Assistance and supposes it due: and the possession of the Church does confirm, or indeed would alone be sufficient to establish a Right to require the Concurrence of the Civil Powers. So that the depriving the Church of the Concurrence of the Civil Authority in these Matters, is to leave her the bare Name of Discipline; which could never be the design of a fair Treaty.

'Tis worth the consideration of any Christian Legisla-
 C
 ture,

ture, that this Clause is wholly foreign to the main Intention of the Bill: The Bill pretends to set Men at Liberty, in point of Conscience; and this to enlarge them in point of Immorality, and is inconsistent with Civil as well as Ecclesiastical Policy: for 'tis certainly an Advantage, that the Church should enjoy effectually those Censures, to prevent the more severe application of the Laws by the Civil Magistrate. The Church intends a Correction and Amendment of Mind and Life, before Men grow sturdy enough to be the Object of *Vindicta publica*.

And 'tis further to be observ'd, that in this artful indulgent Clause, the very Laws against every branch of Immorality and Prophaneness are shaken; for the Power of the Church and the Concurrence of the Civil Magistrate, are interwoven in the Acts of the Parliament of *Scotland*, upon these Heads.

And lastly, Tho' these things were not so evident, as indeed they are, if these Objections be admitted at least as probable Grounds against this Bill, yet they must have a great force, since the subject of the Question is the Security of the Church of *Scotland*, which is made an Essential and Fundamental Condition of the Treaty of Union: and 'tis of the last Consequence not to come near Conditions that are Fundamental; especially where the Church is in the least Danger, and where the People that are possess'd of the Legal Establishment, must be under the greatest uneasiness: for nothing that is Fundamental, even in Civil Affairs, and much more where People apprehend the Church and Religion may be in any Hazard, ought to be touch'd without the greatest Necessity. And indeed, if this, which is the most solemn and absolute Condition of the Treaty, can admit of distinctions to defeat the Interest of the Church, the Treaty will be of very small Force or Security in any part of it.

The Door which must be set open to all Prophaneness, by exempting those who shall decline the Communion of the Church of *Scotland*, cannot be shut, by setting up an Episcopal Jurisdiction among Episcopal Dissenters there; for that's contrary to the Union-Act, which abolishes Episcopacy for ever in *Scotland*, in pursuance of the Claim of Right. Nor can the *Scots* Episcopal Clergy be subject to *English* or *Irish* Bishops; because the Union-Act, *Vol. III. pag. 757.* provides, That none of the Subjects of *Scotland* shall be liable to, but all and every of them free from any Oath, Test,

or Subscription within that Kingdom, contrary to, or inconsistent with the said true Protestant Religion, Presbyterian Church Government, Worship and Discipline, as above establish'd; and that the same within the Bounds of that Church and Kingdom shall never be impos'd upon, or requir'd of them in any sort. By this it seems plain, that the Episcopal Clergy in *Scotland* cannot give Assent or Consent, Oath or Subscription to any other Form of Doctrine, Worship and Discipline, but that of the Church there establish'd by Law.

Besides, this is utterly inconsistent with the words of the Treaty, whereby she is declar'd to be the only Church in that Kingdom, and the 69th Act of the forecited Parliament, 1579. which grants the Jurisdiction of the Church in the Correction of Manners, &c. declares there's no other Face of a Kirk nor Face of Religion, than that Establish'd; and this Act is expressly ratify'd by the Act of 1592. in favour of Presbyterian Church Government; which again is ratify'd by the 5th Act of the Parliament 1690. and that expressly by the Treaty of Union. Nor indeed would the impotent appearance of Power in the Episcopal Clergy be effectual to restrain Immorality, unless the Civil Magistrate did concur with them; and 'twere very absurd, that the Clergy Tolerated should have the Concurrence of the Civil Magistrate, while those who are establish'd by solemn Treaty, are deny'd it.

The 11th Clause of the Bill about Popish Recusants, of those that deny, by Preaching or Writing, the Doctrine of the Ever Blessed Trinity needs a great deal of Explanation; because the Act for preventing the Growth of Popery, *Vol. III. pag. 565.* ordains all Magistrates to retain Papists, Priests, Jesuits, &c. who shall be presented to them, Prisoners, &c. and recommends to the Presbyters of the Kingdom, to give in Lists of Children under Popish Parents, Tutors, Curates, or other Papists within their respective Bounds: which may be evaded, if the Magistrates be not order'd to concur with the Church, in obliging Papists to renounce Popery, in the Presence of the Presbyters where they live, &c. and likewise according to the Act, *Vol. III. pag. 505.* about Protestant Servants in Popish Families. And the provision made in that Clause against Blasphemy, seems to be short of our Laws against that tremendous Crime, particularly that in *Vol. III. pag. 418.* which ratifies that of King *Charles II. Vol. II. p. 183.*

Some QUERIES humbly propos'd, upon the
 BILL now depending before the Honourable
 House of Commons, for a Toleration to the Epis-
 copal Dissenters in Scotland.

THE Preamble of the Bill intimates, that since the a-
 bolishing of Episcopal Government in *Scotland*, those of
 the Episcopal Persuasion have been frequently disturb'd and
 interrupted in their religious Assemblies, and their Minis-
 ters prosecuted with the utmost Rigour, for reading the
English Service in their Congregations, and for adminis-
 tring the Sacraments according to the Form and Manner
 prescrib'd in the Liturgy of the Church of *England*.

The Bill proposes to Enact, That Episcopal Dissenters
 shall for the future have Liberty to meet and assemble for
 the Exercise of Divine Worship in their own manner, by
 Pastors Episcopally ordain'd, and to use in their Congre-
 gations the Liturgy of the Church of *England*, without
 any Disturbance: And all Magistrates concern'd are strict-
 ly requir'd to give all manner of Protection, Aid and As-
 sistance to such Ministers, and those of their Communion,
 in their Assemblies, in any Town or Place in *Scotland*.

None are to exercise the Function of Pastors in such
 Meetings, but such as have receiv'd Episcopal Orders, and
 presented Letters of their Orders to the Justices of the
 Peace at the General or Quarter Sessions; which Letters
 are to be enter'd on Record.

All such Pastors are to take the same Oaths to the Queen
 and Government, and in the same Place and Manner as the
 Presbyterian Clergy are oblig'd.

Their Assemblies are to be held with Doors not lock'd,
 bar'd or bolted.

The Episcopal Dissenters are still to pay Tythes, and o-
 ther Parochial Duties to the Church or Minister of the Pa-
 rish to which they belong.

And whereas an Act pass'd in the Parliament of *Scot-*
land, Anno 1695. intituled, *An Act against irregular Bap-*
tisms and Marriages; by which Episcopal Ministers are
 prohibited to baptize any Children, or to solemnize any
 Marriage, upon pain of perpetual Imprisonment or Banish-
 ment, it is hereby repeal'd; and propos'd to be Enacted,
 That

That none shall incur any Disability, Incapacity, Forfeiture or Penalty, upon account of their resorting to Episcopal Meetings, which may be settled in what Towns or Places they think fit to chuse : And that Episcopal Ministers may not only pray and preach in Episcopal Congregations, but administer the Sacraments, and marry, without any Penalty.

The Parents that have their Children christen'd by Episcopal Ministers, are oblig'd to enter the Birth and Christning of their Children in the Register Books for Christnings in their respective Parishes.

No Episcopal Ministers are to marry any Persons but those whose Bannes have been duly publish'd three several Lord's Days, either in the Episcopal Congregations which the two Parties frequent, or in the Churches to which they belong as Parishioners.

The Laws against Profaneness and Immorality, and for frequenting Divine Service on the Lord's Day, are to be still in force, and executed against all Persons that offend against the said Laws ; or shall not resort either to some Church, or some Congregation or Assembly of Religious Worship permitted by this Bill.

The Presbyterian Clergy are still allow'd to inflict Ecclesiastical Censures upon those of their own Communion, who shall be found guilty of any Crime or Offence, that is subject to the Cognizance of their Ecclesiastical Judicatories.

No Advantage is hereby given to any Papist or Popish Recusant, or to any Person that shall deny in his Preaching or Writing the Doctrine of the Ever-blessed Trinity.

If any maliciously or contemptuously come into Episcopal Assemblies and disturb them, or misuse any of their Ministers, upon Proof before the Justices of the Peace, they shall find Sureties to be bound in Recognizance in a certain Penal Sum, for their Appearance at the Sessions, or before the Lords of the Justiciary at *Edenburgh*, or in the Circuits ; and in default of such Sureties, shall be committed to Prison, and upon Conviction shall forfeit a certain Sum of Mony.

And if the Magistrates, or any pretending to Authority, shall in contempt of this Law forbid or hinder those of the Episcopal Persuasion from meeting together for Divine Worship, in the Places under their Jurisdiction, or shall shut up, or cause to be shut up, the Doors of the Houses or other Places where such Assemblies are held, or intended to be held ; they upon Proof of it, are also to be punish'd.

Upon occasion of this Bill 'tis humbly QUERIED,

I. Whether for a Toleration to the Episcopal Dissenters in Scotland, the Repealing an Act pass'd before the Union, and confirm'd by the Union, will not weaken the Act of Union, in which all the *Privileges* of the Church of Scotland (*regular Marriages and Baptisms* among the rest) were in the most ample and solemn manner confirm'd?

II. Whether the Preamble of this Bill does not contain an heavy Charge upon an Establish'd Church that has endeavour'd to behave it self with great Lenity, even when it has been many ways assaulted?

III. Whether the Exauctorated Bishops are by this Bill to be legally authoriz'd to keep up a Succession of Episcopal Ministers in Scotland? Or whether a new Set of Bishops in that Country is hereby intended to be provided for, that there may still be some to reap the Benefit of this Toleration? And whether such a Continuation of Bishops in Scotland be not directly contrary to the Act of Union? Or whether when the few *Scottish* Bishops that yet survive are dead, it be intended they should all be ordain'd in England? And whether this would not carry in it a Dependence on the *English* Bishops?

IV. Whether it be equal, that Persons should be exempted from all Incapacity, Forfeitures, or Penalties, resorting to Episcopal Meetings in Scotland, when this very Parliament has made the Dissenters of England incapable of Possessing any Place of Profit and Trust, for resorting to *Presbyterian Meetings* here?

V. Whether the bare Allowance by this Bill given to the *Presbyterian Clergy* in Scotland, to inflict Ecclesiastical Censures upon those of their own Communion, to the Exclusion of others, tho' ever so flagitious, don't fall far short of the Union-Act, which provides for the continuance of the Worship, Discipline and Government of the Church of Scotland, without an Alteration to the People of that Land in all succeeding Generations? § *Anne, Cap. 8. Sect. 2.*

VI. Whether when the Episcopal Ministers present Letters of their Orders to the Justices, they shou'd not also be oblig'd to certify the Places of their Worship, and obtain a License, as is requir'd of Dissenters in England? And whether

ther all Churches and Chappels should not be expressly excepted from becoming their places of Worship?

VII. Whether for the greater security of the Government, it is not fit that all Episcopal Ministers that have the Benefit of the Act, should be expressly requir'd to take the Oath of Allegiance to the Queen, and sign the Assurance that she is Queen *de Jure* as well as *de Facto*, which is requir'd of the Presbyterian Ministers of *Scotland*? And whether all that call an Episcopal Minister to officiate in any private Congregation, should not be oblig'd to qualify themselves, by taking the Oaths according to Law, as well as it is requir'd of all that call a Presbyterian Minister to any Parish-Church?

VIII. Whether Episcopal Dissenters as well as others, should not be liable to Church-Censures for scandalous Immoralities, that so Temptation may not be offer'd Persons to desert the establish'd Church in *Scotland*, and go over to the Dissenters there, on purpose to escape Censure, when it is justly deserv'd; and when their being exempted from it would be a Reproach to a Christian Country?

IX. Whether it be equal that marrying Persons should be allow'd to the Dissenters in *Scotland*, when it is deny'd to the Dissenters in *England*?

X. Whether some Provision should not be made for the punishing such Episcopal Ministers in *Scotland*, as leave out the Prayers in the Liturgy for the Queen and the Princess *Sophia* of *Hannover*, and the Protestant Succession in that Family?

XI. Whether Episcopal Dissenters in *Scotland* should not be oblig'd to subscribe the Doctrinal Articles of the Establish'd Church there, as well as the Presbyterian Dissenters here are oblig'd to subscribe the Doctrinal Articles of the Church of *England*?

XII. Whether this Bill, which so fully authorizes the Use of the Liturgy of the Church of *England* in *Scotland*, tho the Use of it could never obtain there, even in the time when Episcopacy prevail'd, does not deserve the maturest Consideration?

XIII. And finally, Whether, when a Bill is depending, which so nearly affects the Establish'd Church of *Scotland* in her Rights and Privileges, which have been settled by so many Acts of Parliament, all which were fully ratify'd by the Act of Union; it be not equal and requisite that she should have a reasonable Notice of this depending Bill, and be heard before the same do pass?

Some Considerations upon the Bill for Toleration in Scotland, now depending in the Right Honourable the House of Lords.

I. **I**T is humbly thought, that what is said in the Bill concerning the Discipline of the Establish'd Church of *Scotland*, is not only unfit to be in a Bill for Toleration, when it so evidently weakens the Authority of the Establish'd Church, but seems to encroach upon the Act of Union; and therefore should be dropt.

II. As to the Test of Orthodoxy, it is necessary there should be one, that may be a Fence against Heresy and Error: And tho' it appears to be reasonable that all Episcopal Ministers and Preachers should subscribe the Doctrinal Articles of the Confession of Faith of the Establish'd Church, which is ratify'd by Law; yet if that should not be thought fit, there can be no rational Objection made against their subscribing that Confession of Faith, to which they were oblig'd when Episcopal Government obtain'd in *Scotland*.

III. The mentioning of Episcopal Ordination as necessary, in order to enjoy the Benefit of Toleration, seems plainly to be an Authorizing of Episcopal Jurisdiction in *Scotland*, contrary to the *Claim of Right*, ratify'd by the Union.

IV. It seems to be a Reflection against the Establish'd Church, when the General Assembly have enacted, that all the Ministers of the Church of *Scotland* should pray for her Majesty, the Princess *Sophia*, and the Heirs of her Body being Protestants (which they understand to be the Royal Family) that in a Bill for Toleration the Ministers of the said Church should be oblig'd under Penalties to use a set Form of Words, as if they had been deficient in praying as aforesaid.

V. It is thought reasonable that the Toleration in *Scotland* should be on the same Footing with that of the Dissenters in *England*; and an impartial Concern for the Security of the one Church as well as of the other, seems to make this necessary.

VI. The same Reason pleads that all Preachers of
Dissenting

Dissenting Congregations should be oblig'd to qualify themselves, as the Pastors of the said Congregations are oblig'd to by the Bill.

VII. It seems equitable, that those who call an Episcopal Dissenting Minister to officiate in a Meeting-House, should be oblig'd to take the same Oaths that those who call a Minister of the Establish'd Church are oblig'd to.

VIII. To prevent Mistakes in the Clause of the Bill concerning Places of Worship, it seems needful that all Churches and Chappels should be excepted.

Lastly, It may be consider'd, that in this Bill there is no Warrant and Order for the Magistrates punishing Dissenters upon their transgressing the Terms thereof.

The Scottish Toleration Argued, &c.

S I R,

I Am much surpriz'd at the Account you give me of the Toleration propos'd for Episcopal Preachers, and setting up the *English* Liturgy here.

In order to satisfy your Desire, I shall give you a faithful Account of the Acts relating to the Doctrine, Worship, Discipline and Government of the Church of *Scotland*, which are made unalterable by the Union-Act.

The Edition I refer to is the Three Volumes of our Acts in 12^o. because I suppose you may have that with you; and I have mark'd the Volume and Page that you may readily turn to them.

'Tis needless to go so far back as the Reformation, only I take leave to inform you, That the Assertion of our Convention of Estates in the Claim of Right at the Revolution, *That our Church reform'd from Popery by Presbyters*, appears undoubtedly true from the Records both of our Church and State. This is evident from the Records of our Church, which give us an Account of those who compos'd her first General Assemblies; among whom there is no Church-Officer superior to a Presbyter, the Ecclesiastical Power of the Bishops being abolish'd by Act of Parliament in 1560. *Act of Parl. Vol. I. Pag. 336.*

The first Act necessary to be taken notice of, and that gives

gives a Definition of our Church, is the 6th of King *James VI's* first Parliament, Vol. I. Pag. 359. enacted Anno 1567. Our Church is by that Act describ'd thus :

‘ The Ministers of the Blessed Evangel of Jesus Christ, whom God of his Mercy has now rais'd up among us, or hereafter shall raise, agreeing with them that now live in Doctrin and Administration of the Sacraments, and the People of this Realm that profess Christ as he is now offer'd in his Evangel, and do communicate in the Holy Sacraments as they are publickly administer'd in this Realm, according to the Confession of Faith ; are declar'd to be the only true and Holy Church of Jesus Christ within this Realm.’

This Act is ratify'd by the Parliament of 1579. Vol. I. p. 409. And in p. 410. the Jurisdiction of the Church is describ'd as follows :

‘ Our Sovereign Lord, with the Advice of his Three Estates, has declar'd and granted Jurisdiction to the Kirk, which consists and stands in the Preaching of the true Word of Jesus Christ, Correction of Manners, and Administration of the Holy Sacraments ; and declares that there is no other Face of Kirk, nor other Face of Religion than is at present by the Favour of God, establish'd within this Realm ; and that there be no other Jurisdiction Ecclesiastical acknowledg'd within this Realm than that which is and shall be within the same Church, or that which flows therefrom concerning the Premises.’

By these Acts it is plain that no Church-Officer, superior to a Presbyter is mention'd in the Description, or had any thing to do in the Jurisdiction of our Church.

This Act, with all others relating to the Liberties of our Church, and particularly that about the Admission of Ministers, which is declar'd to be only in the Power of the Kirk, Vol. I. p. 360. is ratify'd by the Act of the 7th Parliament of King *James VI.* in 1581. Vol. I. p. 441. But the chief Act, and that which is the Foundation of the present Establishment of our Church is that of the 12th Parliament of King *James VI.* held in 1592. Vol. I. p. 607. entitled, *Ratification of the Liberty of the true Kirk, General and Synodal Assemblys, of Presbyterys, of Discipline, all Laws of Idolatry are abrogated, of Presentation to Benefices ;* and is as follows :

‘ Our

Our Sovereign Lord and Estates of this present Parliament, following the laudable and good Example of their Predecessors, have ratify'd and approv'd, and by the Tenour of this present Act ratify and approve all Liberties, Privileges, Immunities and Freedoms whatsoever given and granted by his Highness, his Regents in his Name, or any of his Predecessors to the true and Holy Kirk, at present establish'd within this Realm; and declar'd in the first Act of his Highness's Parliament, the 20th Day of *Octob.* 1579. and all and whatever Acts of Parliament and Statutes made before by his Highness, and his Regents about the Liberty and Freedom of the said Kirk; and specially the first Act of the Parliament held at *Edinburg* the 24th of *Octob.* 1581. with all the particular Acts there mention'd: which shall be as sufficient as if the same were here express'd; and all other Acts of Parliament made since in favour of the true Kirk. And likewise ratifys and approves the General Assemblies appointed by the said Kirk: and declares that it shall be lawful to the Kirk and the Ministry every Year at the least, and *ostener pro re nata*, as Occasion and Necessity shall require, to hold and keep General Assemblys; provided that the King's Majesty, or his Commissioners with them, to be appointed by his Highness, be present at each General Assembly before the dissolving thereof, nominate and appoint Time and Place when and where the next General Assembly shall be held. And in case neither his Majesty nor his said Commissioners be present for the time in that Town where the said General Assembly is held, then and in that Case it shall be lawful to the said General Assembly, by themselves to nominate and appoint Time and Place where the next General Assembly of the Kirk shall be kept and held, as they have been in use to do in time past. And also ratifys and approves the Synodical and Provincial Assemblies to be held by the said Kirk and Ministers twice each Year, as they have been and are at present in use to do, within every Province of this Realm: And ratifys and approves the Presbyterys, and particular Sessions appointed by the said Kirk with the whole Jurisdiction and Discipline of the same Kirk, agreed upon by his Majesty, in conference with certain Ministers assembled for that End, of which Articles the Tenor follows.

Matters

Matters to be treated of in Provincial Assemblys.

' These Assemblys are constituted for weighty Matters
 ' necessary to be treated of by mutual Consent and Assis-
 ' tance of Brethren within the Province, as need requires.
 ' This Assembly has Power to handle, order and redress
 ' all things omitted, or done amiss in the particular Assem-
 ' blys. It has Power to *depose the Office-Bearers of that*
 ' *Province*, for good and just Cause deserving Deprivation:
 ' And in general these Assemblys have the whole Power of
 ' the particular Elderships out of which they are col-
 ' lected.'

Matters to be treated of in Presbyterys.

' The Power of the Presbyterys is to labour diligently
 ' *in the Bounds committed to their Charge*, that the Kirks
 ' be kept in good Order, to inquire diligently *after naughty,*
 ' *and ungodly Persons*, and to endeavour to reform them
 ' by Admonition, by threatning of God's Judgments, or
 ' by Correction. It belongs to the Eldership to take heed
 ' that the Word of God be purely preach'd *within their*
 ' *Bounds*, the Sacraments rightly ministred, the Discipline
 ' entertain'd, and Ecclesiastical Estates uncorruptibly dis-
 ' tributed. It belongs to this kind of Assemblys, to cause
 ' the Ordinances made by the Assemblys Provincial, Na-
 ' tional and General to be kept and put in Execution, to
 ' make Constitutions which are fit to be propos'd in the
 ' Kirk for decent Order in the particular Kirks where they
 ' govern; provided they alter no Rules made by the Pro-
 ' vincial or general Assemblys, and that they communicate
 ' to the said Provincial Assemblys the Rules they shall
 ' make. They have also Power to abolish Constitutions
 ' tending to the Hurt of the Kirk, and to Excommunicate
 ' obstinate Offenders upon formal Process, and granting
 ' due time.'

Particular Kirks,

‘ If they be Lawfully rul’d by a sufficient Ministry and Session, (*i. e.* Eldership) have Power and Jurisdiction in their own Congregation in Matters Ecclesiastical.

‘ His Majesty, &c. declares the said Assemblys, Presbyterys and Sessions, their Jurisdiction and Discipline aforesaid, to be for all time to come most Just, Good and Godly in themselves, notwithstanding whatever Statutes, Acts, Canon, Civil, or Municipal Laws made to the contrary; to all which and every one of them, this present Act makes express Derogation.’

After other Clauses repealing former Acts in favour of Popery, the Act goes on thus :

‘ *Item,* The King’s Majesty, &c. declares, That the 29th Act of the Parliament held at *Edinburgh* the 22d of *May*, 1584. shall be no ways prejudicial, nor derogate any thing from the Privilege that God has given to the Spiritual Office-Bearers in the Kirk, concerning Heads of Religion, Matters of Heresy, Excommunication, Collation or Deprivation of Ministers, or any such Essential Censures, specially grounded upon, and having Warrant from the Word of God.’

‘ *Item,* Our Sovereign Lord and Estates of Parliament, Abrogate, Cass and Annul the Act of Parliament of 1584. granting Commission to Bishops and other Judges constituted in Ecclesiastical Causes, to receive his Highness’s Presentation to Benefices, to give Collation thereupon, and to take Order about all Causes Ecclesiastical, which his Majesty and said Estates declare to be expir’d, to be Null and of no Avail, Force, or Effect in time to come. And therefore ordains all Presentations to Benefices to be directed to the particular Presbyterys in all time to come, with full Power to give Collation thereupon, and to take Order about all Matters and Causes Ecclesiastical within their Bounds, according to the Discipline of the Kirk.’

The Declaration of the Estates of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, containing the Claim of Right, and the Offer of the Crown to their Majesties King *William* and Queen *Mary*, has the following Article, Vol. III. pag. 151. *viz.*

‘ That

‘ That Prelacy and Superiority of any Office in the
 ‘ Church above Presbyters, is, and hath been a great and
 ‘ insupportable Grievance and Trouble to this Nation, and
 ‘ contrary to the Inclinations of the Generality of the
 ‘ People ever since the Reformation (they having reform’d
 ‘ from Popery by Presbytery) and therefore ought to be
 ‘ abolish’d.’

By *Act 3d, Sess. 1. of King William and Queen Mary's* Parliament, Vol. III. p. 197. Prelacy was abolish’d according to this Article, which is there recited, and all the Acts of King *Charles II.* establishing Prelacy, repeal’d.

The *5th Act* of the *2d Session* of the same Parliament, Vol. III. p. 206. ratifys the Confession of Faith, and settles Presbyterian Church Government thus.

‘ Our Sovereign Lord and Lady, and Three Estates, &c.
 ‘ conceiving it to be their Duty, after the great Deliverance
 ‘ that GOD has lately wrought for this Church and King-
 ‘ dom, in the first place to settle and secure therein the
 ‘ true Protestant Religion according to the Truth of God’s
 ‘ Word, as it hath of a long time been profess’d within
 ‘ this Land; as also the Government of Christ’s Church
 ‘ within this Nation agreeable to the Word of God, and
 ‘ most conducive to the Advancement of true Piety and
 ‘ Godliness, and the Establishing of Peace and Tranquil-
 ‘ lity within this Realm: And that by an Article of the
 ‘ Claim of Right, it is declar’d, that Prelacy, &c. (as a-
 ‘ bove) and that Prelacy is abolish’d: Therefore their Ma-
 ‘ jesties, &c. do hereby revive, ratify, and perpetually
 ‘ confirm all Laws, Statutes and Acts of Parliament made
 ‘ against Popery and Papists, and for the Maintenance and
 ‘ Preservation of the true Reform’d Protestant Religion,
 ‘ and for the true Church of Christ within this Kingdom,
 ‘ in so far as they confirm the same, or are made in favour
 ‘ thereof. Likewise they ratify and establish the Confession
 ‘ of Faith, now read and approv’d by them, which Con-
 ‘ fession is subjoin’d to this present Act. They do also
 ‘ establish, ratify and confirm the Presbyterian Church Go-
 ‘ vernment and Discipline; that is to say, the Government
 ‘ of the Church by Kirk Sessions, Presbyterys, Provincial
 ‘ Synods and General Assemblys, ratify’d and establish’d
 ‘ by the 114th Act, *James VI.* Parliament 12th, *Anno*
 ‘ 1592. entitled, *Ratification of the Liberty of the true*
 ‘ *Kirk,*

‘ Kirk, &c. [Vol. I. p. 607.] and afterwards receiv’d by
 ‘ the general Consent of this Nation to be the *only Govern-*
 ‘ *ment of Christ’s Church within this Kingdom*: Reviving,
 ‘ renewing and confirming the said Act of Parliament in
 ‘ the whole Heads thereof, except that part of it relating
 ‘ to Patronages, and rescinding and making void the Acts
 ‘ of Parliament following: [After enumerating the said
 ‘ Acts, this Act goes on thus] With all other Acts, Laws,
 ‘ Statutes, Ordinances and Proclamations; and that in so
 ‘ far only, as the said Acts, and others generally and parti-
 ‘ cularly above-mention’d, are contrary or prejudicial to,
 ‘ inconsistent with, or derogatory from the Protestant
 ‘ Religion, and Presbyterian Government now esta-
 ‘ blish’d.’

By the same Act, the Government of the Church was establish’d in the Hands of those Presbyterian Ministers that were Outed for Nonconformity to Prelacy, or not complying with the Courses of the Times, and such Ministers and Elders as they had admitted, or shou’d afterwards admit and receive. A General Assembly was also appointed with Power by themselves, or such as they shou’d appoint, according to the Custom and Practice of the Presbyterian Government, to be Visitors *throughout the whole Kingdom and several parts thereof*, to try and purge out all insufficient, negligent, scandalous, and erroneous Ministers, by due course of Ecclesiastical Process and Censures; and likewise for redressing all other Church Disorders. And *whatsoever Minister* they or their Visitors summon’d before them, and either did not appear thro Contumacy, or was found Guilty, they had a power to censure, either by Suspension or Deposition.

By the 20th Chapter of that same Confession, which is ratify’d by Law, *Vol. III. p. 224.* they are empower’d to inflict the Censures of the Church upon those who publish such Opinions, or maintain such Practices as are contrary to the Light of Nature, or to the known Principles of Christianity; whether concerning Faith, *Worship*, or Conversation, or such erroneous Opinions or Practices as either in their own Nature, or in the manner of publishing or maintaining them are destructive to the *external Peace and Order which Christ hath establish’d in the Church.* And we have heard

heard above, that Presbytery is declar'd to be the only Government of Christ's Church in this Kingdom, agreeable to the Word of God, and most conducive to the advancement of true Piety, and the establishing of Peace and Tranquillity within this Realm.

By the 35th Act of the same Session it appears, that many of the Episcopal Ministers were depriv'd, because they did not pray for the King and Queen, nor read the Proclamation in their Churches for that end: That afterwards they diffus'd the poison of their Disaffection by preaching and praying in other Churches; and elsewhere neglected to pray for the King and Queen, in manifest contempt of publick Authority, and to the stirring up and fomenting the Disaffection of the People against their Majesties, and to the Encouragement of their Enemies. Therefore they were discharg'd to preach or exercise any part of the Ministerial Function in Churches, or elsewhere, until they took the Oath of Allegiance, engag'd to pray for the King and Queen, and not to own the late King *James* in any fort, on pain of being proceeded against with all Rigour, as Enemies to their Majesties Government.

The 38th Act of that same Session, *Vol. III. pag. 229.* takes notice of a distinction betwixt a King *de Facto*, and a King *de Jure*, cunningly spread abroad by the Episcopal party to weaken and invalidate the Allegiance sworn to their Majesties. Therefore all Persons were enjoin'd, when duly requir'd, to sign the following Declaration.

' I, *A. B.* do in the sincerity of my Heart assert,
' acknowledg and declare, that their Majesties King *William*
' and Queen *Mary* are the only lawful undoubted Sove-
' reigns, King and Queen of *Scotland*, as well *de Jure* as *de*
' *Facto*, and in the Exercise of the Government: And
' therefore I do sincerely and faithfully promise and engage,
' that I will with Heart and Hand, Life and Goods, main-
' tain and defend their Majesties Title and Government,
' against the late King *James*, his Adherents, and all other
' Enemies, who either by open or secret Attempts, shall dis-
' turb or disquiet their Majesties in the exercise thereof.

The 6th Act of the 4th Session of that Parliament, Vol. III. Pag. 338. enjoins the Oath of Allegiance, and the Assurance abovemention'd to be taken by all Ministers, and *Preachers of the Gospel whatever*, and by all those who call Ministers, or give a Vote for calling them. Benefic'd Ministers were upon their Refusal to be depriv'd; and Preachers, not benefic'd, to be banish'd, or punish'd otherwise, as the Privy-Council should think fit.

I need not acquaint you, that a mighty Clamour was rais'd thro' the Island, and particularly in *England*, when those Acts were put in Execution against the Episcopal Clergy, as if they had been severely persecuted on the Account of Episcopacy; which is absolutely false, as may be seen by the Acts themselves. But I go on.

The 22d Act of the same Session, for settling the Quiet and Peace of the Church, Vol. III. Pag. 355. enacts, 'That none be admitted to be a Minister or Preacher within this Church, until they first take the Oath of Allegiance, sign the abovemention'd Assurance, subscribe the Confession of Faith, as their own, acknowledge and submit to Presbyterian Government, and promise never to endeavour its Subversion and Prejudice.

By the same Act it was enjoin'd, 'That Uniformity of Worship, as at present perform'd and allow'd, or as it should afterwards be allow'd by the Authority of the Church, should be observ'd by all Ministers and Preachers; and that no Minister or Preacher be admitted or continu'd hereafter, unless he subscribe to, observe, and do actually observe, the said Uniformity; and those who did not so qualify themselves before some Judicatory of the Church, are to be depos'd by Sentence of the General Assembly, *Tam ab Officio quam a Beneficio*; and all Magistrates are enjoin'd to give due Assistance for making the Sentences and Censures of the Church effectual.

The 12th Act of the 5th Session against Irregular Baptisms and Marriages, Vol. III. Pag. 419. was occasion'd, because, as appears by the Narrative of the Act, several of the outed Episcopal Ministers did presume to baptize Children; and solemnize Marriage, without Procla-

mation of Banns, or Consent of Parents, and sometimes within the forbidden Degrees: Therefore 'twas enacted, 'That no outed Minister should baptize any Children, or solemnize Marriage betwixt any Parties in time to come, on pain of Imprisonment, until they found Surety to go out of the Kingdom, and never return.

You know, Sir, as well as I, that several of those outed Ministers were accus'd of baptizing Children begot in Fornication, Adultery, &c. without any Satisfaction given by the Parents for the Scandal, according to the Discipline of the Church; and likewise of antedating Certificates to conceal the unclean Practices of those that they marry'd, which open'd a Door to all sorts of Lewdness, and occasion'd this Act.

The 22th Act of the 5th Session of the same Parliament, Vol. III. Pag. 430. is against intruding into Churches without a legal Call and Admission. It takes Notice, That Ministers and Preachers intruding themselves into vacant Churches, possessing of Mansions and Benefices, and exercising any part of the Ministerial Function in Parishes, without a legal Call, is a high Contempt of the Law, and of dangerous Consequence, tending to perpetuate Schism. Therefore it enacts, 'That those who intrude into Churches, &c. or exercise any part of the Ministerial Function, within any Parish without an orderly Call from the Heretors and Eldership, and legal Admission from the Presbytery within whose Bounds it lies, shall be incapable of enjoying any Church or Benefice within *Scotland*; and upon Complaint from the Presbytery of the Bounds, or any having their Warrant, the Magistrates are to remove those Intruders from the Churches, &c. and make them desist from exercising any Act of the ministerial Function in the said Parishes. The same Act likewise enjoins, That those who had intruded should be remov'd, and that an effectual Course should be taken for hindering those who were or should be deposed by the Judicatories of this Church from preaching or exercising any Act of their ministerial Function, which they cannot do after they are deposed without a high Contempt of the Authority of the Church, and of the Laws of the Kingdom establishing the same.

The 27th Act of that Session, Vol. III. Pag. 436. is such a Proof of the Moderation of our Church and State, as those who plead so much for a Toleration to our Episcopal Dissenters did never shew either in *England*, or *Scotland*. By this Act all such Episcopal Ministers as were in possession of Churches and Benefices at that time, and not under Sentence of Deprivation, are allow'd to continue upon taking the Oath of Allegiance and Assurance, and behaving themselves like Ministers of the Gospel in Doctrine and Conversation; but they were not to exercise any part of their Function out of their own Parishes, to License or Ordain others, or to exercise any part of Church Government, unless duly admitted by a competent Church Judicatory. This Act took in abundance of the outed Episcopal Clergy, after they had refused to take the Oaths to the Government above six Years, and they were, and are still, allow'd to enjoy their Churches and Benefices, without conforming to Presbytery.

The 2d Act of the 8th and 9th Sessions of that Parliament, Vol. III. p. 564. confirms all the abovemention'd Acts in favour of Presbyterian Government.

The 3d Act of Queen *Anne's* Parliament, which met at *Edinburgh* in *June* 1702. Vol. III. p. 605. confirms all the preceding Laws in favour of Presbyterian Government and Discipline, as agreeable to the Word of God, and the only Government of Christ's Church within this Kingdom.

The 2d Act of her Majesty's Parliament which met at *Edinburgh* the 6th of *May* 1703. Vol. III. p. 624. confirms all the preceding Laws in favour of Presbyterian Government in the same manner.

By the 4th Act of the 2d Session of her Majesty's Parliament for the Treaty of Union, Vol. III. p. 606. it is expressly provided, That the Commissioners shall not treat of, or concerning, any Alteration of the Worship, Discipline and Government of the Church of *Scotland*, as by Law Establish'd. This is a plain Proof, that without a Security that the Doctrine, Worship, Government and Discipline, and the Rights and Privileges of the Church of *Scotland* should not be alter'd, our Nation would never have come into the Treaty.

The Act for securing the Protestant Religion and Presbyterian Church Government, Vol. III. p. 718. and inserted, *verbatim*, in the Union Act, Vol. III. p. 733. takes notice of the said Restraint laid upon the Commissioners for the Treaty, and that the said Treaty being reported to the Parliament, and it being reasonable and necessary that the true Protestant Religion, as at present profess'd within this Kingdom, with the Worship, Discipline and Government of the Church of *Scotland*, should be *unalterably* secur'd. It does establish and confirm the said true Protestant Religion, and the Worship, Discipline and Government of this Church *to continue without Alteration to the People of this Land, in all succeeding Generations.* And particularly ratifies, approves, and for ever confirms the 5th Act of the 1st Parliament of King *William* and Queen *Mary*, Entituled, *An Act ratifying the Confession of Faith, and settling Presbyterian Church Government*; with all the other Acts of Parliament relating thereunto, in Prosecution of the Declaration of the Estates of *Scotland*, containing the Claim of Right, dated the 11th of *April*, 1689. 'Tis also expressly provided and declared, that the said true Protestant Religion, contained in the abovementioned Confession of Faith, with the *Form and Purity of Worship*, at present in Use within this Church, and its Presbyterian Church Government and Discipline, shall remain and continue *unalterable*, and be the only Government of the Church within the Kingdom of *Scotland*.

By the same Act it is provided, That none of the Subjects of *Scotland* shall be liable to, but all and every of them free from any Oath, Test, or Subscription within this Kingdom, contrary to or inconsistent with the said true Protestant Religion, Presbyterian Church Government, Worship and Discipline as above Establish'd, and that the same within the Bounds of this Church and Kingdom, shall never be impos'd upon, or requir'd of them in any sort.

By the same Act, all future Princes are to Swear and Subscribe inviolably to preserve and maintain the said Settlement of the true Protestant Religion, with the Government, Worship, Discipline, Rights and Privileges of the Church of *Scotland*, as above establish'd by the Laws of this Kingdom in Prosecution of the Claim

of Right. And it is thereby Statute and Ordain'd, that this Act of Parliament, with the Establishment therein contain'd, shall be held and observ'd in all Time coming, as a Fundamental and Essential Condition of any Treaty or Union, to be concluded betwixt the two Kingdoms, without any Alteration thereof, or Derogation thereto in any sort for ever.

This, Sir, is the true State of the Case of our Church, with relation to her Establishment by our own Laws, which are all of them ratify'd and made Unalterable by the Union Act. I shall only trouble you with a few Inferences, which I think do naturally result from them.

First, The Project of Toleration you sent me for allowing Meeting-Houses to none but those who are Episcopally Ordain'd, seems to me inconsistent with the Union, which ratifies this Article of our Claim of Right, *viz.* That Prelacy and the Superiority of any Office in the Church above Presbyters, is and hath been a great and insupportable Grievance and Trouble to this Nation, &c. and therefore ought be abolish'd.

This Article, you know, her Majesty Sign'd upon her Accession to our Crown; and by the Union Act, all future Princes must Swear inviolably to maintain and preserve it. How then, without Breach of the Union, can such a Toleration be fram'd into a Law, or who are those Bishops that must Ordain those Episcopal Preachers? Our outed Bishops cannot do it, for 'tis declar'd by the 22d Act of the 5th Session of King *William's* Parliament, Vol. III. p. 430. that being once Depos'd, the Clergy cannot exercise any Act of their Function without a high Contempt of the Authority of the Church, and of the Laws of the Kingdom. Besides, their Office is actually abolish'd in this Country, by the 3d Act of Session I. of King *William's* Parliament.

English and *Irish* Bishops cannot do it, for they have no Authority to Ordain Presbyters for this Country; and besides, the Terms of their Ordination are contrary to the Union Act, which frees all the Subjects of this Country from any Oath, Test or Subscription inconsistent with our Church Government, Worship and Discipline, and the same is never to be impos'd or requir'd of them in any sort, so that they cannot give Assent and Consent to the Book of Common-Prayer, and to Minister

the Sacraments and Discipline, according to the Custom of those Churches, nor can they promise Canonical Obedience to those Bishops, without violating the Union Act in this particular.

Secondly, It is plain from the Acts abovemention'd, confirm'd by the Union Act, That no Man can be a Preacher in *Scotland*, without submitting to the Government, Worship and Discipline of our Church, which is made *Unalterable and reserv'd for ever to the People of this Land*, according to the express Words of the Union Act.

'Tis likewise evident by the said Acts, That the Jurisdiction of the Church of *Scotland* extends over the whole Kingdom, and this being confirm'd by the Union, how can any Subject of this Country be exempted from the Censures of the Church, as I find it is propos'd by the Scheme of Toleration, those of the Episcopal Communion should.

Under what Discipline must they be then? The Presbyters of the Church of *England* can exercise none but in Subordination to their Bishops, and the Authority of those Bishops, or indeed of any other, can't be exercis'd here, where Prelacy is by the Declaration of Rights made an unsupportable Grievance, from which her Majesty, and all her Successors, are engag'd inviolably to preserve us; nor can these Presbyters, would their Bishops allow them, exercise Discipline here themselves, for that wou'd make an Alteration in the Discipline of our Church, which now extends over all the People of this Land, to whom by the Union it must for ever remain Unalterable.

Thirdly, Presbytery is declar'd by the abovemention'd Acts, to be most conducive to the Advancement of true Piety, and the Establishing of Peace and Tranquility within this Realm; and since 'tis very well known that our Prelatical Party have always, and do still disturb the Peace and Tranquility of our Church and Country, it is inconsistent with the Union Act, which ratifies our own Worship and Government for securing our Peace, to set up others that will certainly disturb it; and we may venture to say, that those who formerly did so, were not such Gainers by it, as to make them try another Experiment.

'Tis plain from the Acts abovemention'd, That the Episcopal Party have spread the Poyson of their Disaffection against the Civil Government, as founded on our Declaration of Rights, at the late Happy Revolution.

This, one would hope, should make those who are firm to her Majesty, and the *Hanover* Succession, think it not worth their while to endanger either of them for the sake of such Men.

In this last place, I can't but take Notice, that the Toleration Scheme propos'd, seems to be very defective, in providing against Immoralities and Blasphemy; for by exempting those of the Episcopal Communion from the Censures of our Church, and proposing no other in their stead, as indeed they can't, without breach of the Union, those People will be under no Church Government, and so become Free-booters both in Religion and Morals, as 'tis known too many of 'em are already, so that all our present Acts against Profaneness, which are very good, may be eluded by those who think fit to decline the establish'd Communion.

Then as to Blasphemy, the Toleration Scheme comes infinitely short of our Laws establish'd for that end; for that takes notice of nothing but preaching and writing against the Trinity, whereas our Laws punish those who rail upon or curse God, or any of the Persons of the Trinity, by Death, except they be distracted; and the like those who obstinately deny God, or any of the Three Persons; who deny the Authority of the Holy Scriptures, or the Providence of God in governing the World.

To this I shall add, That if there be not an effectual Provision made against Irregular Baptisms and Marriages by the Episcopal Clergy, the Country will be fill'd with all manner of Lewdness.

And since the Scheme allows them to set up Meetings in any Town or Place where they please, it will elude all our Acts against Intruders, and supplying vacant Churches, which they will certainly endeavour to possess themselves of, under the shadow of this Law, as they have already done in several parts of the Country, notwithstanding our Laws in being against Intruding into Churches, or Rabbling and Mobbing those, who are sent according to Law, to supply vacant

Churches. Therefore, Sir, I hope that this Toleration will never pass. I am, &c.

Jan. 24. 1711-12.

Edinburgh, Jan. 29. 1711-12.

Dear Sir,

I Thank you for your last, that gave me an Account of the late Act against the Protestant Dissenters of *England*; with an Abridgment of the Bill brought into the House of Commons for tolerating the Episcopal Dissenters in *Scotland*; You know my Thoughts about Toleration; I was ever for it, and ever an Enemy to Persecution for Conscience-sake; therefore I shall not need to trouble you on that Subject. But since you desire me to write my Thoughts with all Freedom of this Bill, I shall readily obey you.

Before I did read it, I expected it might be for such a Toleration here as is in *England*, neither more nor less; with the same Indulgence and Restrictions Civil and Ecclesiastick; which tho' some more warm Presbyterians here would not formally desire, yet would peaceably acquiesce in for the sake of the Quiet of the Kingdom. But I find it is rather for the establishing of another Church in *Scotland* by Law, upon almost an equal footing with the establish'd Kirk; and most People of all sorts will reckon it as an Introduction to the abolishing of Presbytery in *Scotland*, and the making the Union more compleat, by an Uniformity of Church Government, Worship and Discipline. Now methinks it concerns you that are at the Helm to enquire, If to establish the Episcopal Dissenters, according to the Plan of the Bill, be just and safe. As for the Justice of it, I know 'tis dangerous to say that an Act of Parliament is Unjust, or to say that the Parliament can do an Illegal thing: But you know the People of *Scotland*, of all Denominations, are apt enough to speak their Minds; and if they think such an Act unwarrantable upon the foot of the Union, they will not stick to say so, especially considering that no sort of People were for the Union when it was a making. And tho' this Bill is brought into Parliament all on a sudden, it has open'd the Mouths of all Men here, who cry out against it as an open Breach of the Union; a Violation of that solemn Fact between
the

the two Independent Kingdoms, of which the fundamental Articles are to preserve the two Churches of *England* and *Scotland* unalterable in all their several Rights and Privileges granted by former Parliaments, and ratify'd by the Act of Union. I shall not argue the Point with a Person of your Judgment, that knows the Constitution so well; but only suggest, that all Men here conclude the Union is broken in several Points, and in this amongst the rest.

And so the next Enquiry will be, whether 'tis safe to pass such a Bill into an Act of Parliament? Some may be apt to conclude, that it is very safe for the Queen, the Parliament, the House of *Hanover*, the Ministry, and the Church of *England*: But by the most strict and impartial Search into the present Posture of Affairs that I can make, I must beg leave to conclude otherwise.

For her present Majesty having so often graciously assur'd the Kirk of all due Protection and Encouragement, and the Union having been reserv'd for the Glory of her Reign, and the People of *Scotland* having depended as much upon her Majesty's inviolable Honour and Goodness, as upon any other human Security of their stipulated Rights; the passing such an Act might alienate the Hearts of her Subjects, even of those that have given the highest Proofs of Loyalty; unless it were suppos'd that the Queen could not have declin'd the Royal Assent to it, which I hope this Parliament will never give ground of supposing.

Nor can the Parliament propose impregnable Safety by such an Act; for it is like to create such Confusions and Distractions in this part of the Island, as may occasion more Business for the Parliament than will be desir'd. I mean not only the many vexatious Appeals, that seem to be the natural Tendency of an Act so ambiguous in Expression, and that constitutes two different and independent Churches amidst a hot-brain'd People; but also the Animosities, Jealousies and Fears that may be easily dispers'd thro the Land, and by the Craft of some Men may be improv'd for an open Rebellion, that may require a Standing Army to suppress it. And how the Liberties of Parliament can be well preserv'd under a Standing Army in any part of the Island, I leave to your Consideration, who have read the several Opinions against it, of the
Whigs

Whigs in the Reign of King *Charles II.* and of the Tories in the Reign of King *William.*

And consequently it must look with an ill Aspect at the Protestant Succession in the House of *Hanover*; for except a very few, the Episcopal Dissenters are generally what we call Jacobites. They believe the inherent, indefeasible Right of the young Gentleman at *St. Germain's*, and think themselves oblig'd in Conscience to assert his Right in due time, let the Consequences be ever so dismal to the Rights of the People Civil and Sacred. This being rooted in them for many Years, tho' their Policy should incline them to swallow the usual Oaths, they would either do it with a Reserve and private Exposition, or would be ready to say afterwards that those Oaths were taken in durance, and cram'd down their Throats by a powerful and successful Usurpation, and so not obligatory.

Therefore instead of consulting the Interest of the *Hanover* Succession by this Bill, you rather put it in the Power of the most zealous and stanch Friends of the *St. Germain's* Pretender, the more successfully to oppose that illustrious Family's succeeding to govern these Kingdoms after the Demise of the Queen. But I am also afraid that many others, now hearty Friends of the *Hanover* Succession, may be provok'd or decoy'd into dangerous and daring Measures against it, by the Hardships and Disorders that this Bill seems to threaten them with, if it pass into a Law without due Amendments: For does not every body know that the State of the Royal Boroughs, is of late many ways disgusted, and likewise the *Scotch* Nobility? Now if the Kirk shall be thus invaded too by such an Act, I cannot say how soon a strict Alliance may be commenc'd by these Three Great Bodies, for the Recovery of their Rights and Privileges, and some means us'd to reduce themselves in *statu quo*. If such a Design should ever be hatch'd, I doubt not but they would apply for some foreign Aid, as not being able to manage it alone: And then if the Pretender, nay if the *Great Mogul*, or any other Man (however averse they may be at present) did offer his Service to them for recovering their pristine State, they would, I am afraid, too readily comply to accept thereof, when chagrin'd, and fretted, and combin'd for that purpose. I need not add, that as the whole
People

People of *Scotland*, except those that made the Union, which were but a few, were against it at first; so if it was to be made again, no Man durst or would offer an Argument for it, having had a sufficient Trial of it already.

But further, what Advantage can the Ministry propose by such Innovations? Surely they may remember the late Affair of Dr. *Sacheverel*, which being thought an Innovation, made way for their Management. And one would think they have not been so long in play as to secure the Game, and ward off any future Turn that an amus'd and disgusted People may be the unhappy occasion of. And if it appear they are concern'd in passing this Bill, they may expect the Kirk will pray for them in the Words of *David*, *Lord turn the Counsel of Achitophel into Foolishness*.

Nor is it the Interest of the Church of *England* to pass this Bill: For tho' at present that Church is not in Danger, the Queen and Parliament being entirely *English*, and all the Places of Profit and Trust bestow'd on those that cannot be Members of any other Church; yet we know not what Evil may be upon the Earth, we are not sure of having always such a Monarch as Queen *ANNE*, and such a Parliament and Ministry as the present: And should there arise a *Pharaoh* that knew not *Joseph*, with a Parliament and Ministry to his Mind, I know not but the Rights and Privileges of the Church of *England* might be invaded. Then if the Reverend Lords the Bishops or any others of their Communion, should plead against any Innovations or Infringements, because of the many Acts of Parliament in favour of the Church, which were all ratify'd by the Union as unalterable for ever; would it not be reply'd, "Why, my Lords and Gentlemen, do you complain, after you have given us a Precedent for these Measures? Did you not invade the Kirk of *Scotland* in the Year 1711-12, that was as well secur'd by the Union, and in the same manner as the Church of *England* was? Surely at such a Juncture all good Christians of the Church of *England* would be ready to say with *Joseph's* Brethren in time of their Distress; *And they said one to another, we are verily guilty concerning our Brother, in that we saw the Anguish of his Soul when he*
be-

besought us, and we would not hear: Therefore is this Distress come upon us.

And thus I have given you the Reasons of my Opinion, and shewn that it is not safe for the Queen, the Parliament, the House of *Hanover*, the Ministry, and the Church of *England*. But I am also Apprehensive that it is not safe even for the Episcopal Ministers and People. For those Episcopal Ministers that took the Oaths before *September 1695*. possess'd their Livings independently of the Kirk; and those of them that survive, need no such Act in their Favour. And tho' the others are generally Nonjurors, yet they have erected many Meeting Houses without being disturb'd, except when they have done some things on purpose to provoke a Disturbance. I need not mention the many Intrusions (as they say) into vacant Churches, by raising Rabbles and committing Riots, and wounding those of the Kirk that offer'd to plant the Vacancy with a legal Incumbent: This would be accounted High Treason in our *English* Dissenters. Several Churches and Chappels are also possess'd by the Episcopal Dissenting Ministers, without being molested. So that if you was here, you would acknowledge that there never was a National Church so much affronted by the Dissenters, that no Church could bear more patiently those Affronts, and that no Dissenters could be more up-pish and daring, without giving the Government due Vouchers of their Loyalty. But this very Act will break the Party: because they are divided both about the Religion of the Church of *England*, and also about taking the usual Oaths to the State, and praying as the Act perhaps may direct. And because there is a Design here to reduce all the *Scottish* Episcopal Ministers and People to the way of the Church of *England*, a Rupture must be the Consequence: Upon which account many of the Party are against the Bill as now model'd.

I need not inform you of the many Hardships the Kirk may think to sustain by such an Act, not doubting but when the Bill is debated, the Members of Parliament that are the Kirk's Friends will open that Point fully; and some will expect that you will speak to it. But you may easily judge, many Confusions must follow the erecting of two legal Establishments, with equal intrinsic Jurisdiction; whereby an Handl: will be given to profane Persons

sons of shifting their Church, in order to escape due Censure. But we hear that this Bill is design'd for some other Ends that are not fit to be nam'd, and which I leave you to guess at. And because People generally look on this Bill as a Preface to a speedy and total demolishing of Presbytery, and of a new Erection of Episcopacy after the the *English* way, as the only legal Church, which creates further Jealousies, and renders most People susceptible of what I will not mention; I shall refer you to a Noble Author, in order to guess at what may be the Consequence, by comparing former Times with the present. 'Tis the Earl of *Clarendon* in his *History of the Rebellion*, Vol. I. Book 2. from the beginning; where his Lordship accounts for the Rise of the Troubles, and shews us plainly that the spring of them was the introducing of the Canons and Liturgy into *Scotland*. I shall abridge a good deal thereof in his Lordship's own Words. My Lord says, It was a fatal Inadvertency that the Canons had never been seen by the Assembly of the Clergy, it being almost impossible that any new Discipline could be introduc'd into the Church, which would not much concern the Government of the State, and even trench upon or refer to the municipal Laws of the Kingdom: And that in this Consideration the Archbishop of *Canterbury* had always declar'd to the Bishops of *Scotland*, " That it was their part to
 " be sure that nothing they should propose to the King
 " in the Business of the Church should be contrary to the
 " Laws of the Land, which he could not be thought to
 " understand; and that they should never put any thing
 " in Execution, without the Consent and Approbation
 " of the Privy Council. But it was the *unhappy Craft* of those few *Scotch* Bishops to get it believ'd by the King, that the Work would be grateful to the most considerable of the Nobility, the Clergy and the People (which they could hardly believe) in order to the obtaining his Majesty's Approbation and Authority for the Execution of that, which they did really believe would not find Opposition from the Nobility, the Clergy or People, against his Majesty's express Power and Will; which without doubt was then in great Veneration in that Kingdom. My Lord goes on afterwards to tell us, that as the Canons and Liturgy were things unheard of and new in *Scotland*, so were not then fit for that Nation, that
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this gave Occasion to cunning Men of suggesting to Men of all Conditions, that here was an intire new Model of Government in Church and State; that it was thought no other than a Subjection to *England*, by receiving Laws from thence, of which they were most jealous, which they passionately abhorr'd: That they believ'd there was no part of their Civil Government uninvaded by the Canons, and no Persons of what Quality soever unconcern'd, and, as they thought, unhurt in them; and that it was an Approach and Introduction to Popery. And though the *Scots* made no great Noise, nor yet committed any open Disorder, except spreading Libels against the Bishops, till about the Month of *July* 1637. when the Liturgy was publish'd, and appointed to be read in all the Churches, it met with such a Reception as all Men know; the City of *Edinburgh* being fill'd with Tumult, Hollowing and Out-crying, and bitter Execrations against Bishops and Popery. Hitherto no Person of Condition or Name appear'd, or seem'd to countenance this seditious Confusion, but the Rabble: And until the Bishops of *Scotland* sent an Expres to the King about it, there was little Curiosity in the Court or Country of *England*, to know what was done in *Scotland*. But all the Kingdom flock'd to *Edinburgh*, as in a general Cause that concern'd their Salvation, and resolv'd themselves into a Method of Government, erected several Tables, in which Deputies sat for the Nobility, the Gentlemen, the Clergy, and the Burgesses, and a Council to conduct their Affairs. They disobey'd the Orders and Proclamations of the King's Council, as if the Government were regularly in their Hands. They call'd a General Assembly, whither they summon'd the Bishops before them, and for not appearing, excommunicated them. And then they united themselves in their Solemn League and Covenant. They got most of the Nobility and considerable Gentlemen either to join with them openly, or to be their secret Friends. And so at last they seiz'd on the King's Forts and Magazines, and rais'd an Army to withstand him.

I need not proceed to tell you what follow'd, which was fatal enough and too well known; but shall only remark, that though the *English* Liturgy, Episcopacy, Canons and Ceremonies, are like to be introduc'd into *Scotland* by an Act of Parliament, and not by the Sole

Pleasure of the Sovereign, yet I'm afraid the way of advising it is much the same as formerly. For it is now also the *Unhappy Craft* of some Men to get it believ'd, that the Work would be grateful to the most considerable Persons in *Scotland*. And therefore they represent the Presbyterians here as an inconsiderable Handful, deserted by all the Nobility and Gentry. But since I came into *Scotland*, I find this Report groundless: I confess indeed there are several Episcopal Lords and Gentlemen, and many more that are indifferent as to Church-Government; yet I'm pretty sure many of the first, and most of the others, would easily join the Nobility, Gentlemen, Clergy, and People of the Kirk, in preserving her Constitution entire without the least Innovation or Incroachment; saving that many of them are of my Opinion, That the two Churches confirm'd by the Union should be equally maintain'd and encourag'd, and that the Dissenters of *Scotland* should enjoy the same, and no more Privileges than those of *England*, and upon the same Conditions. This is indeed the true way of maintaining the Peace of the Country, and a keeping of all Things in a proper Balance.

I hear there is a Succession of the *Scotch* Bishops intended, and that Four or Five have been privately ordain'd: But I shall not trouble you further at this time, having transgress'd the Bounds of a common Misfire already, for which I beg pardon. Only be pleas'd to accept of my Wife's Respects to you and yours; and she hopes to see you at *London*, if you go not soon to your Country-Seat.

I am,

Dear S I R,

Your much Obliged and

Obedient Servant, &c.

To the Honourable the Commons of
Great-Britain, assembled in Parliament,

The Humble Petition of William Castares, Principal of the College of Edinburgh; Thomas Blackwell, Professor of Divinity at Aberdeen; Robert Baillie, Minister at Inverness;

Most Humbly Sheweth,

THAT your Petitioners, being Ministers of the Establish'd Church in *Scotland*, and very much concern'd for the Peace and Welfare thereof; and being inform'd that a Bill is depending in this Honourable House, intitl'd, *A Bill to prevent the disturbing those of the Episcopal Communion in Scotland, in the Exercise of their Religious Worship, and in the Use of the Liturgy of the Church of England*; and for repealing the *Act against Irregular Baptisms and Marriages*.

And the Commissioners of the Assembly of the Church of *Scotland*, being at a very great Distance from this Honourable House, and having no Notice of any such Bill depending; and the said Bill being of very great Consequence to the Establish'd Church in *Scotland*, and altering the Laws as well before as upon the Union (as your Petitioners humbly conceive) made for its Preservation, and securing the Rights and Liberties thereof.

Your Petitioners in all Humility presume to Petition this Honourable House, That this House would be pleas'd to allow a reasonable Time for to send to the Commissioners of the Assembly in Scotland, to acquaint them with the Contents of this Bill, before the same do pass, in regard it so much concerns the Church of Scotland; And also for that there are several very extraordinary Clauses (as your Petitioners humbly conceive) in the said Bill: Or otherwise, as your Petitioners apprehend, it will be a great surprize to the Church of Scotland, to pass this Bill, without they be heard what they have humbly to lay before this House concerning the same.

UNTO THE

Queen's most Excellent Majesty,

The Humble ADDRESS and REPRESENTATION of the Commission of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, met by Appointment of the said Assembly at Edinburgh, the Fifth Day of March, 1712.

May it please Your Majesty;

UPON Notice we had of a Bill depending in Parliament, entitled, *A Bill to prevent the disturbing of those of the Episcopal Communion in Scotland, in the Exercise of their Religious Worship, and in the Use of the Liturgy of the Church of England*, We in all Humility presum'd to Address Your Majesty for the Preservation of our present Establishment, as secur'd to us by Law, and for preventing the Inconveniencies that might ensue on the aforesaid Toleration; at the passing whereof thereafter, in both Houses of Parliament, we cannot but be deeply affected.

But now, that by the aforesaid Bill, the Oath of Abjuration Enacted for the better Security of Your Majesty's Person and Government, and the Establishment of the Succession to the Crown in the Protestant Line, is appointed to be taken by all Ministers, We do in most humble Duty, truly and sincerely own and acknowledge, That Your Majesty is Lawful and Rightful Queen of this Realm, and of all your other Dominions and Countries thereunto belonging; and do solemnly and sincerely declare, That we do believe the Person pretended to be *The Prince of Wales* during the Life of the late King *James*, and since his Decease pretending to be, and taking upon himself the Stile and Title of King of England, by the
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Name

Name of *James the Third*; or of *Scotland*, by the Name of *James the Eighth*, or the Stile and Title of King of *Great-Britain*, hath not any Right or Title whatsoever to the Crown of this Realm, or any other of the Dominions thereunto belonging; and we do most heartily renounce and refuse any Allegiance and Obedience to him: And we withal solemnly and sincerely profess, That we will bear Faith and true Allegiance to Your Majesty, in all Duties and Occasions whatsoever, that can be incumbent on us. And further, We do faithfully promise, to the utmost of our Power, to support, maintain and defend the Succession of the Crown in the Protestant Line, against the said Pretender, and all other Persons whatsoever: Understanding the aforesaid Oath of Abjuration in the fullest Sense, wherein it can be understood, to renounce and disclaim any Right that the said Pretender can claim to your aforesaid Dominions; and in the plain Sense of the Words, in so far as the said Oath, and Acts to which it refers, settles and entails the Succession of the Crown of those Dominions. for Default of Issue of Your Majesty, on the Princess *Sophia*, Electress and Dutches Dowager of *Hanover*, and the Heirs of her Body, being Protestants.

But seeing we cannot dissemble with your Majesty, That there remains a Scruple with many, as if the Conditions mentioned in the Acts of Parliament, establishing the Succession, referr'd to by the said Oath, were to be understood as a Part thereof; and that to Swear to some Things in those Conditions, seems not consistent with our known Principles: And that it is expressly declared and statuted, by the Treaty and Articles of UNION, and the Acts of Parliament of both Kingdoms ratifying the same, That none of the Subjects of *Scotland* shall be liable to, but all and every one of them for ever free, of any Oath, Test, or Subscription, within *Scotland*, contrary to, or inconsistent with, our present *Presbyterian* Church-Establishment: We, in the most humble and dutiful Manner, most earnestly beseech and obtest, That this our Address and Representation, and most sincere Declarations therein contained, may be Graciously accepted by Your Majesty, without respect to the aforesaid Conditions scrupled at, as the Just and True Signification of our Allegiance and Duty, and our Sense of the aforesaid Oath and Engage-

ment,

ment, to prevent all Mistakes and Misrepresentations thus possibly we may be liable to in this Matter.

That the Lord may eminently bless Your Majesty; and after a long and happy Reign upon Earth, receive You into Everlasting Glory, is, and shall be the earnest Prayer of,

May it please Your MAJESTY,

Your MAJESTY's most Faithful, most
Obedient, and most Humble Subjects,

*The Ministers and Elders, Commissioners of the late
General Assembly of the Church of Scotland.*

Sign'd in our Presence, in our Name,
and at our Appointment, by

William Mitchell, Moderator.

*The OATH for Abjuring the Pretended Prince
of WALES.*

I *A. B.* do truly and sincerely acknowledge, profess, testify, and declare, in my Conscience, before God and the World, That our Sovereign Lady Queen *Anne* is Lawful and Rightful Queen of this Realm, and of all other Her Majesty's Dominions, and Countries thereunto belonging: And I do solemnly and sincerely declare, That I do believe in my Conscience, that the Person pretended to be Prince of *Wales*, during the Life of the late King *James*; and since his Decease pretending to be, and taking on himself the Style and Title of King of *England*, by the Name of *James the Third*, hath not any Right or Title whatsoever to the Crown of this Realm, or any other the Dominions thereto belonging. And I do renounce, refuse, and abjure any Allegiance or Obedience to him. And I do

Swear, That I will bear Faith and true Allegiance to Her Majesty Queen *Anne*, and Her will I defend to the utmost of my Power, against all Traiterous Conspiracies and Attempts whatsoever, which shall be made against Her Person, Crown or Dignity. And I will do my best endeavour to disclose and make known to Her Majesty, and Her Successors, all Treasons and Traiterous Conspiracies, which I shall know to be against Her or any of Them. And I do faithfully promise, to the utmost of my Power, to support, maintain and defend the Limitation and Succession of the Crown, against him the said *James*, and all other Persons whatsoever, as the same is, and stands limited by an Act, intituled, *An Act declaring the Rights and Liberties of the Subject, and settling the Succession of the Crown to Her Majesty, and the Heirs of Her Body, being Protestants*: And as the same, by one other Act, intituled, *An Act for the further Limitation of the Crown, and better securing the Rights and Liberties of the Subject*, is and stands limited after the Decease of Her Majesty; and for Default of Issue of Her Majesty, to the Princess *Sophia*, Electress and Dutches Dowager of *Hanover*, and the Heirs of Her Body, being Protestants. And all these Things I do plainly and sincerely Acknowledge and Swear, according to these express Words by me spoken, and according to the plain and common Sense and Understanding of the same Words, without any Equivocation, mental Evasion, or secret Reservation whatsoever. And I do make this Recognition, Acknowledgment, Abjuration, Renunciation, and promise heartily, willingly, and Truly, upon the true Faith of a Christian.

SO HELP ME GOD.

An Account of Lay-Patronages in Scotland, and of the fatal Differences they have occasion'd betwixt the Church and Lay-Patrons; with Observations on the Arguments for restoring them.

LAY-Patronages are so far from being the ancient Constitution of *Scotland*, that there's scarce a Country in Christendom where ever they had so little Footing; so that if our *Scotch* Patrons were put to justify their Title by the old Maxim of the Canonists,

Patronum faciunt dos, edificatio, fundus,

they would make but a very indifferent Plea of it; nothing is plainer in our Law, than that the Tythes were the Patrimony of our Church, as appears by *Act of Parl. 1. James IV.* held in 1567. and by many other Acts. It is likewise known to every one, that Tythes were settled by the Legislature, and that such Endowments have at any time been made from the Rents of the Crown, requir'd the Consent of Parliament to make them good, since our Princes could alienate nothing belonging to the Crown without their Consent. And as to the Pope's Canon Law, from whence Patronages proceeded, it never obtain'd so far in *Scotland* as to be much regarded. This is evident from many of our Laws, which forbid our being govern'd by any other, and from the Pragmatical Sanctions betwixt the Popes and the Kings of *Scotland*, who were always as inflexible in this Matter, if not more, than the Kings of *France*.

But be that how it will, when the Pope's Authority was abrogated in *Scotland*, by Act of Parliament, in 1560. all Jurisdiction deriv'd from him fell with it, and his Canon Law among the rest, except what part of it we retain'd for its own Equity, and its Agreeableness to our Constitution, which was follow'd in Commissar's Courts, &c.

Accordingly the Church of *Scotland*, from the beginning of the Reformation, declar'd against Lay Patronage and Presentations. This appears from the first of Discipline, drawn up by order of the Government, and agreed to in the Privy-Council, *January 17. 1560.* where, in the fourth Head, *Concerning the lawful Election of Ministers*, the Power of Election is lodg'd in the Parishioners; and in case they delay'd it forty Days, the Presentation was to be in the Superintendant and his Council, *viz.* the Ministers and Elders of his Province.

In the first General Assembly of the Reformed Church of *Scotland*, held the 20th of *December 1560.* about four Months after the Pope's Authority was abolish'd, it was enacted the 27th of the said Month, That the Election of Ministers should be in the publick Church by the People, and that Notice should be given of it the *Sunday* preceding. It was the same as to the Election of Superintendants, as may be seen by the Form of it prefix'd to our old Psalm Books, and in the first Book of Discipline, under the Head of *the Election of Superintendants*; and the Church requir'd that the Ministers, the Poor, and the Schools, should be provided for out of the Tythes which were the Patrimony of the Kirk, as appears by the 6th Head of the first Book of Discipline, under the Title *Of the Rents and Patrimony of the Church.*

In the 3d Session of the 4th General Assembly held at *Edinburgh*, it was enacted, *Dec. 27. 1562.* That the Presentation of Ministers should be in the People. Thus Matters were stated at *Queen Mary's* Arrival from *France*, *Aug. 19. 1561.* and the 25th of that Month her Majesty declar'd by Proclamation, That no Body on pain of Death should attempt privately or publickly to make any *Alteration or Innovation in the State of Religion*, which she found publickly and universally standing at her Arrival; and she promis'd not to attempt any thing against it her self, but to settle all things with the Consent of the States. This Promise was kept no otherwise than as Popish Princes use to do with their Protestant Subjects; so that she and her Courtiers were unwilling to part with the Patronages and Patrimony of the Church which they had possess'd themselves of on the Abrogation of Popery, insomuch that the poor Ministers had

little else to maintain them but the Benevolence of their Hearers, and with much ado, after many Petitions, they obtain'd a third of the Tythes, which was but indifferently paid, so little dependance had they on Lay Patrons.

The Church being under these Pressures, she was willing to comply as far as she could in Conscience, in order to obtain what farther Reformation was wanting, and a Redress of her Grievances. Therefore she agreed in the Assembly of 1565, that her Majesty, or any other Patron, might present to vacant Benefices; but on Condition that they presented qualified Persons; and subjected them to the Examination of the Kirk, *who had the Right of Collation to the Cure, if the Patron had the Presentation to the Benefice*; otherwise, say they, the Patrons might obtrude such Persons as they pleas'd upon them. And thus, as they complain in the 6th Head of the first Book of Discipline, *the Papistical Tyranny should be only chang'd into that of the Lord and Laird*; therefore they requir'd that the Kirk might be restor'd to her Liberty, that she had been cruelly spoil'd of by the Papists.

In the 2d Book of Discipline agreed on by the General Assembly of 1578. register'd by that of 1581. and order'd to be subscrib'd by all Ministers, they declare themselves, Chap. 12. thus :

' The Liberty of the Election of Persons call'd to Ecclesiastical Functions, and observ'd without Interruption so long as the Kirk was not corrupted by Antichrist, we desire to be restor'd and retain'd within this Realm, so that none be intruded upon any Congregation, either by the Prince, or any inferior Person, without lawful Election, and the Assent of the People over whom the Person is plac'd, as the Practice of the Apostolical and Primitive Kirk, and good Order craves; and because this Order which God's Word craves, cannot stand with Patronages and Presentations to Benefices used in the Pope's Kirk, we desire all them that truly fear God, earnestly to consider, that forasmuch as the Names of Patronages and Benefices, together with the Effects thereof, have *flow'd from the Pope and th* Corruption of the Canon Law only, in so far as

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thereby

thereby any Person was intruded or placed over Kirks having *Curam Animarum*: And forasmuch as that manner of Proceeding hath no ground in the Word of God, but is contrary to the same, and to the said Liberty of Election, they ought not now to have place in this Light of Reformation. But as to these Patronages that have not *Curam Animarum*, as Chaplainrys, Prebendarys, &c. founded upon Temporal Lands, annuals and such like, they may be reserv'd to the ancient Patrons to dispose of to Scholars and Burfars, according to Act of Parliament.

This was the Sense of our Church at the Reformation. We come next to shew how the Matter stood in Law, The Courtiers, tho' unwilling to part with the Patronages, agreed, however, that the Power of Patrons should be restrain'd. Thus by the 7th Act of the first Parliament of King James VI. held *Anno 1567.* it was Enacted, *That the Examination and Admission of Ministers be only in the Power of the Kirk,* and that the Patron present a qualify'd Person within six Months (after the Decease of the former Incumbent comes to his Knowledge) to the Superintendant or others, having the Commission of the Kirk, otherwise the Kirk to have power to dispose of the same to a qualified Person. The Qualifications required were, that he should agree with the Church in Doctrine, and the Administration of the Sacraments, according to the Confession of Faith, as appears by Act 6. Parliament 1 James VI. The Act 46. Parliament 3. of that same Prince, enjoins, *That the Minister should be under the Discipline of the Kirk, partake with her in the Sacraments, and Subscribe the Articles of Religion, and give his Oath for acknowledging the King and his Authority.* And by Parliament 6. Act 68. James VI. they who refuse to Communicate in the Sacraments, as Administr'd in the Kirk, according to the Confession of Faith; or contradict the said Confession, are declar'd to be no Members of the Kirk, so long as they do so, and by the 69th Act of that same Parliament 'tis declar'd, *That there be no other Jurisdiction Ecclesiastick acknowledg'd within this Realm, than that which is, and shall be within the same Kirk, or that flows therefrom.* It is here likewise proper to observe, That by the abovemention'd Act of 1567.

in case of a Failure, by the Superintendant or Commissioner of the Kirk to admit a qualify'd Person, presented by the Patron, there lay an Appeal to the Superintendant and Ministers of the Province, and if they refus'd to admit the qualified Person, an Appeal was to be made to the General Assembly, whose Determination was to be Decisive.

But notwithstanding this Restriction on Patrons, many Abuses resulted from the Patronages by Contracts betwixt the Patrons and some Ministers, who were Guilty of dilapidating the Rents of the Benefices (without regard how their Successors should live after them) for the sake of present Profit. And by the same Method, Benefices were conferr'd upon unqualify'd Persons, both by the King and other Lay Patrons, against which a Remedy was provided by the 101st and 102d Acts of King James VIth's 7th Parliament, which met *October 24. 1581.*

A further Remedy was provided by the 116th Act of his 12th Parliament, which met *June 5. 1592.* by which the Collation and Deprivation of Ministers was lodg'd in the Church, *As a Privilege granted by God to her Spiritual Office-bearers*, wherein her General Assemblies were also Ratify'd and Approv'd, with all her Privileges, Libertys, Immunitys and Freedoms, given and granted by his Highness, his Regents in his Name, or any of his Predecessors to the True and Holy Kirk, presently Establish'd within this Realm; and among other Privileges, all Presentations to Benefices were to be directed to the Presbyterys, with a full Power of Collation, and by the 117th Act, the Church had a power of presenting *Jure Devoluto*, if the Patron did not present a qualify'd Person after a Vacancy of six Months. But a Reserve being made in the 116th Act, that they should receive and admit any qualified Person presented by his Majesty, or Lay Patrons, the Abuse continued, and Ministers were depriv'd of their Benefices by several Patrons, to prevent which, the 169th Act of King James VIth's 13th Parliament was made.

Notwithstanding all these Provisions against the Abuses of Patronages, the General Assembly of 1596. finding that by those Presentations many Persons were forcibly thrust into the Ministry, and upon Congregations, whose Conduct shew'd they were never call'd of God, the Assembly

fembly provided, That none should seek Presentations to Benefices, *without Advice to the Presbytery, in whose Bounds they lay*, on pain of being repell'd, as *Rei Ambitus*, and they desir'd, that such as were Guilty of dilapidating Benefices, or of dimitting them for Favour or Money, so as they be become Lay Patronages, might be punish'd as Dilapidators.

Thus these Lay Patronages continued a Subject of Controversie betwixt Lay Patrons and the Church, and occasioned many Abuses, and much Clamour, by the Courtiers against her, but they could not fully accomplish their Design, till after the Union of the Crowns, when the Court being at a distance from *Scotland*, and open to the constant Sollicitation of Men of other Principles, the State of Bishops was establish'd in *Scotland*, by the 2d Act of King *James VIth's* 18th Parliament, which met *July 9. 1606.* after which the Power of Presentation was lodg'd in the Archbishops and Bishops; but the Patrons by their Interest in Parliament, had the Luck to keep their Patronages on Foot under several Restrictions, which did not remove the Evil that from the beginning was complain'd of, and as an immediate and obvious Consequence of it, Simony, which is a direct Bargain betwixt the Patron and the Minister to be presented, for obtaining a Spiritual Charge in the Church, was too plainly Tolerated, to the great Scandal of Religion, and manifest decay of Piety and Learning, for the Patrons by these Simoniacal Contracts, inverted the Tythes to their own private Use, and no Minister was presented, till he had given a Lease to his Patron of the Tythes of his Parish, in consideration of a poor Aliment to himself and his Family. An Abuse which ought certainly to affect all those who are truly Religious, either in the Church of *England* or *Scotland*.

This occasion'd so many Abuses in presenting of Ministers, and fill'd the Church so full of unqualify'd Persons, that it was one of the principal Causes of Complaint which brought on the Civil War, and occasion'd the Abolition of Prelacy in *Scotland*, as may be seen by the Acts of Assembly and Papers of State, from 1638. to 1641.

Presbytery being restor'd in a Parliament where the King was present, the Affair of Patronage was accommodated betwixt the King and the Church thus. Upon a
Petition

Petition from the Assembly, for the better providing of Vacant Churches in His Majesty's Presentation with qualify'd Ministers, his Majesty agreed, That upon the sending him a List of six Persons by the Presbytery, where the Vacancy lay, he would present one of them, as appears by his Declaration sign'd with his own Hand at *Whitehall*, Jan. 3. 1642. and Register'd in the Books of the Assembly, the 3d of *August* following; and by an Act of the Assembly of the same date, it appears, that the Patronages formerly belonging to the Bishops, were vested in the Presbyteries, by Act of Parliament, and that the like Method of the Presbyterys sending a List of qualify'd Persons to other Lay Patrons, as to his Majesty was also agreed upon.

But in the Assembly of 1643. they petitioned his Majesty, That considering the Difficulty of obtaining a List of six able and well qualified Persons for every Vacant Church in his Majesty's Presentation, he would accept a List of three, and of any one qualified Person, who spoke *Irish*, for a Vacant Church in the Highlands.

Matters continued thus till 1649. that all these Restrictions not being found sufficient against the Abuses of Lay Patrons, they were totally abolish'd by Act of Parliament.

Episcopacy and Patronages were restored by Acts of Parliament in King *Charles* II's Reign, from 1662. and downwards. But when the Meeting of the Estates of *Scotland* was call'd expressly in 1689, for securing the Protestant Religion, and the ancient Laws and Libertys of the Kingdom, to the Legality of which Meeting, the Bishops did also subscribe, as appears by the 2d Act of that Meeting; and by the 13th Act, the Estates did claim among other things, as appears by their Declaration of Right, ' That Prelacy and the Superiority of
' any Office in the Church above Presbyters, is, and
' has been, a great and insupportable Grievance and
' Trouble to this Nation, and contrary to the Inclination
' of the generality of the People ever since the Reformation (they having reform'd from Popery by Presbyters)
' and therefore ought to be abolish'd.

This Meeting of Estates did by the 20th Act address King *William*, ' That the said Meeting shou'd be turn'd
' into a Parliament for securing the Protestant Religion,
the

“ the Government, Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom,
 “ and redressing the Grievances by them represented;
 To which his Majesty did interpose his Royal Authority,
 by agreeing to their Address, as appears by their 38th
 Act.

Pursuant to the abovemention'd Article of the Claim of Right, and the Design of turning the meeting of Estates into a Parliament, Prelacy was abolish'd by the Third Act Sess. 1. of King *William* and Queen *Mary*, July 22. 1689. and still pursuant to the same Article, the Parliament did by Act 2d, Sess. 2. April 25. 1690. restore the Presbyterian Ministers who were thrust from their Churches since *January 1. 1661.* And in the 5th Act of the same Session, after reciting the abovemention'd Article of the Claim of Right as the Foundation of their Proceedings; and reciting likewise the last mention'd Act for abolishing Prelacy, they Proceed to settle Presbyterian Church Government upon the Foot of the Act of 1592. and do ratify and revive the said Act in the whole Heads thereof, except that Part of it relating to Patronages, which, they declare, is hereafter to be taken into Consideration. And pursuant to this Reservation, by the 23d Act of that same Parliament, July 19. 1690. they take away the Patrons Power of Presentation. All which Acts, were frequently ratify'd, not only by King *William*, but by her present Majesty, since her happy Accession to the Crown.

The Act which most immediately relates to the Patronages in debate, is the 6th Act of her Majesty's Parliament for Securing the Protestant Religion and Presbyterian Church Government, pass'd, Jan. 16. 1707. wherein her Majesty, with the Advice and Consent of the Estates of Parliament, ratifys, approves, and FOR EVER CONFIRMS the 5th Act of the 1st Parliament of King *William* and Queen *Mary*, entituled, *An Act ratifying the Confession of Faith, and setting the Presbyterian Church Government,* WITH THE HAILL OTHER ACTS OF PARLIAMENT RELATING THERETO, IN PROSECUTION OF THE DECLARATION OF THE ESTATES OF THIS KINGDOM, CONTAINING THE CLAIM OF RIGHT. So that this 23d Act of Parliament, concerning Patronages, now sought to be RE-SCINDED,

SCINDED, being made pursuant to the above-mention'd Article of the Claim of Right, to the very end of turning the said meeting of the Estates into a Parliament, and for compleating the Settlement mention'd in the said 5th Act for Settling Presbyterian Church Government in the Terms of it, is very plainly confirm'd by the said 6th Act of her Majesty's Parliament, 1707. which is made and expressly declar'd to be, a Fundamental and Essential Condition of the Treaty of Union.

Besides, by this Act for abolishing *Patronages* now sought to be rescinded, nothing, but the Right of Presentation is taken from the Patrons, in order to settle the Call of Ministers upon the Foot of a Free Apostolical Election, which our Church has always contended for, and this the Patrons have so little Cause to complain of, that their Civil Right is put in a better Condition than before, for now they have a Right to the Tithes, and are in a manner made Titulars, whereas so long as they continued only Patrons, they were under a Necessity to make Contracts with the Ministers they presented, about the Right of Tythes, which now they need not do, since they themselves are the Titulars, and the Ministers only Stipendiaries. This has effectually put a stop to *Simoniackal* Contracts, which have ever been the abhorrence of all Christian Churches, and of none more than the Church of *England*, from whom in this Matter we don't differ in Principle, as may be seen in her 40th Canon, containing the Oath which all Intrants are obliged to take at their Institution into Benefices, *viz.* ' That they ' have made no Simoniackal Payment, Contract or Promise, directly or indirectly, by themselves, or by any ' other to their Knowledge, or with their Consent to any ' Person or Persons whatsoever, for, or concerning the ' procuring and obtaining of this Ecclesiastical Dignity, ' Place, Preferment, Office or Living, nor will at any ' time hereafter perform or satisfy any such kind of Payment, Contract or Promise made by any other without their Knowledge and Consent.

It must be own'd, that this is a very strict Oath, but we are not to wonder, that the Church of *England* took such Precautions in a matter of this Importance, since in the Preamble to the Canon she justly says, *That Simony is a detestable Sin, and that the buying and selling of Spiritual and*
Ecclesia-

Ecclesiastical Functions, Offices, Promotions, Dignities and Livings IS EXECRABLE BEFORE GOD.

'Tis therefore hoped, that since the Church of *England* complains of Lay-Patronage as a Grievance, the Legislature will not again put our Necks under that Yoke, which neither we nor our Fathers were able to bear, especially, since Providence has deliver'd us from it, and that we are as much secur'd against it as our own particular Laws founded upon the Claim of Right, and the Treaty of Union can secure us.

It ought also to be consider'd, that *England* has always valu'd her self for being deliver'd from that Vassalage, which her great Men had over the Commons. Therefore 'tis believ'd, that they will not bring us again under a Spiritual Vassalage, which is the most insupportable of all others, and may in time come to be dangerous to the State, since many of our Nobility and Gentry did formerly claim a Right of Patronage over many Churches, which belong'd to their particular Families, and if restored, will give them as great a Power over the Souls of the People, as Civil Vassalage gives them over their Bodies: And if many of those Patronages should fall into the Hands of Persons Disaffected to the Government, it is more easie to foresee, than to avoid the Consequence.

We know 'tis us'd as an Argument for restoring Lay Patronages, that the Right of presenting Ministers is a Right of Property, to which the Patrons have as good a Title as to their Estates, and also that there was about 33*l.* Sterling to be paid to the Patrons for renouncing their Right of Presentation which has never been paid.

Any one may see that these are very slight Pretences to weaken or alter the Constitution of a Church, so solemnly establish'd, as a fundamental and unalterable Article of the Union. The fair Dealing that is essential to the Execution of all Treaties does not admit, that upon such weak Pretence there shou'd be the least straitning of the Benefit intended for the Quiet and Satisfaction, as well as for the Security of the Church of *Scotland*. No Man, soberly thinking, can imagine that any one has that same Property in presenting Ministers to Churches, as

they have in their Lands, Houses, Goods and Chattels : Besides the Patrons of *Scotland*, as has been observ'd already, have not the Foundation of Patronage required by the Canon Law. The Churches of *Scotland* are not endow'd by the Patrons, nor out of any private Estate, for since the Reformation, the State of the Provision of Ministers, and consequently of the Patrons Claims is very much alter'd. Ministers have their Stipends or Allowance for serving the Cures, out of the Tythes, which as we have heard already, is by Law, accounted the Patrimony of the Church, and Churches are appointed to be built and repair'd by the Parishioners. The Ground upon which the Churches are built, the Glebes, and Minister's Dwelling-Houses, are by Law taken out of the Property of the Parish ; so that it is the Church and the Parish that have the Title of the Canon Law to the Patronage, since it is the Parish who gave the *Dos*, *Edificatio*, and the *Fundus* : But supposing it were otherwise, it is very strange to renew those Claims now after things have been establish'd to the contrary, as an inviolable and fundamental Article of the Union.

The other Part of the Objection, that the Patrons have not receiv'd the 33 *l.* for resigning their Right of Presentation can never be allow'd as a good Reason to restore that Right ; since the very Act did provide for a Distress and Execution at the Suit of Patrons, against the Parish, if the said 33 *l.* was not paid, but if this Execution has not been made use of by the Patrons, 'tis their own Fault. Therefore they cannot in Justice pretend to have such a Relief as a Right to the Presentation, for that which has been the Consequence of their own Neglect. But further, it is wrong to pretend, that there was no other Price appointed by the said Act for the Right of Presentation, but the 33 *l.* abovemention'd since there is, certainly a much more valuable Consideration. The Patrons, who before that Act, cou'd have no Right to the Tithes, but by Simony, which is execrable, and consequently not to be justify'd by any Colour of Law, have by the very Act, which deprives them of the Right of Presentation a Title to the Tithes, with the Burden only of a fair and honest Provision to be settled by the
Law

Law upon the Ministers for serving the Cure. This the Patrons do enjoy, and have enjoy'd for 22 Years, and by Virtue of that Title the Tithes have been convey'd from Hand to Hand.

Will Men who pretend to have Patronages restor'd, because of a Delicacy in point of Property, rob the Church of her Tithes, which is her Patrimony, without allowing the Calling and ordaining of Ministers to remain as it is now establish'd, agreeable to the most ancient Practice of the Christian Church? Will they pretend to enjoy the Purchase and the Price too? Can they imagine, tho' they are blinded with Prejudice in their own Favour, that ever they can prevail with Members of Parliament to agree to such Extraordinary Demands?

It is likewise industriously given out, that the manner of Calling Ministers, as establish'd by the Laws of *Scotland*, and the Treaty of Union, has been the Cause of much Dissention and Division, and that the Votes of Farmers, Mechanicks, and other mean People, have been of equal or greater Weight than those of the chief Landed Men of the Parish, &c. But if this Objection be good, then the Practice of the Primitive Church was erroneous, and Christianity it self culpable, which, tho' in its own Nature a Doctrine of Peace, has, thro' the Corruptions of Men, occasion'd Divisions among the nearest and dearest Relations. Therefore 'tis hop'd no Man will allow this Objection to be of any Weight; but as a more direct Answer, where are the numerous Instances, or mighty Evidences of these Divisions complained of? Must a few ill grounded Storys be sufficient to overturn a Law, that has now been in Possession of the Church and People for 22 Years? And can it not be prov'd that the chief Divisions, which have happen'd on this Account, arose from such as are Disaffected to the Civil Government? Or can it be deny'd that several of them have been prosecuted for it? But further, will the Restoring the Right of Presentation to Patrons cure this pretended Evil? Will not the Body of the Parish complain that a Pastor is impos'd upon them? Has a Superiour a Title to impose, in Matters of that Kind, upon his Vassal

Vassal? Or a Landlord on his Tenant? Has not the exorbitant Usurpation of Superiours and Landlords over Mens Bodys and Goods been loudly complain'd of? And will they now pretend to extend their Superiority over the Peoples Souls too in Matters of a spiritual Concern?

In short, all these Objections are trifling, and those who make 'em don't seem to have read the Act concerning Patronages, which they would have repeal'd. The Words of it are, That the Heretors, *i. e.* Landed Men of the Parish, being Protestants, and the Elders, (not the Mob) are to name the Minister to the whole Congregation, to be approv'd or disapprov'd; and if they disapprove the Disapprov'ds must give in their Reasons to be examin'd by the Presbytery, and if their Reasons be not found Good, the Nomination of the Heretors and Elders stands, so that the Claim of those who insist on this Argument is to take away the Right of Presentation from the Landed Men of the Parish, and give it to the Patron, who frequently has no Residence or Interest in the Parish, nor is so much as known to 'em by face, but lives in a remote Country, and is often a Man of a much less Estate than many of the Heretors of the Parish.

But if the Hazard of Division be a good Argument, 'tis much stronger upon the side of those who have a standing Law to support their Claim. For 'tis plain and undeniable, that many of the Patrons in *Scotland*, are neither well affected to the Establishment of the Church, nor to the Civil Government, and no doubt such Patrons will present Men to whom the Church can't agree, and then a Division must arise betwixt the Church and Patrons, upon every occasion of a Vacancy, of which the most obvious Consequences are, that the Churches will be kept vacant, to the great Discouragement of Religion and Piety, and in some Counties to the great Incouragement of traffiquing Popish Priests. Quarrels will also arise betwixt the Patrons and the Parish, about the Disposal of the Fruits of the Benefice, during the Vacation, which disaffected Patrons will think piously apply'd, when given to such Ministers as are of their own Stamp, and Enemies both to the Church and the Civil Government. Now whether these Inconveniencies don't very much cast the Balance upon the side of a standing Law, which the People have been possess'd of for Twenty two Years, and is ratified by the Treaty of Union; let all impartial Men judge.

'Tis really strange, that any Man should insist upon restoring the Right of Presentation on the Foot of personal Property by a general Law, when there are so many Patrons, and those too of the most considerable in *Scotland*, that will oppose such a Restitution as they have a lawful Opportunity. There are not a few who in Conscience think they can't enjoy the Right of Tithes, and of the Presentation too, and prefer the first as a much more valuable and juster Right than the former. There are many who are justly afraid that this Restitution of Patronages, and annexing those of Bishopricks to the Crown, may have Convulsive Effects, and raise Disputes betwixt the Crown and such as have deriv'd the Rights of Patronages from it.

Men are not free from Apprehensions, that tho' Tythes be not now restored to the Church, yet in all Probability they must in Time, if the Presentations be restored to the Patrons; and many whom none of those Reasons move, are very tender of any thing that may give occasion to disoblige and vex so considerable a Body as the Presbyterians of *Scotland*, by depriving them of the Liberty and Privilege they enjoy of calling their own Pastors, and even those that think People are in the wrong to be uneasy on that Account, yet would be very loth to Fret them, by making a New Law, of which there appears to be so little Necessity or Advantage, except to a few Patrons, who have rais'd and prosecuted this Noise for their own private Views.

'Tis also observable, there's another thing demanded, *viz.* The Repealing of the Acts about supplying vacant Churches by *Norih-Forih*, upon a Pretence of several Burthens impos'd upon Vacant Stipends, to the Prejudice of the Patrons Right of disposing thereof.

This seems to be Foreign to the Patron's Power of Presentations, contended for and only brought in, to perplex and disquiet the Establish'd Church, which has as good a Right to the Benefit of those Acts for supplying the said vacant Churches, and to the Encouragement of those who preach in them, as to any of the other Rights and Privileges which are confirm'd and reserv'd to her by the Union. Can the Stipends of vacant Churches be apply'd to any more pious Use than that of instructing People who have not the Benefit of a settled Minister, especially in such Parts of the Country where *Papists* and *Jacobites* are so much encouraged, and who have joyn'd in Mobbing and Assaulting not only the Ministers

sters sent to preach there, but Her Majesty's Justices of Peace who came to support 'em, according to the Duty of their Office.

One would think this looks too open to be insisted on, and that some People are willing that *Jacobitism* and *Papery* should increase in those Countrys, but certainly the Parliament of *Great Britain* will be of another Mind, when they come to understand the Case and the Reason of those Acts which are desir'd to be repealed.

To conclude, what good Reason can there be given for breaking in upon the Settlement of the Church of *Scotland*, and alarming its Members in so material a Point as depriving them of the Power to call their own Ministers: and that too whilst the most remote Apprehensions of Danger to the Church of *England* occasion such extraordinary Uneasiness to her Members, and give Rise to new Fences and Securities for her, beyond what is provided in the Treaty of Union? Is it suitable to the fair Execution of that Treaty, that whilst the Securities of the one are increas'd, things are interpreted in the strictest manner to the Prejudice of the other, her Securities endeavour'd to be Diminished, and even her Rights and Possessions taken from her? Are not both Churches establish'd upon a Foot of equal Security by the Union? And is there any manner of Comparison betwixt the Hazard of the one and the other? Certainly some Mens Proceedings give us reason to suspect that they will leave no Article of the Union unattempted, when they are for breaking in thus upon the Rights and Privileges of the Church of *Scotland*, which are made a Fundamental and Essential Condition of the Union, and are secured by the Treaty from any Alteration thereof, or Derogation therefrom, in any sort for ever. How well such Projects agree with Loyalty to her Majesty, and Zeal for the *Hanover* Succession, that has no other Establishment in *Scotland*, but from the Union Treaty, which her Majesty has declared to be one of the Transactions of her Reign, that she Glories most in, let the World judge.

T O T H E
 Queen's Most Excellent
 M A J E S T Y,

*The Humble Address and Representation of the
 Commission of the late General Assembly of the
 Church of Scotland.*

May it please your Majesty,

TH O' we cannot forbear to regret the want of Success in our Endeavours with relation to a Bill lately pass'd into an Act, Entituled, *An Act for preventing the disturbing those of the Episcopal Communion in Scotland in the Exercise of their religious Worship, and in the Use of the Liturgy of the Church of England*; yet seeing we must still judge that the Form and Purity of Worship, presently within this Church, and its Presbyterian Government and Discipline, establish'd by the Acts of Parliament pursuant to the Claim of Right, are to remain and continue unalterable. And that the Act of Parliament securing our Presbyterian Church Government, and the Establishing thereof are to be held and observed in all time coming as a fundamental and essential Condition of the Treaty of Union concluded betwixt the two Kingdoms, without any Alteration thereof or Derogation thereto, in any sort for ever.

We

We cannot but with all humble Duty and Submission take Notice of another Bill presented in the Parliament of *Great Britain* for restoring of Patronages; which we conceive is contrary to our Church Constitution, so well secured by the Treaty of Union, and likewise ratified by the Acts of Parliament of both Kingdoms, and will inevitably obstruct the Work of the Gospel, and create great Disorder and Disquiet in this Church and Nation: For the further clearing whereof We beg leave to represent to Your Majesty, That from our first Reformation from Popery, Patronages have been reckoned a Yoke and Burden upon the Church of *Scotland*, as is declared by the 1st and 2d Books of Discipline, publish'd soon after the said Reformation, since which time they have been still judg'd a Grievance, till at length they came by Law to be establish'd.

These Patronages having been restored with Prelacy in the Year 1661 and 1662. and indeed did continue till the Year 1690. that Prelacy was abolished and Presbyterian Government again established: And tho' the Act of Parliament 1690, resettling Presbyterian Church Government was founded upon the Act of Parliament 1592, which bears a Relation unto Patronages, yet the said Act of Parliament 1690, doth expressly except that Part of the old Act, and refer Patronages to be thereafter consider'd, which accordingly follow'd in the same Parliament 1690. whereby Your Majesty may plainly perceive that the Abolition of Patronages was made a part of our Church Constitution enacted by the Act 1690. And that this Act 1690. with all other Acts relative thereto being expressly ratified and for ever confirm'd by the Act securing the Protestant Religion and Presbyterian Church Government, and ingrossed as an essential Condition of the Ratifications of the Treaty of Union past in the Parliaments of both Kingdoms. The said Act abolishing Patronages must be understood to be a part of our Presbyterian Constitution, secured to us by the Treaty of Union for ever.

Yet the same Parliament, 1690. was so tender of the Civil Rights of Patrons, and so sincerely desirous only to restore the Church to its just and primitive Liberty in calling Ministers in a way agreeable to the Word of God, That they only
discharg'd

discharg'd the Patron's Power of presenting Ministers to Churches vacant ; but as to any thing of their Civil Rights, did better the Condition of Patrons, not only by reserving to them the Right of Disposal of vacant Stipends for pious Uses within the Paroch, but also giving to them the Heretable Right of the Tythes, restricting the Ministers who formerly had the said Right to Stipends much below the Value of the said Tythes.

This being then the true Account of our Legal Establishment as to this matter, We presume also in all humble Duty to represent to your Majesty, That the Restitution of Patronages as to the point of Presentation can only gratify a few, while on the other hand it must necessarily disoblige a far greater part of your Majesty's good Subjects that are now freed of that Imposition.

Neither can we forbear to suggest to Your Majesty, That from what is said it may be easily gathered what Difficulties and Hardships Presbyteries may be laid under as to their Compliance with this Innovation; and what Differences, Contests and Disorders may probably ensue betwixt Patrons, Presbyteries, Heretors and People ; Besides the known Abuses wherewith Patronages have been attended, even in their most settled Condition ; Whereof many Instances might be given, especially that thereby a Foundation was laid for Simonical Pactions betwixt Patrons and those presented by them. And likewise Ministers were imposed upon Paroches by Patrons who were utterly Strangers to their Circumstances, having neither Property nor Residence therein.

And therefore we cannot but most humbly and earnestly obtest Your Majesty to consider this Affair of restoring Patronages in this Church with all its Circumstances and Consequences. And since through the Blessing of God and Your Majesty's Protection we have hitherto been at quiet and ease in this Matter, That Your Majesty would be graciously pleased in your great Wisdom to use proper Means for preventing this Ineroachment so evidently prejudicial to the Work of the Gospel, and the Peace of this Church.

That Your Majesty may be guided and directed of God in the great and weighty Affairs of your Government ; and
that

that after the Fulness of Earthly Blessings here, you may for ever wear a Crown of Glory that fadeth not away, are the earnest and fervent Prayers of,

Edinburgh,
27 March
1712.

May it please Your Majesty,

Your Majesty's most Faithful, most Obedient, and most humble Subjects,

The Ministers and Elders, Commissioners of the late General Assembly of the Church of Scotland.

Sign'd in our Name, in our Presence, and at our Appointment, by

Will. Mitchell, Moderator.

To

To the Most Honourable the
Peers of Great Britain
 In Parliament Assembled,

The Humble REPRESENTATION
 of WILLIAM CARSTARES, THOMAS
 BLACKWELL, and ROBERT BAILIE,
Ministers of the Church of SCOTLAND,

*Offer'd by them in the Name, and by the
 Appointment of the Commission of the late
 General Assembly of the aforesaid Church, con-
 cerning the Bill for restoring Patronages now
 depending before Your Lordships.*

IT is with all humble Duty and Submission represented
 unto your Lordships, that this depending Bill seems to
 be contrary to the present Constitution of our Church,
 so well secured by the late Treaty of Union, and solemnly
 ratified by the Acts of Parliament in both Kingdoms: That
 this may be more clear, it is to be observed, That from the
 first Reformation from Popery, the Church of *Scotland* hath
 always reckon'd Patronages a Grievance and Burden, as is
 declar'd

declared by the first and second Books of Discipline published soon after the said Reformation, since which time they were still judged a Grievance, till at length they came by Law to be abolished.

These Patronages having been restored with Episcopacy in the Year 1661 and 1662, did continue to the Year 1690: that Episcopacy was abolished, and Presbyterian Government again established; and tho' the Act of Parliament 1690, resettling Presbyterian Church Government, was founded upon the Act of Parliament 1592. which bears a Relation unto Patronages, yet the said Act of Parliament 1690, doth expressly except that Part of the old Act, and refer Patronages to be thereafter consider'd, which accordingly was consider'd in the same Parliament 1690, whereby it is plain, that the Abolition of Patronages was made a Part of our Church-Constitution, enacted by the Act 1690, and that this Act 1690. with all other Acts relative thereto being expressly ratified and for ever confirmed by the Act for securing the Protestant Religion and Presbyterian Government, and Ingrossed as an essential Condition of the Ratifications of the Treaty of Union past in the Parliaments of both Kingdoms; The said Act abolishing Patronages must be understood to be a Part of our Presbyterian Constitution, secur'd to us by the Treaty of Union for ever.

Yet it is to be particularly considered, that the same Parliament 1690, was so tender of the civil Rights of Patrons, and so sincerely desirous only to restore the Church to its just and primitive Liberty of calling Ministers in a way agreeable to the Word of God, that they only discharged the Patrons Power of Presenting Ministers to vacant Churches, but as to any thing of their civil Rights did make the Condition of Patrons better than before, not only by reserving unto them the Right of Disposal of vacant Stipends, for pious Uses, within the Paroch, but also giving unto them the heretable Rights of the Tythes, restricting the Minister who formerly had the said Right to Stipends much below the Value of the said Tythes, notwithstanding which advantageous Concession to the Patrons by the Parliament, this Bill takes back from the Church the Power of Presentation of Ministers, without restoring the

Tythes which formerly belong'd to her, by which the Patrons come to enjoy both the Purchase and the Price.

This being then the true Account of our legal Settlement as to this Matter, it appears to be evident that the Restitution of Patronages, as to the Point of Presentation, can only gratify a few, while on the other hand it must necessarily disoblige a far greater Number, that are now freed of that Imposition: And indeed it cannot but seem strange, that this Bill should be so much insisted upon, when there are so many Patrons, and those too of the most considerable in *Scotland*, that are against such a Restitution.

It is also apparent, that Presbyteries must come under many Difficulties and Hardships, as to their Compliance with this Innovation, and that many Contests, Disorders and Differences, will probably ensue betwixt Patrons, Presbyters, Heretors and People, besides the known Abuses wherewith Patronages have been attended, even in their most settled Condition; whereof many Instances might be given, especially that thereby a Foundation was laid for Simoniackal Pactions betwixt Patrons and those presented by them, and likewise Ministers were imposed upon Paroches by Patrons who were utterly Strangers to their Circumstances, having neither Property nor Residence therein.

It is therefore with all Submission expected from your Lordships Justice and mature Deliberation, That a Bill, as we humbly conceive, so nearly affecting the late Treaty of Union in one of its most fundamental and essential Articles, respecting the Preservation of the Rights and Privileges, which our Church at that time was possess'd of by Law, for the Security of which the Parliament of Scotland was so much concern'd

concern'd, as not to allow their Commissioners to make it any Part of their Treaty, but reserved it as a thing unalterable by any Judicature deriving its Constitution from the said Treaty, shall not be approv'd by your Lordships, especially while the Nature of the Treaty it self shews it to be a reciprocal Transaction betwixt the two Nations.

W. CARSTARES.
THO. BLACKWELL.
RO. BAILIE.

(7)

THE
OFFICE
OF THE
SECRETARY
TO THE
GOVERNMENT
OF INDIA
NEW DELHI

SECRETARY
TO THE
GOVERNMENT
OF INDIA

SECRETARY
TO THE
GOVERNMENT
OF INDIA

A
P L E A

FOR THE

Non-Conformists:

S H E W I N G

The True State of their CASE:

And how far the *Conformist's* Separation from the Church of *Rome*, for their Popish Superstitions, &c. introduc'd into the Service of God, justifies the *Non-Conformist's* Separation from them.

In a LETTER to Dr. *Benjamin Calamy*, on his Sermon (Call'd *Scrupulous Conscience*) inviting hereto.

To which is added,

A Parallel Scheme of the *Pagan, Papal, and Christian* Rites and Ceremonies:

A N D

A Narrative of the SUFFERINGS underwent

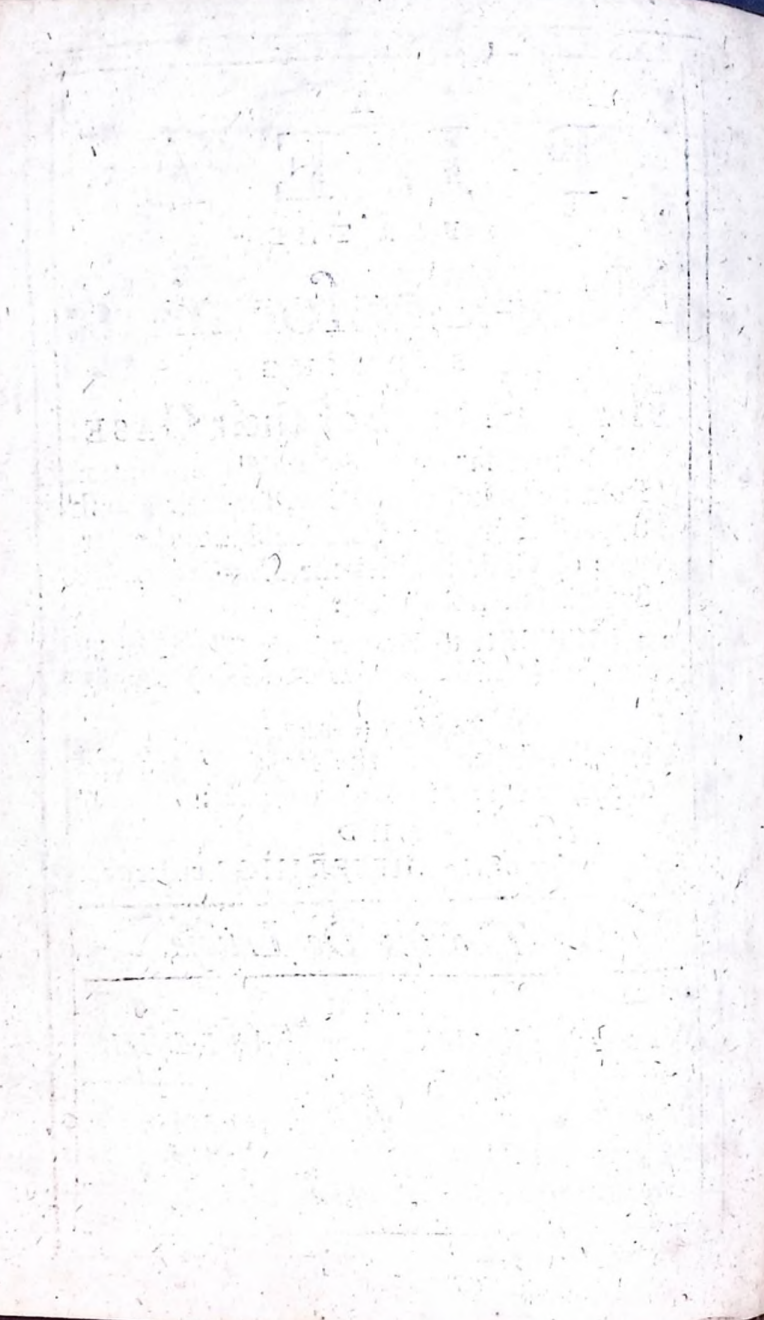
By *Thomas De Laune*.

W I T H

A PREFACE by the Author of the *REVIEW*.

L O N D O N,

Printed for a Friend of the Author, and Sold by *William Marshall*, at the Bible in *Grace-Church-Street*; and *Joseph Marshall*, at the Bible in *Newgate-Street*. 1712. Where are also sold most Sorts of Books, Stationary Wares, &c.



THE
P R E F A C E
T O T H E
R E A D E R.

THIS Book has been printed at least seven Times, and without Doubt, if the Adversaries of the *Dissenters*, were for Coming to the Test, either of *Scripture*, *Reason* or *Antiquity*, it would before now have receiv'd some Answer.

'Tis One of their own Challenges accepted, the Reasons for our *Dissenting* are fairly, modestly, and closely apply'd; if Saying nothing be taken *pro Confesso*, the Gentlemen of the Church of *England* would do well, to consider of some Mediums to defend Dr. *Calamy*, or Ingenuously own he was fairly confuted.

There remains nothing to be added to the Argument, 'till some Attempts to confute them shall make a Rejoinder necessary; nor, indeed,

can the *Dissenters* desire to have their Case more fairly stated, or the Conduct of their *Adversaries* be more concurring to their Justification.

When *Arguments* drive the *Opponents* into Passions and Excesses, like strong Purges, 'tis a Proof of their Operation, that they cause griping Pains in the very Bowels of the Patient.

To answer *sober Arguments* with *soure Coercives*, to dispute by the *Goal* and the *Hang-Man*, to debate by the *Prison*, and not by the *Pen*; These have been the *Peculiar* of the Party, and the Power of *Persecution*, not of *Persuasion*, has been the Way of their Usage to the *Dissenters*.

The Treatment the Reverend and Learned Author of this Book met with, will for ever stand as a *Monument* of the Cruelty of those Times; and they that affirm, the *Dissenters* were never persecuted in *England* for their Religion, will do well to tell us, what Name we shall give to the Usage of *this Man* of Merit, than whom few *Greater Scholars*, *Clearer Heads*, or *Greater Masters* of Arguments ever grac'd the *English Nation*.

I am sorry to say, he is One of near Eight Thousand *Protestant Dissenters* that perish'd in Prison, in the Days of that Merciful Prince, King CHARLES the Second; and that meerly for *Dissenting* from the Church, in Points, which they could give such Reasons for, as *this Plea* assigns; and for no other Cause, were stiff'd, *I had almost said Murther'd*, in Goals for their Religion, in the Days of these Gentlemens Power, who pretend to abhor *Persecution*.

His Fellow Prisoner Mr. *Jenkins*, most Humbly petition'd on the meer Account of *Sickness*, to be remov'd to some other Place for Air, upon *Unquestion'd* Securities of being surrender'd again to any Prison that should be appointed, and could not obtain that Common Compassion from the Mercy of that *Unpersecuting Age*; but dy'd under the Cruel Hands of these *Persecutors*, merely by the Stench and Contagion of an Unwholsom Confinement.

Let those Gentlemen, who have been forward to threaten us, with long Accounts of *Parliamentary* Persecutions in the Time of the *Civil Wars* here, remember, they cannot show, neither then, nor in any former Time, no, not if they throw in the Days of *Queen Mary*, any Thing like such a Number of Christians, (*for I must not call them Martyrs*) that suffer'd Death for their Religion; from whence, I have often recommended it to them, to forbear Putting us upon Comparing the Accounts, and Entering into the Melancholy Detail of the Particulars.

Let any Man of Religion judge, by the Story of this Gentleman, what those People drive at, who repine at the *TOLERATION*, and who so many Ways, have attempted the *Reversing, Contracting* or *Invading* it.

Let any Man judge, whether it was not Time to put an End to these Exorbitances in General, and whether a *LEGAL Toleration* was not *absolutely* Necessary, to screen ev'n the Church of *England* herself, from the Scandal of those Men, who acted under *her Authority*, so much against *her Principles*.

'Tis known and profess'd, that *Persecution* meerly for *Conscience*, is contrary to the *Principles* of the *Christian Religion*, and the *Doctrine* of the *Church of England*; who they were, that persecuted in those Days, we all know; and with what real Design to destroy the *Church of England* itself is plain; How they acted all against the *very Principles* of the *Church* is plain; but that they acted under the *Church's Authority*, in her Name, debauch'd her *Clergy* to fall in with the *Hellish Project*, made use of her *Ecclesiastical Courts* to put their wicked Designs in Execution, 'till the World could hardly discern, whether it was the *Church's Act and Deed*, or no, to the *Indelible Scandal* of the *Clergy* of those Times, is a Truth too plain to be debated.

Nor was the Design conceal'd any longer, than to the first Occasion which happen'd to discover it: The first Step the Late King *James* took, was to turn the Tables, and put an Opportunity in the Hands of the *Dissenters* fully to revenge themselves, and thinking them sufficiently provok'd by *innumerable Insults and Barbarities*, it was not doubted, but when they were prompted to *Expose and Reproach* the *Church* with their former *Usage*, they would obey *humane Nature*, and willingly do it.

But I appeal to those *Reverend and Dignify'd Prelates* concern'd in it, some of whom are yet alive, whether *Mr. White*, who had carefully collected the List of the *Dissenters Sufferers and Sufferings*, did not generously refuse both their *Invitations and Rewards*, and conceal the *Black Record*, that it
might

The P R E F A C E.

might not rise up in Judgment against the Reputation of the Church of *England*; and whether they did not send Mr. *White* their Thanks for it, and a Reward too, tho' he had Honour enough in him to refuse the *Money*.

Nothing but a *LEGAL TOLERATION* could defend the Church of *England* from the Scandal of a *Persecuting Principle*, and I cannot but think, Her Majesty's repeated Promises, *INVIOLABLY TO PRESERVE THE TOLERATION*, and the Heads of the Church adhering to the same Resolution, is as much an *Honour* to the Church, as it is a *Security* to the *Dissenters*.

Her Majesty is in this a *TRUE DEFENDER* of the *Principles* of the Church of *England*, as well as of the *General Protestant Faith*; in that by this Account, the Church is clear'd from the black Imputation of a *Persecuting Church*, too cunningly fix'd upon her by the Unwari-ness of her *Clergy*, and the Projects of *Tyrannick Princes*.

'Tis plain, the Church of *England* abstracted from the Arbitrary Influences of *Courts, Parties,* and *Projects*, abhors Cruelty and Persecution; and that Share She had in such an *Odious Practice* has been the *deepest Plot* against her *very Constitution*, that ever the *Devil* had a Hand in.

But by this, her best Defenders may see, what Need there is of the *Restraint* of Laws, to curb the advanc'd Fury of some Men; who to gratify *private Spleen*, to carry on Parties, and to pursue

perſue *publick Deſigns*, to the general Loſs and Decay both of *Religious and Civil Liberty*, are content to hazard the Church's Reputation, and puſh her upon acting againſt even her *own Principles*, as well as againſt the *Fundamental Conſtitution* on which She is built; I mean, the *Chriſtian Religion* in general.

The Act of TOLERATION, therefore, is not only an *Eaſe* to the *DifferTERS*, but to the Church itſelf; in whoſe Pale were always to be found ſome, who, tho' they profeſs the *Doctrine* of the Church, were not aſham'd to act ſo much againſt her *Interſt and Reputation*, as to be made Tools of Power, and ſubmit to the ſcandalous Employment of *Plundering* their Brethren, under Colour of *that*, which the very *Doctrine* of the Church abhors.

This brings me of Courſe to conſider, what Sort of People they are, and what they drive at, who exclaim againſt, would reſcind, limit, reſtrain, or leſſen the TOLERATION; to me, it ſeems plain, ſuch People can no longer be eſteem'd Friends to the Church, ſince they would again dip her Hands in Blood, and put her upon the Practice of *that*, which has been ſo ſcandalous to Her already.

Let ſuch but conſider, the Uſe the Enemies of the Church of *England* formerly made of it, and how diligently they labour'd, to fix the Scandal upon the Church, of being of a *Perſecuting Spirit*. Let them remember, what the End and Deſign of the *Papiſts* in King *James's* Time was, and why they labour'd to get from the

DifferTERS

Dissenters, the List of their Sufferings and Sufferers, of which Mr. *White*, as is before-mention'd, generously refus'd them, though great Rewards were offer'd him to make it publick.

Why did the Politicians of those Days, think such an Account would be serviceable to them? but because they knew the Publication of it would be *scandalous* to the Church; that it would make Her appear Practising what She did not profess, and Acting against her very Foundation Principles?

How diligent have some People been in this Age to run back upon the Church, and upbraid Her with *Persecution*, even in the very Age, in which She had suffer'd the Fire and Faggot of Queen *Mary*; and ev'n in the Infancy of her Reformation under King *Edward* the Sixth. (*)

How had the *Protestants* upbraided the *Romish* Religion as Bloody and Inhuman? And how, too justly, did these again retort the Charge, by Instances which I desire not to repeat? even when *Protestantism* was but just got out of the Hands of *Ghostly Tyranny*, and had but lately obtain'd Rest from the *Act de Heretico comburendo*.

And to sum up all, Why were the Reverend Clergy-Men of the Church of *England*, so grateful and thankful to Mr. *White's* Charity and generous Refusal? but that they had just Reason to be ashamed of the Practice, and were unwilling

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[*] *Vide* Stephens's Pamphlet-Letter to the Author of the State-Memorial. p. 3, 4.

ling to be put to any Blushes, for the Misbehaviour of their mistaken Friends, who had Ignorantly, as well as Rashly, loaded the Church, with the Indelible Reproach of *Persecution*?

The Reverend Author of this Book, is, indeed, a sad Instance of the Excesses Things were driving to in that Age; but whatever Excuses I can make for the Church of *England*, as being drawn in by some of her Members, to Act against her own Principle, I can frame no Excuse either from Reason, Honour, Circumstance, or any Thing else, to defend Dr. *Calamy*.

The Reader will see here his open Challenge, with what Assurance made, with what Ostentation publish'd, and how necessary to be answer'd; On the other Hand how modestly, how closely, how directly answer'd, and as I can add nothing to the Argument, so is it not capable of any greater Illustration, than what is to be found in itself.

But I name it, to obviate a Vulgar and very mean Objection, *viz.* What Occasion had Mr. *De Laune* to embroil himself? And this, as a common Allegation against all *Publick Spirits* and *Publick Good*, I must speak to, being the general Excuse of such, as make Use of it to defend themselves against Espousing, or Assisting those, that expose, or ruin themselves for the Service of their Country; Let us therefore Examine the Necessity of his Writing.

Had Dr. *Calamy's* Allegation pass'd unanswer'd, had a Challenge to the Dissenters to *Argue modestly*, &c. been neglected: Had it been drop'd,
and

and nothing but Silence on their Part been the Reply, what Arguments for *Persecution*, had here been put into the Mouths of the Enemies of their Peace; and how rational had it been to have Argu'd, That their *Dissenting* was from meer *Obstinacy*, and pertinacious *Espousing Notions* they could not defend; That they avoided to (*) *Dispute and Argue modestly, to propound their Doubts, or meekly to hearken to, and receive Instruction; that their Judgments were byast by Evil Affections, Love of a Party, or Carnal Interest.*

How forward would all Men have been, to have Challeng'd the *Dissenters* daily to come, and show Reasons for their *Non-Conformity*, and upbraided them with (†) *Refusing to hear both Sides, and to lay aside Prejudices and Favour to Men or Parties, consider and enter into the Argument on both Sides?*

Had no-Body reply'd to this, what must the *Dissenters* have been thought? How would the Clamour of their being *obstinate, without Principle, forming Designs* against the Church, and *Dissenting* on Politick, not Religious Accounts, have prevail'd in the Minds of Men, and the Necessity of their being suppress'd made rational to the Common People.

The great Artifice of those Times, was to bring the *Persecution* of *Dissenters* to appear ne-
 a 2 cessary,

[*] Calamy's Sermon twice Preach'd, and afterwards Printed, Entitul'd *Scrupulous Consciences*, p. 25. [†] *Id.* p. 25.

cessary, and to Expose them as a *People Dangerous* to the *State*, as well as the *Church*; and nothing could have gone farther towards making this easy, and plain to the *Vulgar Apprehension*, than to have the *Dissenters* silenc'd in Argument, be challeng'd from the *Pulpit*, and stand condemn'd as *Obstinate People*; that being not able to justify their *Non-Conformity*, by Reason or Argument, had obtain'd that Character by their own Concessions.

These Things thus calculated to incense the *Mob* against the *Dissenters*, and to justify the Severities design'd them; and, which at this very Time, were begun to be put in Practice, seem to me, entirely to clear up the *Necessity* there was, to enter the Lists with this new Invader, who had indicted all the *Dissenters* of Contumacy, *Obstinacy*, *Ignorance* and ungrounded Prejudice: If it was not a Season to appear, if no Body should advocate for them, *when then should be the proper Juncture?* When should the Champions of Religion defend her? but when they find the Foundation struck at, when they find the Enemies Forces drawn up, and Insulting. When should *David* take up his Sling against *Goliath*? but when he found him Defying the Hosts of *Israel*.

I could go on to illustrate this Necessity, by the Exceeding Check this Attempt gave to the Fury of these Railing Parties; how the *Goliaths* of that Time ceas'd their Insults with this Experiment; and they were so far from making any more Challenges, that they never made the least

Reply

The P R E F A C E. I I

Reply to this ; thus the Necessity and the Success of this Attempt make out one another.

Two Considerations fall here in my Way to speak to, relating to the Treatment of this Great Man.

First, Dr. Calamy's Usage of him was certainly to the last Degree dishonourable, who first challeng'd him in Print, *for he challeng'd the whole Body of Dissenters* ; and therefore him among the rest ; as follows ; -----

“ Could we prevail with the People diligently
“ to Examine the Merits of the Cause, our
“ Church would every Day gain more Ground
“ amongst all Wise Men, &c ”. Which Challenge being accepted, and the Merit of the Cause examin'd, How could he suffer the Person to be treated in such a Manner, and persecuted with all imaginable Violence, that had answer'd him so modestly, so like a Gentleman, and so like a Scholar !

It may be said, the Doctor could not avoid it, ----- But this is certain, that he was so far from Attempting his Relief, that he us'd him with all the Slight and Neglect possible, and yet at the same Time confess'd by his Silence, that he could not answer his Argument.

It certainly became Dr. Calamy to have interceded with the Government on his Behalf, to have obtain'd fair Law for his Adversary, to have pleaded with His Majesty, that he had challeng'd the Dissenters, *to examine the Merits*
of

of the Cause; that he did not doubt, his being able to reduce them by Argument; and that it would seem as if he acknowledg'd himself over-match'd, to call in the Aid of the Government, to Oppress instead of Answer his Antagonist. That he did not doubt, but *the Church would every Day gain Ground amongst all Wise Men, if the Merits of the Cause were fairly Examin'd*; and therefore he desir'd his Adversary might be left free, or as they say, *a clear Stage and no Favour*. This had been doing his Duty as an Aggressor in this Quarrel; this had been to show himself a Gentleman, as well as a fair Adversary; a Christian, as well as a Scholar.

But instead of this, how *Barbarously* he was treated by the Government, how *neglected*, and his frequent Applications to Dr. Calamy receiv'd with Contempt, will appear in the Close of this Book, to the Eternal Reproach both of the Doctor, and his *Argument*.

From these Considerations, and the profound Silence of these Gentlemen, I think, we have a Right to retort the Words of Dr. Calamy upon themselves, and say in his own Language, with some small Variation.

‘ As for those, who quarrel with the *Dissenters*
 ‘ about their *Non-Conformity*, and are tolerably
 ‘ able to judge for themselves, let not such rely
 ‘ barely upon the Authority either of one or the
 ‘ other; all we desire of them is, that they would
 ‘ equally hear both Sides, that they would think,
 ‘ *the Ministers that dissent from the Church of Eng-*
 ‘ *land, have some Sense and Conscience too, as*
 ‘ well

‘ well as other Men, and are able to say some-
 ‘ what for what they do themselves, or require of
 ‘ others; and Laying aside all Prejudices, Favour
 ‘ to, or Admiration of Mens Persons, they would
 ‘ weigh, and consider the Arguments that may
 ‘ be propounded to them, being diffident of their
 ‘ own Apprehensions, and indifferent to either
 ‘ Part of the Question; that they would think it
 ‘ no Shame to change their Minds, when they
 ‘ see good Reason for it.

I cannot but think, that the *Dissenter* has the best Title to make this Declaration, especially since the Challenge of the Other has been so fairly accepted, and no Answer ever return'd; and not only so, but the Incapacity of Answer so plainly acknowledg'd, by the most dishonourable Method of Calling in the Aid of the Government, to Oppress instead of Answer the Author.

The *Knocking-down* Arguments of a *Goal* and *Fine*, *Ultra teneumentum*, which were us'd in those Arbitrary Times, were but the sure Refuge of a Cause by no other Arguments to be defended; and had it been true, that the *Church*, as Doctor *Calamy* says, *would by Examining the Merits of the Cause, every Day gain Ground amongst all Wise Men*; Why did not the Doctor joyn Issue with Mr. *De Laune*, in going on with the Merits of the Cause, as he had in this Book fairly begun?

I think, 'tis needless to repeat the most just Inference; 'tis plain to me, the Prevailing Power of Argument laid down in this Book, shew'd itself in Evidences too strong to be deny'd; *viz.*

In Silence as to Matters in Dispute; and in Furious Revenge upon the Author.

Secondly, I cannot conclude this Preface, without giving the World the rest of the History of this Gentleman, which it was impossible for him to give of himself.

His Sentence, as the Reader will find in his Book, was 100 Marks; the Expensive Prosecution depriving him of his Livelyhood, which was a *Grammar-School*, and Long Imprisonment, had made him not only unable to pay this Fine; but unable to subsist himself, and his Family.

He continu'd in Close Confinement in the Prison of *Newgate*, about Fifteen Months, and suffer'd there great Hardships by Extreme Poverty; being so entirely reduc'd by this Disaster, that he had no Subsistence, but what was contributed by such Friends as came to visit him.

His Behaviour in this Distress, was like the Greatness of Mind he discover'd at his Tryal, and the same Spirit which appears in his Writing, appear'd in his Conversation, and supported himself with Invincible Patience under the greatest Extremities; but Long Confinement and Distresses of Various Kinds, at last, conquer'd him.

He had a Wife and Two Small Children, all with him in the Prison, for they had *no Subsistence elsewhere*; the Closeness and Inconveniences of the Place first affected them, and all Three by Lingring Sorrows and Sickness dy'd in the
Prison;

Prison; at last worn out with Trouble, and hopeless of Relief, and *too much abandon'd* by those, who should have taken some other Care of him, *This Excellent Person* sunk under the Burthen, and dy'd there also.

I cannot refrain saying, *Such* a Champion of *Such* a Cause deserv'd better Usage; and it was *very, very hard*, *Such* a Man, *Such* a Christian, *Such* a Scholar, and on *Such* an Occasion, should starve in a Dungeon, and the Whole Body of *Dissenters* in *England*, whose Cause he dy'd for Defending, should not raise him 66 l. 13 s. 4 d. to save his Life.

I could go on here, to Exclaim against the Cruelty of One Party, and the Ingratitude of the Other; but *the Man is Dead*: He lyes a Monument of *English Tyranny* on One Hand, and *Selfish Principles* on the Other, both which make Nations blind to Men of Merit; but this is not the Design of the Present Publication. ----- The Present Case is to let the World see the Necessity of *TOLERATION*, the Mischief of *Persecution*; and that there are better Reasons to be giv'n for the *Dissenters* Differing from the Church of *England*, than some People imagine.

I shall make no Apology here for my Writing this Preface, but what I hope, the Reader will allow reasonable: The Book is perfect of itself, never Author left behind him a more finish'd Piece; and I believe the Dispute is entirely ended: If any Man ask what we can say, Why the *Dissenters* differ from the Church of *England*, and what they can plead for it? I can recommend no better

Reply than this, Let them answer, in short, *Thomas De Laune*; and desire the Querist to read the Book.

I have added nothing but the Note of his Death; the History of this he could not write himself: The Account is too melancholy to tell the Particulars: If I should go on, it would touch too near, and I am not Writing a Satyr on those he endeavour'd to Defend.

'Tis Pity, after his Death, he has no better a Hand to recommend him to the World; but since no Man will build a Monument upon his Grave, I thought it a Debt due to his ill-rewarded Merit, to write this as a Monument upon his Work, and I am sorry it is perform'd no better.

D. F O E.

A

A Royal Witness to the Dissenters
C A U S E :

Being some Gleanings of some of those Weighty and Worthy Sayings of the Late KING, in His Conference with the Popish Marquess of Worcester, 1646. in Ragland-Castle, out of *Certamen Religiosum*.

First, *In Behalf of the Scripture, which the Papists slight for their Tradition.*

Secondly, *Against their Primitive Antiquity, which they adore, and fetch their vain Worship from.*

First, **F**OR the SCRIPTURES, *He saith, p. 119.*
‘ That the Scripture is the Rule, by which
‘ all Differences may be compos’d ; It is the Light,
‘ wherein we must walk ; the Food of our Souls, an
‘ Antidote, that expelleth any Infection ; the Only
‘ Sword, that kills the Enemy ; the Only Plaister, that
‘ can cure our Wounds ; the Only Documents to attain
‘ Eternal Life. *And p. 116.* ‘ That the Evidences
‘ which are in Scripture cannot be manifested, but out
‘ of the same Scripture.” *And quotes for the same,*
Irenæus lib. 3. 12.

Secondly, *Against their ANTIQUITIES, p. 111.*
‘ Our Saviour Christ saith, We must not so much
‘ hearken to what has been said by them of Old Time,
‘ *Mat. 5, 21, 22.* as to that which he shall tell you.
‘ Where *Auditis dictum esse antiquis* is exploded, and *Ego*

A Royal Witness to the Dissenters Cause.

‘ *dico vobis* is come in its Place. And speaking of that
‘ King of *Phrygia*, that was about to be baptiz’d, ask’d
‘ the Bishop, *What was become of all his Ancestors?* He
‘ told him they were gone to Hell; flung away, and
‘ said, *Then thither will I go unto them;* saith, No less
‘ wise are they, who had rather err with their *Fathers*
‘ and *Councils*, than rectify their Understandings by the
‘ Word of God, and square their Faith according to
‘ its Rules.

And speaking of the FATHERS, saith p. 114.
‘ I discover no Father’s Nakedness, but deplore their
‘ Infirmities, that we should not trust in Arms of Flesh.
‘ *Tertullian* (saith he) was a *Montanist*; *Cyprian* a *Re-*
‘ *baptist* [or *Anabaptist*]; *Origen* an *Anthropomorphist*;
‘ *Hierom* a *Monogonist*; *Nazianzen* an *Angelist*; *Euse-*
‘ *bius* an *Arrian*: *St. Austin* had written so many Errors,
‘ that he wrote a Book of *Retractions*, that they have
‘ often contradicted one another, and sometimes them-
‘ selves.

‘ That it was no strange Thing to see Error triumph
‘ in Antiquity, and flourish their Ensigns of Univer-
‘ sality, Succession, &c. in the Face of Truth; and no-
‘ thing so familiar of old as to besmear the Face of Truth
‘ with Spots of Novelty; for this was *Jeremiah’s* Case,
‘ *Fer. 44. 16, 17, &c.*

‘ If you vaunt never so much of your *Roman-Catholick-*
‘ Church, we can tell you out of *St. John*, *That she is be-*
‘ *come the-Synagogue of-Satan*; neither is it impossible, but
‘ the House of Prayer may be made a Den of Thieves.
‘ You call us *Hereticks*, we answer you with *St. Paul*,
‘ *Acts 24. 14. In the Way you call Heresy, worship we the*
‘ *God of our Fathers; believing all Things which are written*
‘ *in the Law and the Prophets.*

And the better to testify his Piety and Compassion to
peaceable *Dissenters*, (having himself found the Incon-
veniency of the contrary) speaks to his Son, our pre-
sent King, in his *EXORDIUM*, p. 217: thus, viz.

A Royal Witness to the Dissenters Cause.

My Counsel and Charge to you, is, That you beware of Exasperating any Factions by the Crossness and Asperity of some Mens Passions, Humours, or private Opinions employ'd by you, groundcd only upon Differences in lesser Matters, which are but the Skirts and Suburbs of Religion, wherein a Charitable Connivance and Christian Toleration often dissipates their Strength, when rougher Opposition fortifies.

And p. 164. That his Prerogative is best shew'd and exercis'd in Remitting, rather than Exacting the Rigour of the Law; there being nothing worse than Legal Tyranny.

THE

THE
CONTENTS
OF THE
Principal Things contain'd in this
BOOK.

Object. 1. **T**HE first Objection the *Conformists* make against the *Non-Conformists*, is, That they have no Ground conscientiously to scruple at the Rites and Ceremonies of their Church, because they are none of them forbidden in the Scripture; upon which single Point (they say) stands the whole of the Controversy.

p. 3, 4, 5.

Answer To which the *Non-Conformists* return to them the same Answer, they themselves give the *Papists*, to the same Objection against them; viz. That what is not contain'd in our only *RULE OF FAITH*, the *BIBLE*, is to be rejected.

p. 6, 7, 8, 9.

Object. 2. That the *Non-Conformists* have no Reason to scruple, much less to separate from their Church for such small indifferent Things, as the Rites and Ceremonies in the Liturgy, which they affirm to be so.

p. 9, 10, 11.

Answer. To which they say, That the Rites and Ceremonies in God's Worship are not small indifferent Things, either in God's Account, p. 14, 15. Nor in their own Account, as their Principles from their

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own Pens evidence, and their Practices declare; viz. By their Imposing them as *absolutely necessary*, upon the Penalty of Life, Liberty and Estate, yea, Soul also; though they themselves do grant, that the Enjoyning *indifferent* or *unnecessary Things* as *necessary*, is an Adding to God's Word, Will-Worship and vain Worship. p. 12. 13. 14.

Object. 3. *That they have no Cause to separate upon the Account of Rites and Ceremonies; as tho' they were Popish Novelties, because they are all of them founded in Primitive Antiquity, before Popery was known in the World; both which they positively affirm.* p. 16, 17.

Answer To which they reply, 1st. That *Primitive Antiquity* without Scripture-Authority, ought to be no Rule, by their own Grant. p. 18. 2^{dly}. That in that Antiquity is found many gross Errors and Heresies (many of which are enumerated) to which we shall be obliged, as well as to the other, if that is to be the Rule. p. 19. 3^{dly}. As to Matter of Fact they say, These Rites and Ceremonies in the Liturgy (so severely impos'd upon Dissenters) upon a due Search are not to be found in Primitive Antiquity, before Popery was known in the World, as they make good in 28 Particulars, viz. *Kneeling at the Altar, Surplice, Cross in Baptism, Confirmation or Bishoping, Baptizing Children for Regeneration upon the Deed done, Gossips, Liturgies, Letanies, Responses, Collects, Antiphones, Kyrieleisons, Psalms and Lessons, Epistles and Gospels, Singing-Service, Altars, Festivals, restraining Marriage to fixed Canonical Times and Hours, Bowing at the Altar, Ecclesiastical Order, Consecration of Churches, Organs, Rogation-Week, Priests Garments, Wednesday, Friday and Saturdays Fasts, Vigils, Apostles Creed, Athanasius's Creed*, from p. 22, to 34. 4^{thly}. That they symbolize and are expressly founded in *Popery*, which they make good from many Particulars, by divers Arguments and Authorities,

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as well as by their own Grants and Acknowledgments, *from p. 35, to 77. viz. 1st.* From former Instances, being the Ordination of Popes and their Councils. *p. 35: 2dly.* By Confession of Parties. *p. 35, 36, 37. 3dly.* By Comparing their Divine [or Mass] Service, and ours together, *1st.* As to the Times, when to be perform'd. *p. 38, 39, 40. 2dly.* In Divine Service itself. *p. 41. 3dly.* In their Rites and Ceremonies, Places of Worship, Priesthood. *4thly.* Ordination of Priests. *p. 42, 43, &c. 5thly.* Imposing and Persecuting Dissenters contrary to their own Grants. *from p. 54, to 62. confirm'd by History, and seal'd to by the Witness of our Old Non-Conformists. from p. 62, to 74:*

The Two last Objections charge the Dissenters from the Religion Established by Law, to be guilty of Disobedience to Lawful Authority, Sedition, Faction, Tumult, Riot, Plotting, &c.

To both which they modestly defend and justify themselves, *from p. 77, to 86. The Conclusion sums up the Matter, and improves it. from p. 86, to 96.*

Note, *The Author many Times personates the Dissenters for the Sence-sake, wherein you must bear with him.*

You have then the Scheme of the *Pagan, Papal and Christian* Rites and Ceremonies. *from p. 99, to 104. Lastly, A Narrative of the Sufferings undergone for Writing, Printing and Publishing hereof. p. 107, &c.*

E R R A T U M.

Page 35, *In the first Note on the Side of the Page, the Reader is desired to blot out the Word [not]; and to correct what other Mistakes may have escap'd the Press, which 'tis hop'd, are few and inconsiderable.*

De Laune's

De Laune's P L E A

F O R T H E

Non-Conformists.

S I R,

IN your Discourse about a *Scrupulous Conscience*, preach'd first at *Alderman-bury*, then at *Bow-Church*, about Five or Six Months since, and since by you printed, you are pleas'd not only to put forth your Endeavours by several Arguments, to gain and reduce the *Dissenters* to the Communion of the Church of *England*; but (the better to shew your Moderation and Tenderness, as one, who wou'd not force and compel, but convince and satisfy a *Scrupulous Conscience*) do also offer to them several Christian Rules and Directions to effect the same; amongst which, are these that follow, *viz.*

' When any private Christian is troubl'd
' and perplex'd with Fears and Scruples, *Page 24, 25.*
' that concern his Duty, or the Worship of
' God, he ought in the first Place, to have Recourse to
' the publick-Guides and Ministers of Religion, who are
' appointed by God, and are best fitted to direct and con-
' duct him; I say, to come to them, not only to dispute
' and argue with them, and pertly to oppose them, but
' with all Modesty to propound their Doubts, meekly to
' hearken to and receive Instruction, humbly begging of
' God to open their Understanding, that they may see
' and embrace the Truth, taking great care that no evil
' Affection, Love of a Party, or carnal Interest, influence
' or byas their Judgment.

' We do not, by this, desire Men to pin their Faith on

2 De Laune's Plea for the Non-Conformists.

‘ the Priest’s Sleeve, or to put out their own Eyes, that
‘ they might be better guided and manag’d by them, but
‘ only diligently to attend to their Reasons and Argu-
‘ ments, and give some due Regard and Deference to
‘ their Authority ; for it may not be so absurd, as may
‘ by some be imagin’d, for the Common People to take
‘ on Trust from their Lawful Teachers, what they are
‘ not competent Judges of themselves. But the Difficulty
‘ here, is, How shall a private Christian govern himself,
‘ when the very Guides and Ministers of Religion de-
‘ termine differently, concerning these Matters in Que-
‘ stion amongst us, some warranting and allowing them,
‘ others as much disapproving them? By what Rule shall
‘ he choose his Guide? [*To which you Reply.*]

‘ As for those who scruple at Conformity, and are to-
‘ lerably able to judge for themselves, let not such rely
‘ barely on the Authority either of one or the other; all
‘ we desire of them is, that they would equally hear both
‘ Sides, that they would think the Ministers of the
‘ Church of *England* have some Sense and Conscience too,
‘ as well as other Men, and are able to say somewhat for
‘ what they do themselves, or require of others, and lay-
‘ ing aside all Prejudices, Favour to, or Admiration of
‘ Mens Persons, they would weigh and consider the Ar-
‘ guments that may be propounded to them, being Diffi-
‘ dent of their own Apprehensions, and Indifferent to
‘ either Part of the Question, that they would think it
‘ no Shame to change their Mind, when they see good
‘ Reason for it.

‘ Could we thus prevail with the People diligently to
‘ examine the Merits of the Cause, our Church would
‘ every Day gain more Ground amongst all Wise Men;
‘ for we care not how much Knowledge and Understand-
‘ ing our People have, so they be but humble and modest
‘ with it; nor do we desire Men to become our Proselytes
‘ any further than we give them good Scripture and Rea-
‘ son for it.

Upon Reading whereof (being sent me by a Friend) I
betook my self to a serious Search, and impartial Consi-
deration

deration of the Controversy, and the Arguments tender'd on both Sides, (many of the Learned Guides, as you well observe, being of such different Minds herein) and more particularly have I weigh'd those Arguments mention'd by your self in that Discourse (in Conjunction with what the Reverend Dr. *Stillingfleet*, the Learned Dr. *Moore*, and others, have spoken to the same purpose;) together with what is, or suppos'd may be said in *Answer* thereto. And from this Christian Encouragement and Invitation from your self, have presum'd, tho' a Stranger to you, to present it to you, with a Disposition (as you advise) meekly to hearken to and receive Instruction, or Conviction from your self, or any of the Learned, trusting that you shall find no evil Affection, Love of a Party, or carnal Interest, shall influence or byass my Judgment, or that I shall think it any Shame to change my Mind, when better Reason is offer'd for my Conviction.

Resting confident in your Candor and Ingenuity, that what you have said herein to draw forth the Scruples of any *Dissenter*, is not to lay a Bait thereby to catch him in any Snare, or to take any Legal Advantage of him for his Dissatisfaction to the Religion by Law establish'd (which is hedg'd with so many Legal Penalties;) but out of a *Noble Christian Principle*, that you may have an Opportunity to discover, with how much Meekness of Wisdom and Demonstration of Truth, you can treat, convince and satisfy a Gain-sayer, having so generously declar'd, *That you do not desire Men should become your Proselytes, further than you give them good Reason and Scripture for it*; *Club-Law* being none of the Arguments you treat a scrupulous or tender Conscience with.

The *Arguments* and *Objections* are these that follow :

The *First Objection* we shall mention, as brought against the Non-Conformity and Separation of the *Dissenters* from the Church of *England*, is this, ----- *That they have no Reason or Cause, on a Conscientious Account,*

Objection 1.
Because what they are offended at, are not forbidden in Scripture.

4 De Laune's Plea for the Non-Conformists.

so to do; because the principal Things they take Offence at, are not forbidden in the Scriptures; and 'till they can produce a Scripture to the Negative, as a Negative Article of Faith, that says we are not to do so, or so, Kneel at the Communion, Cross in Baptism, keep Holy-Days, use Liturgies, Litanies, &c. they can have no Cause of just Scruple.

And thus, Sir, you are pleas'd to argue, *Scrupulous Con-* viz. ' That there can be no Transgression, *science.* p. 30. ' but by either Omitting what the Law ' commands, or Doing what the Law for- ' bids: For Instance; If a Man can shew where *Kneeling* ' at the Sacrament is forbidden in Scripture, and *Sitting* ' requir'd; where *Praying by a Form* is forbid, and *Ex-* ' *temporary Prayers* are enjoyn'd; then, indeed, the *Dis-* ' *pute* would soon be at an End; but if neither the One ' nor the Other can be found, as most certainly they ' can't, then *Kneeling at the Sacrament*, and *Reading Prayers* ' *out of a Book*, must be reckon'd amongst Things lawful, ' and then there is no Need of Scrupling them, because ' they may be done without Sin; nay, where they are ' requir'd by our Superiors, it is our *Duty* to submit to ' them, because it is our *Duty* to Obey them in all Law- ' ful Things. This way of Arguing (*you say*) is very ' plain and convincing.

And to the same purpose, we have Dr. *Stillingfleet* in his late Answers to several of the *Dissenters*, affirming, that *Those are Schismatics, that deny Submission to the Government of the Church of England*; and, he tells us in plain terms, assuredly, that the *Reasons of this Denial do not signify a Button*; *Those* (says he) *who separate from the Church of England, make this their Fundamental Principle as to Worship* (wherein the Difference lyes) *that nothing is lawful in the Worship of God, but what he hath expressly commanded*; we say that all Things are lawful which are not forbidden, and UPON THIS SINGLE POINT stands the whole Controversy of Separation as to the Constitution of our Church.

Here's the Objection in Words at Length, and which you

you will find to be no other, than what the *Papists* make to the Church of *England* on the same Occasion, which I shall transcribe in their own Words, and the Answers of your own Party to it, which I hope will be esteem'd a fair and satisfactory Way of Reply.

Dr. *Stillingfleet* giving us an Account of his *Popish* Adversaries Plea, and how he return'd the Negative Articles to be prov'd by him, makes to him this Answer.

But the strangest Effort of all the rest, is what he has reserv'd to the last Place, *viz.* In his Disco-
That the Charge of Idolatry against 'em must be concerning
vain and groundless, because if I be press'd close, the Idolatry
I shall deny any one of these Negative Points to of *Rome.* P.
be Divine Truths, viz. That Honour is not to 175. S. 16.
be giv'n to the Images of Christ and his Saints; that what ap-
pears to be Bread in the Eucharist, is not the Body of Christ;
that it is not lawful to invoke Saints to pray for us --- [These
 are the *Jesuit's* Words, requiring the Doctor to prove
 those Negatives, on which single Point he puts the Stress
 of his Argument.] Then follows his Answer, which I
 pray you to mind well, because it is the Answer you
 must take to the like Question from us, *viz.*

' But the Answer to this is so easie, that it will not
 ' require much Time to dispatch it. For I do assert it to
 ' be an Article of my Faith, that God alone is to be
 ' worship'd with Divine and Religious Worship: And
 ' he that cannot hence infer, that no created Being is to
 ' be worship'd, has the Name of reasonable Creature giv'n
 ' him to no Purpose. What need we make Negative Ar-
 ' ticles of Faith, where the Affirmative do necessarily
 ' imply them? If I believe, that the Scripture is my only
 ' Rule of Faith, as I most firmly do; Will any Man, who
 ' considers what he says, require me to make Negative
 ' Articles of Faith, that the *Pope is not, Tradition is not,*
 ' *Councils are not, A private Spirit is not?* For all these
 ' are necessarily imply'd therein. And so for all particular
 ' Doctrines rejected by us on this Principle, we do not
 ' make them Negative Points of Faith, but we therefore
 ' refuse the Belief of 'em, because not contain'd in OUR
 ' ONLY

6 De Laune's Plea for the Non-Conformists.

‘ ONLY RULE OF FAITH : On this Account we re-
 ‘ ject the *Pope's Supremacy, Transubstantiation, Infallibility*
 ‘ of the *Present Church* in delivering Points of Faith, *Pur-*
 ‘ *gatory*, and other FOPPERIES impos'd on the Belief of
 ‘ Christians; so that the short Resolution of our Faith is
 ‘ this, That we ought to believe nothing as an Article
 ‘ of Faith, but what God hath reveal'd, and the com-
 ‘ pleat Revelation of God's Will to us is contain'd in
 ‘ the BIBLE, &c.

*Answer to the
 objection.*

And what could have been spoken with
 fuller Evidence and greater Demonstration
 of Truth: Therefore as joyning Issue with
 the *Doctor*, that on *this single Point* stands the whole Con-
 troversy of Separation, as to the Constitution of their
 Churches, *viz.* That nothing is lawful in the Worship of
 God, but what he has expressly commanded, (as say the
Dissenters) and not all Things lawful which are not for-
 bidden, as say the Advocates for the Church of *England*;
 let his own Words decide the Matter, and for ever de-
 termine the Case. For what need the *Dissenters* (as the
Doctor affirms on their Behalf) make Negative Articles
 of Faith, where the Affirmative necessarily imply them;
 If they do believe with the *Doctor*, that the Scripture is
 their ONLY Rule of Faith, as they most firmly declare
 to do, will any Man, who considers what he says, require
 them to make Negative Articles of Faith, that *Popes, Coun-*
cils, Private Spirits, Traditions are not, and so for all par-
 ticular Doctrines rejected by them on this Principle: They
 do not with the *Doctor*, make them Negative Points of
 Faith, but they therefore (with him) refuse the Belief of
 them, BECAUSE NOT CONTAIN'D IN OUR ON-
 LY RULE OF FAITH. On this Account they do (with
 the *Doctor*) reject the *Pope's Supremacy, Transubstantiation,*
Infallibility of the Church of *Rome* in delivering Points of
 Faith, *viz. Purgatory*, and other *Fopperies*, as *Salt, Oyl, Spittle,*
Exorcisms, Conjurations, Baptizing of Bells, &c. And on the
 same Account do they reject, what the *Protestants* have re-
 ceiv'd either from *Pagans* or *Papists*, as to National, Pro-
 vincial, Diocesan and Parochial Churches, because not
 contain'd.

contain'd in our ONLY RULE of Faith. As also of the Government of the Church of Christ by *Lords Arch-Bishops, Bishops, Deans, Arch-Deacons, Parsons, Vicars, Curates, Chancellors, Officials, &c.* because not contain'd in our ONLY RULE of Faith. In like Manner do the *Dissenters* also reject the Consecrating of *Churches, Chappels, Cathedrals, Priests Garments, Altars, Liturgies, Singing Service, Letanies, Bowings, Crossings, Cringings, Hely-Days, Feasts, Feasts, Vigils,* because not one Word of any of them is contain'd in our *Only Rule* of Faith; so that the short Resolution of the *Dissenters* and the *Doctōr's* Faith in this great Point is this, That they ought to believe nothing as an Article of Faith, but what God hath reveal'd, and that the compleat Revelation of God's Will to us is contain'd in the BIBLE.

Therefore Christ having in the Affirmative compleatly reveal'd to us his Mind and Will in the Bible, both as to the Doctrīne and Discipline of his Church, we need not go to *Pope, Council, Tradition,* or any other, for Additions to either, nor trouble our selves to make Negative Articles of Faith and Practice, which would be as ridiculous as endless.

And this we hope the Doctōr and all his Party will take for good Pay, and that you your self, Sir, amongst the rest, will joyn Issue, and acknowledge, *That this Way of Arguing is very plain and convincing.*

But this being so well perform'd by the Doctōr, what shall we say, that so Wise, so Learned, and so Great a Man as Dr. *Stillingfleet,* should forget himself so far, as to make Head and run counter against his own Arguments, and to that Degree, as to pawn the whole Controversy on that single Point which he had so infallibly and indisputably resolv'd, which indeed is very strange and wonderful; but yet on serious Thoughts, we shall find it but a fulfilling of that Word of the Lord, *Isaiah 29. 14. &c. I will do a marvelous Work amongst this People, ev'n a marvelous Work and a Wonder: [But what is that?] Why, the Wisdom of their Wise Men shall perish, and the Understanding of the Prudent Men shall be hid. [But when shall that be?] Ver. 13. When they teach for Doctrines, the Commands [or the Fear or Worship]*

of God, for the Precepts of Men. Our very Case, and whereof we have frequent and continual Experience. For with what Evidence and Demonstration of Truth will the *Papists* argue against, and censure the *Heathen* for their Idolatries, and yet at the same Time be guilty of the same thing themselves, and expose themselves to the Censure of the *Heathen* on the one Side, and the *Protestants* on the other?

How wisely, how spiritually will *Protestants* dispute with, handle and judge the *Papists*, for leaving the Word of God for Fables [for their Will-Worship, false Worship, Idolatry, &c.] and yet at the same Time be guilty of Will-Worship themselves, exposing themselves to the Censure both of *Papist* and *Non-Conformist*? Of which we might give you divers Instances both of the one and the other. And whereof take one or two.

This very *Jesuit* who disputes with the
 Dr. Stillingst. Doct^r, falls out in a most severe Censure
 Idolatry of of the *Pagans*, for their most damnable Dia-
 Romz. p. 22. bological Idolatry in Worshipping their Infe-
 rior Deities, as *Venus, Mars, Bacchus, Vulcan*, and the
 like Rabble of Devils (as he calls them) who were their
Demons, Hero's, or Intercessors to their Superior Deity,
Jupiter; not being aware (which also the Doct^r im-
 proves against him) that they were guilty of the same
 Crime themselves, in setting up their Inferior Deities,
 the Virgin *Mary, St. Peter, St. Paul*, and an
 See p. 4, 7. & hundred more, as *Mediators* and *Intercessors*
 p. 159, 160. to the Supream; and to whom, as the Doc-
 tor observes, they pay Divine Honour and
 Worship, Bowing and Kneeling before them, and their
 Images also; which he proves against them to be no less
 Diabolical Idolatry.

The *Jesuit* being quick-sighted, returns
 Page 17. smartly upon the Doct^r, That whilst he
 judges their Bowing and Kneeling before
 their Images to be Idolatry, how can he justify their
 Bowing and Kneeling before the Consecrated Elements,
 Bowing at the [*Altar, East*] Name of *Jesus*, Putting
 off their Hats, &c. which the *Jesuit* on the one Hand,
 and

and the *Dissenters* on the other Hand, improve against him.

And so whilst Dr. *Pierce* severely censures the *Papists*, for Varying from the Primitive Pattern in their Superstitions and Abominations, *Because it was not so from the Beginning*; *Sergent the Jesuit* returns his own Argument smartly upon him for doing the same Thing in many Particulars, and which the *Dissenter* also does for the same; viz. For Varying in so many Things from the Primitive Pattern, whilst he judges others for the same.

Primitive Rule of Reformation. p. 11, 12,

To which we might add divers Instances, both as to *Papists* and *Protestants*, especially in those three Points, *Idolatry, Imposition and Persecution.*

So that as it has been generally observ'd, the *Papists* Arguments against the *Hearthens*, the *Protestants* Arguments against the *Papists*, are most substantial Arguments against themselves, when their *Practice* gives their *Principle* the Lie, and so rendring themselves altogether inexcusable, as saith the Text, *Rom. 2. 1, 2, 3. Therefore thou art inexcusable, O Man, whosoever thou art that judgest; for wherein thou judgest another, thou condemnest thy self; for thou that judgest dost the same Things. But be sure that the Judgment of God is according to Truth, against them which commit such Things. And thinkest thou this, O Man, that judgest them which do such Things, and dost the same, that thou shalt escape the Judgment of God? &c.*

Another *Objection* brought against the *Dissenters*, is, *Because they separate from the Church of England for meer Niceties, for little Things, which in their own Nature are indifferent.*

Objection 2. Because they are indifferent Things.

To that purpose you are pleas'd to express your self, viz. 'A *Scrupulous Conscience* is conversant about Things in their own Nature indifferent; and it consists,

Scrupulous Conscience. p. 5.

' Either in strictly tying up your selves to some Things which God has no where commanded; as the *Pharisees* made great Conscience of Washing before they did eat,

and abundance of other unnecessary Rights and Usages they had of Mens own inventing and devising, which they as religiously, nay, more carefully observ'd, than the indisputable Commands of God himself:

Or in a Conscientious Abstaining from some Things which are not forbid, nor any Ways unlawful. *Touch not, Taste not, Handle not*; doubting and fearing where no Fear is, thinking that they should as much offend God by Eating some Kinds of Meats, Wearing some Garments, as they should do, were they guilty of Murder and Adultery. Which is the Case of many amongst us, who by such Scrupulosity about little Matters, seem more precise and austere, than other good and honest Christians are, or themselves need, or ought to be.

And a little further you add, ----- ' A Page 6. Ibid. ' *Scrupulous Conscience, therefore, starts and boggles, where there is no real Evil or Mischief, is afraid of Omitting or Doing what may be omitted, or done without Sin. Which I know not how better to illustrate, than by those unaccountable Antipathies or Prejudices, that some Men have against some Sorts of Meats or Living Creatures, which have not the least Harm or Hurt in them, yet are so offensive and dreadful to such Persons, that they fly from them as they would from a Tyger or Bear, and avoid them as they would do the Plague or Poyson. Just thus do some Men run out of the Church at the Sight of a Surplice, as if they had been fear'd by the Apparition of a Ghost.*

A Late Piece, call'd *A Resolution of Conscience*, &c. (suppos'd to be Dr. Moore's) affirms thus much; *Resolut. of Conscience. p. 8.*

1. That the Government of our Church by Bishops.
2. The Liturgy, or Set-Forms of Prayer, Administration of Sacraments.
3. Certain Rites of the Church, particularly the Surplice, the Cross in Baptism, the Gesture of Kneeling at the Communion, the Ring in Marriage, the Observation of the Church's Holy-Days. All which (*says he*) I take for granted, are Indifferent in their own Nature; that

that there is nothing of Viciousness or Immorality in any of them to make them unlawful. I know no Body (*says he*) so unreasonable as not to grant this.

Mr. William Allen, in his Late Piece, call'd *Catholicism*, says to the same purpose, 'That the Ceremonies of the Church of England are not enjoyn'd as Things of Divine Appointment, but only as of an Indifferent Nature, and therefore there is no Reason to scruple them.' And again says, 'That the Ceremonies and Service of the Church, or Use of Things in or about God's Worship, which are not of the Essence of it, nor us'd under the Notion of being commanded by God, but professedly used as Things Indifferent in their own Nature, and only as Matters of human Prudence, cannot justly be charg'd to be false Worship.'

Mr. Will. Allen's Catholicism. p. 210.

The Author of the *Protestant Reconciler* tells us, 'That it is acknowledg'd by the Church of England, that the Ceremonies us'd in and by that Church Impos'd on her Members, are in their own Nature Things Indifferent; thus (*says he*) in the Preface to the Book of *Common Prayer* it is determin'd, that the particular Forms of Divine Worship, and the Rites and Ceremonies to be us'd therein, are in their own Nature Things Indifferent. Dr. *Stillingfleet*, and many more, speak the same Thing.

Protestant Reconciler. Part 1. p. 35.

So that by [*Indifferent*] they would have us to understand Things of a middle Nature, that are neither good or bad of themselves, otherwise than as enjoyn'd for Order or Prudence by Superiors, and alterable at Pleasure; therefore King *James* opposes them to *Necessary* Things, which are enjoyn'd by positive Scripture; and so the *Protestant Reconciler* desires them, telling us thus: 'The Ceremonies which are Impos'd by our Church, as they have nothing sinful in their Nature, for which Inferiors should refuse Submission to them, so have they nothing of real Good-

Prot. Reconcil. Prefa. p. 4.

Ibid. Part 1.

ness, nothing of positive Order, Decency, or Reverence,
 for which they ought to be commanded.

Answer to the Objection. This we are told in Words and Pretence, the better to gild the Pill, to make it go down the glibber; but if you look more narrowly into the Matter you will find, that you your selves, as well as the *Dissenters*, have justly another Sense of them, and that the Church of *England* does both Use and Impose them as Necessary Things, (whatever they import in their own Nature.)

For, *First*, Are they not Things Consecrated and Dedicated to Holy Uses, in the Worship and Service of God, which makes them cease to be Indifferent? *Hooker* says, 'Festival Days are clothed with outward Robes of Holiness, and that Places and Times of Divine Worship are so too, and the Cross an holy Sign.

Dr. Burges. *Dr. Burges* says, 'Ceremonies may be call'd the Worship of God, the Professors of *Leyden* call only such Things, Persons, Times and Places holy, as are Consecrated and Dedicated to God; but so in their Esteem and ours also is their Diocesan Episcopacy & Priesthood, their Churches, Liturgies, Kneeling, Bowing, Crossing, Festivals, Ecclesiastical Courts, and Excommunications, &c.

Secondly, They are not *Indifferent* (but *Necessary* Things in your Esteem) as appears by the Declaration of the Commissioners at the *Savoy* on the King's first Coming, over-ruling the Arguments of their *Dissenting* Brethren, pleading for Reformation and Tenderness,

Prot. Reconcil. which says, 'That the Apostle has Com-
Part I. p. 39. manded that all Things be done *Decently*;
S. 8. 'and that there may be Conformity, let there be *ταξίς*, a Rule and Canon for that purpose; and thence they infer'd, that tho' Charity will move to pity, and relieve those that are truly perplex'd and scrupulous, that we must not break God's Commands in Charity to them, and therefore we must not perform publick Services Indecently and Disorderly for the sake of
 tender

“tender Consciences.” And all this is said to justify the Refusal, to abate the Imposition of Ceremonies, especially those three then contended about, *Surplice, Sign of the Cross, and Kneeling at the Communion.*

So that here they are made *Necessary*, and a Command of God urg'd to inforce them; *viz.* That Things be done *Decently and in Order*, (tho' by the way) no other Command than *Bellar- mine* urges to Establish the whole *Popish Service and Ceremonies of the Church of Rome, viz.* by this Precept of the Apostle.

Bellar. de effect. Sacram. l. 2. cap. 31.

And *Thirdly*, Do not they as *Necessary Things* impose, and inforce them with all Severity imaginable, by Excommunications of *Dissenters*, thereby knocking the Fly on the Neighbour's Head with a Hatchet, to the Knocking out his Brains, as says *Dr. Taylor*, destroying them in their Liberties, Estates, yea, Lives also, which surely must not be for Trifles, but necessary Things.

Yet so hardy and bold to do all this (as the *Protestant Reconciler* worthily observes to them) to the Reproaching the Wisdom and Faithfulness of Christ, and the Primitive Churches, for want of such Decency and Order (for they had no such); the Wisdom of the Church of *England*, who have declar'd, that their Rites and Ceremonies are in their own Nature Things Indifferent, and may be alter'd and changed; as also that they had their Beginning from the Institutions of Man. The Wisdom of *K. James* and *K. Charles*, who have both of 'em declar'd them to be esteem'd unnecessary, as being but indifferent Things, and not commanded by God, and therefore alterable at Pleasure. But especially (*says our Author*) hereby become guilty of *Adding* to the *Word of God*, of *Will-Worship*, of *Teaching for Doctrines the Commandments of Men*, of *Imposing* these Things as necessary Parts of Worship, and so of *Worshipping God in vain*, as (*says he*) will appear by what the best Assertors of the Doctrine of the Church of *England* have declar'd in this Case, quoting *Mr. Faulkner's* Assertion, in

Prot. Reconcil Part 1. p. 38, 39, 41, &c.

Mr Faulkner,
lib. Eccl. 359

Bishop Sanderson's Sermon
on Mat. 15. 9.
p. 8, 9, 10.

in saying hereupon, *We add unto the Word of God, when we teach any Thing to be commanded, or forbidden by the Law of God, which indeed is not there commanded, or forbidden. And Bishop Sanderson, That then Men teach for Doctrines the Commandments of Men, when they teach any Thing to be absolutely unlawful, which God hath not forbidden in his Word; and if any Man shall wear a Surplice, or Kneel, or Cross, with an Opinion of Necessity, and for Conscience sake towards God, as tho' God's Service could not be rightly perform'd without them; yea, altho' the Church had not perform'd them, doubtless the Use of these Ceremonies, by reason of such his Opinion, should be Superstition to him.*

And Dr. Patrick in the Friendly Debate
Friendly De- ----- *Then (say they) Will-Worship is erected, bate, p. 125. when any Thing is enjoyn'd to be done, or not done, as if it were the Will and Command of God he should be so serv'd: when it is a meer Constitution of the Will of Man. Then do we make Ceremonies to be Parts of Divine Worship, when we suppose them to be so necessary, that the doing of them would be a Thing pleasing to God, and the omitting of them the contrary, altho' there were no human Law which requir'd the doing of them. And Secondly, when we suppose them unalterable and obligatory to the Consciences of all Christians, for this supposes an equal Necessity with that of Divine Institution.*

All which so fully speaks the Sense of the Dissenters, that there needs no better Answer to be giv'n, than what they themselves have put into their Mouths. But says Mr.

Catholicism, *Allen, in Contradiction to his Brethren, that Things are not us'd as commanded by God,*
p. 259. *(taking for granted they had not so urg'd them) and only as Matters of human Prudence,*

cannot (he says) be charged with Will-Worship. But for his better Information, we would refer him to the Protestant Reconciler, and the many Authorities urg'd by their own Pens to clear the same, with this Addition as to Jeroboam's Case, who vary'd but in four Particulars

lars as to the Service and Ceremonies of Worship; viz. the Place of Worship. (*Dan* and *Bethel* instead of *Jerusalem*.) 2. The Signs of Divine Presence (Golden Calves instead of Cherubims.) 3. The Time of the Feast (15th of the 8th Month, instead of the 7th.) 4. Persons administering, (making of Priests.) All which, one might think, were but Circumstantials about Worship, and impos'd not under the Notion of being commanded by God, but only (as Mr. *Allen* observes of our Ceremonies) as Matters of *human Prudence*; and for which *Jeroboam* had much to say to the *Dissenters* in that Day, who oppos'd and separated from him for the same (2 *Chron.* 11. 16. with 13. and 14.) as Mr. *Ainsworth* in his Plea for *Jeroboam* most notably observes, who kept in the mean Time to the Articles of Faith and fundamental Ordinances of Religion; worshipping with Reverence the God of his Fathers, making Alteration in Things meerly Ceremonial, whereof no express Law forbidding, and being variable, as Time, Place, and Person gave Occasion.

Arrow against
Idolatry, p. 45.
to 74.

But however, *Jeroboam* might mince the Matter, and make light of it, as others do in like Circumstances; yet God, being a jealous God, would not admit of such Innovation, and varying from his pure Worship, but reproveth these for desperate Idolatry, and reputes it no other than the worshipping of Devils, 2 *Chron.* 11. 15. His Supremacy in the Kingdom not being able to bear him out in altering the Ordinances of the Service of God; and so doing things out of his own Heart, 1 *Kings* 12. 33. it became his Sin, and made *Israel* to sin, thereby doing Evil above all that went before him, having made other Gods and molten Images, to provoke the Lord to Anger, 2 *Kings* 14. 9. casting him behind his Back: Therefore the Lord threatens in the next Verses, in these Words; *Behold I will bring Evil upon the House of Jeroboam, and will cut off from Jeroboam him that pisseth against the Wall, and him that is shut up and left in Israel, and will take away the Remnant of the House of Jeroboam, as a Man taketh away Dung, till it be all gone.*

Jeroboam's
Rites and Ser-
vices, and ours
compar'd.

Him that dyeth of Jeroboam in the City, shall the Dogs eat; and him that dyeth in the Fields, shall the Fowls of the Air eat, for the Lord hath spoken it; all which came to pass accordingly.

Which pregnant Instance the Judicious will, I doubt not, apply, and consider that these prudent and indifferent Circumstantials about Religious Worship (as they are pleas'd to term them) however minc'd and extenuated, may be of the same *Nature with Jeroboam's Idolatry*. With this Aggravation, that *Jeroboam vary'd but in four, and these in above forty Particulars, wherein they have presum'd to swerve from the Pattern, and add to God's Word and Worship.*

Objection 3. These Rites are of Primitive Antiquity, not of Popish Novelty.

Another *Objection* is this, and none of the least, *viz. That Dissenters have no Cause to separate from the Church of England, for Symbolizing with Romish Rites and Ceremonies, because they only retain and practice such Rites and Ceremonies which were practis'd by Antiquity, before Popery took place in the World.*

To this purpose you are pleas'd to say in your *Scrupulous Conscience*, -----

Page 30. ' Now our first Reformers here in England, did not go about to invent a new Species of Government, to devise new Rites and Ceremonies, and a new Form of Worship, such as should be least excepted against, and then obtrude it upon this Nation, as was done at Geneva, and some other Places; but they wisely consider'd, if they did but reject what the Romanists had added to the Faith and Worship of Christians, lay aside their Novel Inventions, Usurpations, and unwritten Traditions, there would remain the pure, simple, Primitive Christianity, such as it was before the Roman Church was thus degenerated; nor have we any Thing of Popery left amongst us, but what the Papists had left amongst them of Primitive Religion and Worship.

Thus saith the *Resolution of the Case of Conscience*, ' That the Rites of the Church of England, are exceeding few, and

and those plain and easy, grave and manly, founded on the Practice of the Church long before Popery appear'd on the Stage of the World. *And again,*

Resol. of that Case of Confe. p. 3.

As to our Churches prescribing a Liturgy of Set-Forms of Prayer, and Administration of Sacraments, and other publick Offices, it is easy to shew, that Symbolizing with the Church of Rome herein, is so far from being culpable, and much more from being a just Ground of Separation from our Church, that it is highly commendable; for as herein our Church no less symbolizeth with the Primitive Church, than with that of Rome, as she is now constituted.

And Dr. Saravia, who says thus: *Satis est modestis & piis Christianis satisfacere, qui ita recesserunt a Superstitionibus & Idolatria Romana Ecclesia, ut probatos ab Orthodoxis Patri-bus mores non rejicient.*

N. Fratri & Amico Resp. ad Art. 12.

That it may be a sufficient Satisfaction to modest and pious Christians, that there is such a Departure from the Superstitions and Idolatry of the Church of Rome, as not to reject the approved Customs of the Orthodox Fathers.

These our Rites and Ceremonies (says Dr. Scillingfleet) are retain'd, and kept out of due Reverence to Antiquity. *And*

Historical Account. p. 16.

again, These Ceremonies were retain'd or impos'd, to manifest the Justice and Equi-

Page 14.

ty of the Reformation, by letting their Enemies see, they did not break Communion with them for meer indifferent Things, or that they left the Church of Rome no further, than they left the Ancient Church.

The Doctor further assures us, That as to Discipline, respecting the Government of the Church by Bishops, it is to be made good by an Universal Tradition, universally receiv'd since the Apostles Times, as the Apostolical Government, viz. Diocesan Bishops.

As to the Government of our Churches by Bishops (says the Resolver) it is so far from being an unlawful Symbolizing with

Resolut. of the Case. p. 38.

the Church of Rome, that we have most clear Evidence of its being a Symbolizing with her in an Apostolical Institution.

Thus you have the *Objection* in Words at Length, to which, in each Part, the *Dissenters* do say, or may be suppos'd to say, as follows.

In the *First Place*, If it be taken for granted that the Pattern is fetch'd from those Times, and not from the Popish Times, viz. Rome in its *Apostacy*, we would enquire these two Things: 1. By what Rule or Reason they should be a Pattern to us, so as to have their Rites and Services impos'd on us for our Ritual? And 2. Whether there were not great Errors and Superstitions in those Times, as well as the succeeding Ages?

First, Why should our first Reformers any more impose the Rites and Customs of those Times on us, than any other? Why were we more oblig'd to accept of the Ecclesiastical Laws of *Constantine*, than his Civil; as Dr. Taylor well urges?

The Rites of those Primitive Times not to be impos'd on us.

Duff. Dub. l. 3. c. 4. S. 3.

That the Fathers met at *Laodicea*, at *Antioch*, at *Nice*, at *Gangra*, a Thousand or Thirteen Hundred Years ago, should have any Authority over us in *England* so many Ages after, is so infinitely unreasonablc, that none but the Fearful and Unbelievers, the Scrupulous, and those that are *δουλοὶ τῷ φόβῳ*, of a slavish Nature, and are in Bondage by their Fear, and know not how to stand in the Liberty, by which Christ has made them free, will account themselves in Subjection to them. If on this Account, the Rulers of the Church will introduce any pious, just, warrantable Canon, we are to obey in all Things where they have Power to command: But the CANONS (says he) for being in the OLD CODES of the Church, bind us no more than the LAWS OF CONSTANTINE.

No, they must go higher, or else it will not do. To the first Primitive Christianity, and Religion, in the first Pri-

Primitive Times giv'n us by Christ and his Apostles. For Dr. *Stillingfleet* has well instructed us, if we believe the Scriptures are the ONLY RULE OF FAITH; then it follows, *Councils* and *Fathers*, *Traditions* and *Private Spirits* are no more our Rule than the *Pope* himself; and therefore, with the Doctor, we refuse the Belief of all the Additions, Inventions, Traditions, because not contain'd in our only Rule of Faith: *To the Law, and to the Testimony, if they speak not according to that, it is because there is no Light in them.*

But *Secondly*, Do we not find those very times abounding very much with Error and Superstition? Which is an Argument, we should not receive them for our Pattern more than others; whereof I shall give you some Instances from their *Novi*, or Errors, mention'd by the *Centurists*, viz. That *Origen* asserted two Christs, deny'd his God-head, the Head of the *Arrians* and *Pelagians*, holding (as *Jerom* says) very desperately about the Spirit, and very corruptly about Angels, Devils, Creation, Providence, Original Sin, Church-Government, and the Resurrection, and Sacrificing for the Dead. *Orig. l. 3. in Jo.* Baptism takes away Sin, and that there must be a Baptism after the Resurrection. They also say of *Cyprian*, That *Cyprian* affirm'd the Church of *Rome* to be the Mother-Church; that there ought to be one High Priest over the Church; and that the Principal Church is *Peter's* Chair, from whence the Unity of the Priesthood ariseth; and that on *Peter* the Church is founded: That he was a violent Impugner of Priests Marriages; held that Sins are done away by Alms and good Works: That the Person baptizing in the very Act confers the Holy Spirit; that *Chrysm* and *Exorcism* are absolutely necessary; and there should be Sacrifices for the Dead, tho' some suppose many of these Things were foisted in by the *Papists*.

Those Primitive Times abound with Corruptions.

Mag. l. Cent. 3 p. 262, 263, &c.

Origen corrupt.

Cyprian corrupt.

Austin corrupt.

20 De Laune's Plea for the Non-Conformists.

De confes. l. 9.

c. 3.

Ep. con. Aeri.

Her. 75.

Enchir. c. 110

Chryssostomand
others cor-
rupt.

very bad, they are Propitiations; for the very bad, tho' not help the Dead, yet comfort the Living.

1 Cor. 16.

Hom. 41.

De Civ. Dei.

l. 22. c. 8.

Contr. Virgil.

Ep. 2.

St. Austin prays for the Dead, the Soul of his Mother *Monica*.

St. Ambrose for the Soul of *Theodosius*.

St. Gregory for the Soul of *Trajan*.

St. Austin says, Prayers avail not unto all alike, who are departed; therefore when the Sacrifices of the Altar, or of Alms are offer'd for all them who are baptiz'd, and are defunct, for the good, they are Thanksgivings; for the not

Chryssostom was for Offering Prayers for the Dead with Alms and Oblations.

Austin, a great Friend to Reliques, affirming great Miracles wrought by them.

Ferome, a great Defender of Reliques, and Adoration of them.

Constantine, a great Admirer of Reliques.

Apolt. of la-
ter Times, on

1 Tim. 4. 1.

he, laid the Foundation of Antichrist's *δεδιδαιμόνια*, and Idolatrick Apostacy.

More of the
Corruptio. of
those Times.

They had Sufflation, Trine Immersion, Exorcism, Chrysm, White Garments, Milk, Honey to the New-baptized, giving the Eucharist to the Infant, from the 4th to the 12th Century,

mingling Water with the Sacramental Wine, the Eulogia, &c. To which Head you may add the Royal Witness in the Beginning.

So that from the Consideration of the Errors and Superstitions, abounding in these Times, there is no Ground why our First Reformers should propose them for our Pattern; for if in one Thing, why not in another?

But in the next Place I presume on a fair Examination of Particulars, these two Things will appear, 1. That we in the Church of England do not in our Rites, Services and Ceremonies symbolize with Antiquity. And,

2. That

2. That we do wholly symbolize in most, if not in all of them, with *Poperly*.

1. It is manifest that our first Reformers, as we are told, did not make such a perfect Piece from Pure Primitive Antiquity in the first Reformation, and forming of our Liturgy, which contains so much the Rites, Services, and Ceremonies of the Church; for if so, there had been no such Need to make so many Alterations, and reform so often, and in so many Things the Reformation. And that they have so done, the Author of the *Protestant Reconciler* gives us this Account.

Our Rites do not symbolize with Antiquity, as urged.

‘ It is certain (*says he*) that our Church has already alter’d her Liturgy at several Times, and in several Parts; *viz.* The Lessons, Festivals, Ceremonies, Rubrick, Collects, Prayers, the Form of Administration of Sacraments, the Catechism, Confirmation, Marriage, Visitation of the Sick, the Burial of the Dead, and Commination. All which he had demonstrated in each Particular, and from thence he makes these three Remarks.

Protest. Rec. Part 1. Postsc.

1. ‘ That the Pretence of still Retaining and Imposing the present Ceremonies out of due Reverence to *Antiquity*, is false and hypocritical.

2. ‘ That it cannot justly be pretended that these Ceremonies are retain’d and impos’d to manifest the Justice and Equity of the Reformation, by letting their Enemies see they did not break Communion with them for meer indifferent Things, or that we left the Church of *Rome* no further than she left Antiquity.

3. ‘ Hence it appears how senselessly it is alledg’d, that we cannot abate, or change these Ceremonies, because they have been once receiv’d and own’d by the Church:

But in the next Place, the Descending into Particulars, will give a fuller and clearer Demonstration of our not Symbolizing with Antiquity in all our Rites and Ceremonies.

Instances giv’n to prove their Novelty.

‘ FIRST, Because so many of them are Novel, and so many

many disown'd by Antiquity. And so much which has been really from Antiquity, has been disown'd by us, and blotted out of the Liturgy.

First, That most of them are Novel, or disown'd by Antiquity. We shall begin with those three Principal Ceremonies, about which there was so much Contention at the *Savoy*; viz. *Kneeling*, *Surplice*, and the *Cross* in *Baptism*.

1. That of *Kneeling* at the Altar, or at the Sacrament of the Supper, is put amongst the rest of the Ancient Ceremonies, before any such thing as *Popery* was in the World, which is Novel, and but of Yesterday, never known before *Transubstantiation*, nor with us *Protestants* receiv'd 'till *Edward* the Sixth's second Common-Prayer, for in the first it was not. *Peter Martyr* saith, *Propter Transubstantiationem & realem presentiam in ecclesia est in Ecclesiam; That to maintain Transubstantiation and real Presence, it was brought into the Church.* -----

We are told in the *Decretal*, that *Pope Honorius*, 1214. ordain'd *Kneeling* at the Sacrament. And his Predecessor, *Innocent* the 3d *Transubstantiation*. It is said, *That in Tertullian and Chrysofom's Time, they were said to stand at the Altar, when they partook of the Supper.* *Socrates* saith, *They took it in a Table Gesture, Eating it at their Love-Feasts*; And *Paras* asserts the same.

Hereupon the *Protestant Reconciler* tells us, *To restrain this Kneeling Posture at the Receipt of the Sacrament, out of due Reverence to Antiquity, when no such Posture was us'd by Antiquity, I fear, cannot be well excus'd from Falshood, or from Imposing on the People.*

2. *Surplice.* As to the *Surplice*, the Fathers us'd it not, tho' it is clear, the *Pagans* did; from whom the *Papists* had it, and we from them.

Salmasius as well as *Petavius* his Adversary, owns, *That in the Primitive Times the Presbyters did not wear any distinct Habit from the People.*

Cælestius reproves the French Bishops, who began it as a Novelty, which tended to Superstition, and made Way to Mockery, and Deceiving of the Faithful. The Reply to Dr. Morton.

The Surplice was brought into the Church by Pope Adrian, Anno 796.

Dr. Stillingfleet tells us, That as for the Surplice in Parish Churches, it is not of that Consequence as to bear a Dispute one way, or other. Unreasonab. Separat. p. 38.

3. As to the Sign of the Cross in Baptism 3. Cross in Bap-
upon the Forehead only, we read of no such Rite amongst the Ancients, tho' the 30th Canon of the Church tells, *It is an honourable Badge, and a lawful Ceremony, by which the Child is dedicated to the Service of Christ, and which Rite was held in the Primitive Church, both Greeks and Latines, with one Consent and great Applause.*

It is true, the Ancients after Baptism did sign the baptiz'd with a Cross upon his Head and Breast, and anointed him with *Chrysm*, as a distinct Order from Baptism; but no such Signing in the Act of Baptism, as Part of that Ordinance.

In Edward the Sixth's Time the Reformers did, as the first *Service-Book* makes mention, sign the Elements three Times with the Sign of the Cross, and also the Child upon the Forehead and Breast when the God-Fathers nam'd his Name, and afterwards in Confirmation again in the Breast and Forehead; but all this is laid aside, and a new Thing taken up, which is neither to be found in Antiquity, nor in the first Pattern of our Reformers.

As to the Order and Office of *Confirmation* in the *Rubrick* and *Liturgy*, it is 4. Confirmat.
another thing than the Ancients us'd. That was to be done with *Chrysm* by the Hands of a Bishop, with two Crosses, one on the Breast, the other on the Forehead, immediately after Baptism was administer'd (and as a distinct Ordinance from it) but this is to be perform'd by the Hands of a Bishop, without any *Chrysm* or Consignation when they come to Years of Discretion.

And

Why Confirmation
nor Scriptural.

Arch-Bishop
Cranmore.

Cotton's Lib.
Cleop. E. 5.

As there doth not appear any Warranty from Antiquity for this Confirmation, so neither is there any Direction in Scripture for it; as Arch-Bishop *Cranmore* doth fully acknowledge, whereof we have an Account from Dr. *Burnet* out of a Manuscript, written with the Bishop's own Hand, by way of Question and Answer, as he found it in *Cotton's Library, Cleop. E. 5.*

‘ *Quest.* Whether Confirmation be instituted by Christ?

‘ *Ans.* There is no Place in Scripture that declareth this Sacrament to be instituted by Christ.

‘ 1. Because the Places alledged for the same be no Institutions, but Acts and Deeds of the Apostles,

‘ 2. Because those Acts were done by a special Gift giv'n to the Apostles for the Confirmation of God's Word at that time.

‘ 3. Because the same especial Gift doth not now remain with the Successors of the Apostles.

‘ *Quest.* What is the External Sign?

‘ *Ans.* The Church useth *Chryisma*, but the Scripture maketh no mention thereof.

As for the Office of *Baptizing of Infants*, as enjoyn'd in the Liturgy for Regeneration upon the Deed done, and to be perform'd by Gossips, who are to profess Faith and Repentance in the Infant's Name and Stead, is generally scrupl'd and disown'd by the *Dissenters* (as favouring too much of *Popery*) tho' the greatest Part of them do baptize their Infants.

And as for the Antiquity of the Practice, if any Credit may be giv'n to many Learned *Pædobaptists*, it will not appear; whereof take these following Instances:

Disswative against Popery.
p. 117.

The Learned Dr. *Taylor* tells us in his *Disswative against Popery*, ‘ That there is a Tradition to baptize Infants, relies but upon two Witnesses, *Origen* and *Austin*; and the latter having receiv'd it from the former, it relies wholly upon a single Testimony, which is but a

‘ pity-

' pityful Argument to prove a Tradition Apostolical.
 ' He is the first that spoke it, but *Tertullian* that was be-
 ' fore him, seems to speak against it, which he wou'd not
 ' have done, if it had been a Tradition Apostolical. And
 ' that it was not so (saith the Bishop) it is but too cer-
 ' tain, if there be any Truth in the Words of *Ludovicus*
 ' *Vives*, saying, that anciently none were baptiz'd, but
 ' Persons of riper Years. He says thus in his *Com. on*
 ' *August. l. 1. c. 27.* whose Words are as followeth, *viz.*

' None were baptiz'd of Old, but those
 ' who were of Age, who did not only un- *Ludovicus Vi-*
 ' derstand what the Mystery of the Water *vives, Com. on*
 ' meant, but desir'd the same; the perfect *Aug. l. 1. c. 27.*
 ' Image whercof (saith he) we have yet in our Infant-
 ' Baptism; for it is ask'd of the Infant, *Wilt thou be bap-*
 ' *riz'd?* For whom the Sureties answer, *I will.*

The *Doctor* adds, ' That the Parents of *Austin, Jerom,*
 ' *Ambrose*, altho' Christians, did not baptize their Chil-
 ' dren 'till they were 30 Years of Age; and that it will
 ' be very considerable in the Example, and of great Ef-
 ' ficacy for the destroying the suppos'd Necessity of De-
 ' rivation of Infants Baptism from the Apostles.

Hugo Grotius (in *Annot. on Mat. 19. 14.*)
 saith, ' It was no small Evidence, that Bap- *Grotius on*
 ' tism of Infants many hundred Years was *Mat. 19. 14.*
 ' not ordinary in the *Greek Church*, be-
 ' cause not only *Constantine the Great*, the Son of *Helena*,
 ' a zealous Christian, but also *Gregory Nazianzen*, who
 ' was the Son of a Christian Bishop, and brought up long
 ' by him, was not baptiz'd 'till he came to Years, as is
 ' (saith he) related in his Life.

Daille, the Learned *French-man*, tells us,
 ' That in ancient Times they often defer'd *Daille.*
 ' the Baptism of Infants, as appears (says
 ' he) by the History of *Constantine, Theodosius, Valentinian,*
 ' *Gratian*, and in *St. Ambrose*; and also by the Orations
 ' of *Gregory Nazianzen*, and *St. Basil* on this Subject.
 ' And some of the Fathers have been of Opinion, that
 ' it is fit it should be defer'd: But whence is it (saith he)

‘ that the very mentioning hereof is scarce to be endur’d
 ‘ at this Day? *Use of the Fathers*, l. 2. p. 149.

Dr. Field. Dr. Field saith, ‘ That very many that
 ‘ were born of Christian Parents, besides
 ‘ those that were converted from *Paganism*,
 ‘ put off their Baptism for a long time, insomuch that
 ‘ many were made Bishops before they were baptiz’d.
On the Church. p. 729.

Mr. Baxter. Mr. Baxter, a great Asserter and Defen-
 der of *Infant-Baptism*, does ingeniously own,
 after his long Search into Antiquity, thus
 much; ‘ I will confess, that the Words of *Tertullian* and
 ‘ *Nazianzen* shew, that it was long before all were agreed
 ‘ of the very time, or of the Necessity of Baptizing of
 ‘ Infants before any Use of Reason, in case they were
 ‘ like to live to Maturity. *More Proofs*, p. 279.

As for Baptizing Infants with Sureties,
God-fathers & *Fide-Jussors*, or Gossips, as the Liturgy en-
God-mothers. joyns; and such an Essential Part of the Or-
 dinance (owning that the baptized Persons
 are requir’d to repent and believe, and that Infants are
 capable to do neither, but that they do both by their
 Sureties) appears also, if the Learned are to be credited,
 to be no less a Novelty, as the *Centurists* declare, *Magd.*
Cent. 4. cap. 6. p. 419. De susceptoribus certi nihil Invenias;
 that is, you can find nothing certain of God-fathers in
 that Age. But that it came in the 5th Century, *Cent. 5.*
c. 4. p. 656. Adhibitos interdum & susceptores, seu Paternos
ex Autoribus hujus temporis liquet; that is, the Authors of
 the 5th Century mention Sureties, or God-fathers. Up-
 on which Dr. Taylor saith.

Dr. Taylor. ‘ I know God might, if he would, have
 ‘ appointed God-Fathers to give Answer in
 ‘ the behalf of Children, and to be *Fide-*
 ‘ *Jussors* for them; but we cannot find any Authority
 ‘ or Ground that he hath; and if he had, that it is to
 ‘ be suppos’d he would have giv’n them Commission to
 ‘ have transacted the Solemnity with better Circumstan-
 ‘ ces, and have giv’n *Answers* with more Truth, for
 ‘ the

' the Question is ask'd of Believing in the present; and
 ' if the God-Father answers in the Name of the Child,
 ' *I DO BELIEVE*; it is Notorious; they speak false
 ' and ridiculous, for the Infant is not capable of Believ-
 ' ing; and if he were, he were also capable of Dissent-
 ' ing; and how then do they know his Mind? And
 ' therefore (saith he) *Tertullian* and *Nazianzen* gave
 ' Advice, that the Baptizing of Infants should be defer'd
 ' till they could give an Account of their own Faith.

Wallafridus Strabo, who liv'd about the
 Year 840. saith (*De Rebus Eccles. c. 26.*)

*Wallafridus
 Strab. de Reb.
 Eccl. c. 26.*

' That in the first Times the Grace of Bap-
 ' tism was wont to be giv'n to them only,
 ' who were come to that Integrity of Mind and Body,
 ' that they could know and understand what Profit was
 ' to be gotten by Baptism; what was to be confess'd
 ' and believ'd; what, Lastly, was to be observ'd by
 ' them that are New-born in Christ, and confirms it by
 ' *Austin's* own Confession of himself, continuing a Cate-
 ' chumen long before he was baptiz'd. But afterwards
 ' (saith he) Christians understanding Original Sin, and
 ' least their Children should perish without any Means
 ' of Grace, had them (he saith) baptiz'd by the Decree
 ' of the Council of *Africa*; and then adds, how God-
 ' Fathers and God-Mothers were invented.

Johannes Bohemius, *lib. 2. de Gent. Mori-*
bus, saith, ' It was in Times past the Cus-

*Bohemius l. 2.
 de Gent. Mor.*

' tom to administer Baptism only to those
 ' that were instructed in the Faith, and seven Times in
 ' the Week, before *Easter* and *Pentecost*, catechiz'd; but
 ' afterwards, when it was thought and adjudg'd need-
 ' ful to Eternal Life to be baptiz'd, it was ordain'd that
 ' New-born Children should be baptiz'd, and God-
 ' Fathers were appointed, who should make Confession,
 ' and renounce the Devil on their behalf.

As for the *Liturgy*, it is another Thing 7. *Liturgy*.
 than can be found among the Ancients. Is
 it not clear, that in the 3d *Century*, they had no Directory,
 or Book to pray by, as *Tertullian* in his *Apology* mentions?

We look up to Heav'n with our Hands stretch'd forth, as being innocent and bare-headed, as not ashamed to make our Prayers fine Monitore, without a Directory, as coming from the free Motion of our own Heart.

Platina tells us, that in *Celestine's* Time there was no other Parts of the Mass, but the Reading of the Epistles and Gospels, which was *Anno 435. Platina in Ccelest. 1.*

Justin Martyr, in the second Century, *Apol. 2.* fully sheweth the Manner of Christian Service in his Time. ----- 'The Ancient Christians (*saith he*) had their Meetings on the *Sunday*, they began with Prayers for the Church, especially for the Enlightned, which were baptiz'd; then the Writings of the Prophets and Apostles are read as Time permits; then a Sermon unto the People, and exhorts them all unto the Imitation of the best Things; then all do rise up, and pour forth their Prayers again; when their Prayers are ended, Bread, and Wine mixed with Water, are brought forth; which being taken, he who has the Charge goes before the People, with an earnest Voice in Praising God and Thanksgiving, and the People do answer with a loud Voice, *Amen*. Then the Deacons divide the holy Signs unto all them which are present, and carry the same unto the absent: This (*saith he*) we call *Εὐχαρίστια*, *Thanksgiving*; whereof none may partake, unless he believes the true Doctrine, and be washed in the Laver unto Regeneration and Remission of Sins, and live so as Christ hath directed. After this is a Gathering of Alms. And *p. 7.* He who instructed the People, pray'd according to his Ability. Here was no Liturgy or Common-Prayers mention'd.

Walafrid Strabo, who wrote in the 9th Century, saith in his Book *De Rebus Ecclesie* ----- All which is done now with a Multitude of Prayers, Lessons, Songs and Consecrations, which the Apostles, and those who next followed them, did with Prayers and Remembrance of the Lord's Sufferings, even as he commanded.

Socrates saith, That among all the Christians in that Age, scarce two were to be found, that us'd the same Words in Prayer.

Socrates Hist.
l. 5. ch. 21.

Pope *Gregory* the First made a New Form of Service, which they call the *Mass*, and did add many Ceremonies that were not in Use before: So that *Platina* saith, *The whole Institution of the Mass was invented by him, we in England had ours from Gregory, who by his Minister Austin first founded the Church, and introduced most of the Rites, Service and Ceremonies.*

Pope *Gregory*.

There was another *Mass*, which was called the *Mass* of *Ambrose*, a ridiculous thing, which they afterwards father'd upon him different from *Gregory's*, whereof we read in After-Times, and there was great Contention which *Mass* should be receiv'd into the Churches. Which when Pope *Adrian* (who was Anno 796.) saw, he was put to his Shifts, and said, he would refer it to the Will of God, whether he would by any visible Sign approve the *Mass* of *Gregory*, or of *Ambrose*. So these two Books were laid together upon the Altar, in *St. Peter's* Church, and he call'd upon God to shew which of the two he approv'd; the Doors were shut all Night, and the next Morning when they return'd into the Church, the Book of *Ambrose* was found lying, as it was laid down, and the other was all torn and dispers'd thro' the Church: The Pope maketh the Comment, that the *Mass* of *Ambrose* should lye untouch'd, and the *Mass* of *Gregory* should be us'd thro' the World; And so he did Authorize and Command, that it should be us'd in all Churches and Chappels, which *Charles* the Great did second; Commanding that only to be us'd, and *Ambrose's* to be burnt.

Jacob. de Voragine in *Vita Greg.*

Gregory the first, ordain'd the Letanies, or Supplications; saith *Platina*.

8. *Letanies*.

The Responses and Gradual were giv'n by Pope *Gregory*; saith *Pol. Virgil*.

9. *Responses*.

The Collects Ordinary, as saith *Du Randus*, were Ordain'd by Pope *Gregory*; the other

10. *Collects*.

Collects added by sundry Popes, as *Cassander* in *Liturgia*, cap. 21.

- He made the *Offices* of the Church, and dispos'd the Nights and Days *Antiphones*, or *Singing Service*; he polish'd the Rites of the *Mass*, and renew'd its Canon; he made the *Introitus* to the *Mass*, with the Particles; he commanded the *Kyrieleison*, or *Hallelujah* to be sung.
11. *Offices Antiphones.* He order'd the *Singing of Psalms*, the *Letanies* and *Processions*. *Balæus Cent. 1. p. 62. Sect. 22.*
12. *Kyrieles.* The Prescript Number of *Psalms* and *Lessons* was brought into the Church by *Gregory* the 7th. *Anno 1073. saith Durandus.*
13. *Psalms & Lessons.* The *Epistles* and *Gospels* *Platina* gives to *Pope Damasus*, *Anno 384.* *Pope Anastasius* brought in Standing at the *Gospel*, *Anno 400.* as saith *Platina* and *Pol. Virgil.*
14. *Epist. and Gospels.* *Austin* (*Confes. lib. 9.*) shews that the *Latine Church* had no *Singing-Service*; that was brought into our Ceremonies (saith *Polydore Virgil*, from the Old Heathen (*De Invent. Rer. lib. 6. c. 2.*) who were wont to sacrifice with Symphony, witness *Livius*, l. 9.
15. *Singing-Service.* The *Primitive Church* had no *Altars*: *Pope Sylvester* was the first Author of their Consecration, *Bellar. de Verb. Dei, l. 4. c. 3. Anno 334.* Then consequently no *Bowing* to them, nor *Kneeling* before them, being all *Novels*.
16. *Altars.* As little can you find the *English Festivals* in *Antiquity*.
17. *Festivals.* The *Centurists* tell us, *Observandum est Apostolos & Apostolicos Viros, neque de Paschate, neque de aliis quibuscunque festivitatis legem aliquam constituisse*; It is to be observ'd that neither the *Apostles*, nor any *Apostolick Men* have given us any *Law* for the *Observation of Easter*, or any other *Feast* whatsoever, *Magd. Cent. 2. Chap. 6. p. 119.*
- They also tell us out of *Origen*, That *Cent. 3. p. 137.* it was not lawful for *Christians* to observe the *Fests*,

Feasts, or Solemnities, either of Jews or Gentiles, Cent. 3. p. 137.

The Council of *Laodicea* in the 37th Cent. forbad the *Heathenish* or *Jewish* Feast. *Non oportet a Judais vel Hereticis quæ Feriatica mittuntur accipere, nec cum eis Dies agere Feriatos.*

The Canons of the Ancient Councils forbad to keep the *Pagan* Feasts, and to deck their Houses with green Boughs and Bay-Leaves, as they did in the Kalends of *January*, *Con. Affr. Can. 2 Tolet. 4. Can. 5. Brac. 2. c. 7.*

The Festivals observ'd by the Ancients were not accounted more holy than other Days. *Jerome* on *Matth. 5.* says, *Non quod celebrior sit Dies illa qua convenimus.*

The *Waldenses*, the Ancient Fathers of the Protestants, held that they were to rest from Labour on no Day but the Lord's Day. *Aneas Silvius.*

The Rites and Ceremonies of Marriage, as expres'd in the Office of Marriage in the Liturgy, do not appear to have been in Use in those Primitive Times: It being decreed by Pope *Julius* and *Sericus*, about the middle of the 4th Century, *That all Marriages must pass the Benediction of a Priest on Penalty of Sacrilege*; the Office being taken from the *Papists*, and those very Restraints laid upon Marriage, at what Seasons People may marry, and when not, are taken out of the *Romish Rubrick*. Pope *Clement* having ordain'd, that from *Septuagesima*, 'till *Easter*, from *Rogation*, 'till *Whit-Sunday*; and from *Advent*, to *Epiphany*, Marriage should be prohibited: and which Doctrine of Devils is translated from their Rubrick to ours.

18. The Ecclesiastical Rites and Ceremonies of Marriage

Pope Clement

As for Buying to the Altar, and to the East, and at Entrance into Churches and Temples, they are Reverences which seem to be fetch'd from an elder Date, *viz.* from the *Pagan* Idolaters, and from whom the superstitious Ancients and *Papists* had them, and we from them. *Dr. Willet* in his *Synop. Papif.* p. 492, 493. saith, *That Bowing at the Altar, and Name of Jesus, are superstitious Idolatries.*

19. Bowing at the Altar and to the East.

20. Ecclesiastical Orders.

As for Ecclesiastical Orders and Officers of the Lord Arch-Bishops, Lord Bishops, Deans, Arch-Deacons, &c. and the Supremacy exercis'd one over another in the Church of England; they are so far from having the Stamp of Primitive Antiquity, that they are not to be found therein, at least for the three or four first Centuries.

Dr. Stillingfleet in his *Irenicum*, p. 177. tells us after this Manner, *viz.* That whether any shall succeed the Apostles in Superiority of Power over Presbyters, or all remain governing the Church in an Equality of Power, is no where determin'd by the Will of Christ in the Scripture, which contains his ROYAL LAW, and therefore we have no Reason to look upon it as any Thing flowing from the Power and Authority of Christ as Mediator, and so not necessarily binding to Christians.

And further assures us, That Episcopal-Men cannot shew by the Word of God, neither by the Practice of the Apostles, nor so much as by the PRIMITIVE CHURCH, that a Minister of Jesus Christ hath had any Superintendency over several Private Churches, or that a Bishop hath ordained Ministers by his sole and pure Authority, as is now practis'd in England; or that he who is not naturally invested with any Authority, should have the Power to delegate others, and much more secular Persons.

And if any would be better satisfy'd herein, there are two late Pieces, which may fully do it, *viz.* one by Dr. Owen, in a Book called, *The Order and Communion of Evangelical Churches*; and the other in a Book called, *No Evidence for Diocesan Churches and Bishops in the primitive times.*

21. Dedications of Churches to Saints and Angels.

The Primitive Fathers were against Dedicating of Churches to Saints and Angels. Austin saith, *If we build a Church of Stones or Wood unto any most Excellent Angel, are we not accursed and anathematiz'd from the Truth, and from the Church of God, because then we give unto a Creature that Service which is due unto God only?* Cont. Maxim. lib. 1. Arg. 11. de Spir. Sancto.

Erasmus upon Austin's Words, hath in the Margent marked thus -- ---- This is done now to each one of the Divi,

Divi, or Saints; viz. Not a Church erected without such a Dedication.

Pope Vitellianus brought in Organs, and other Musical Instruments into the Church about the 8th Century, *Bell. de bon. oper. lib. 1. c. 7.*

Rogation Week, or Gauge-Days, were Ordain'd by Pope Leo 444. as saith Platina, Masseus and Polydore Virgil.

Pope Zacharias, in the Year 737, Ordain'd Priests Gowns, Tippetts, and Four-corner'd Caps. *Chron. Achil. Fascicul. Temp.*

Pope Boniface Ordain'd Wednesdays, Fridays and Saturdays Fasts; as saith Platina.

And that Anno 425. Pope Boniface Ordain'd Vigils or Saints Eves Fasts; as Polydore Virgil and Pantaleon affirm.

That which is call'd the *Apostles Creed*, was not, as now in our *Liturgy*, known in the Primitive Times, but has past great Alterations.

1. It is manifest the Fathers in the first Ages do give us the Creed in other Words, not one of them giving us this Form for above 300 Years after Christ. *Ignatius, Irenaeus, Origen, Tertulian* write the Churches Faith, but none of them in this Form.

2. We have Bishop *Usher*, that great Searcher into Antiquity, giving us an Account of the Additions made to it (in his *Dissert. de Symbol. p. 16.*) viz. [*Maker of Heaven and Earth*] was a new Addition, not in the ancient Copies. (2.) [*Conceived*] is added; the old Form is, *Born of the Holy Ghost*. (3.) The Word [*Dead*] is added. (4.) [*Descended into Hell*] is added. (5.) The Name of [*God Almighty*] to the Articles of *Christ's sitting at the right Hand of God*. (6.) [*Catholick*] is added to *Holy Church*. (7.) [*Communion of Saints*] is added. And (8.) [*Life everlasting*] is added. And which Additions, saith Bishop *Usher* were not made at once, but at severall Times. And the Bishop affirms, that the *Nicene* was as Confidently, and more Anciently call'd the *Apostles Creed*.

28. The Athanasian Creed. As for the *Athanasian Creed*, *Quicumque* vult, &c. father'd upon *Athanasius*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, in the 4th Age; It appears to be otherwise, and to have no such Stamp of Primitive Antiquity, as Dr. *Burnet* (*Hist. of Reform.* Part 2. B. 1. p. 167.) informs us, viz. That they went according to the receiv'd Opinion, that *Athanasius* was the Author of that Creed, which is now found not to have been compil'd 'till near three Ages after him.

What was of Primitive Antiquity, left out of the Liturgy.

Secondly, It doth appear that what was of pure Antiquity, and in Use in those first Centuries, viz. 2, 3, and 4, are either not used, or blotted out of the Liturgies, having been heretofore in Use.

The *Protestant Reconciler*, Part. 1. Chap. 8. from Pag. 261, to 299. gives an Account of the Ancient Rites and Ceremonies in Use amongst the Ancient Churches and Fathers, now laid aside; viz. *Love-Fasts*, *Kiss of Charity*, *Deaconesses*, *Praying standing from Easter 'till Whitsuntide*; *Dipping, or Plunging the Baptized, yea, the Trine Immersion*; *Deferring Baptism 'till Easter or Whitsunday*; *Exorcism*, *Sufflation*, *Anointing the Sick*, *Chrism*, *White Garment*; *Milk and Honey to the New-baptiz'd*; *giving the Eucharist to the Infant, from the 3d to the 12th Century*; *mingling Water with the Sacramental Wine*; *all eating of one Loaf in the Supper*; *to send the Eulogia, or Broken Bread to the absent*; *to receive Standing, or in a Table Gesture*; *to pray for the Dead, &c.* All which are rejected. And many of these, tho' in the first Common-Prayer in *Edward the Sixth's* Time laid aside, as the said Author, p. 298. tells us, concluding thus:

Prot. Reconcil. p. 298. Hence we may see how vainly 'tis pretended, that these Ceremonies were retain'd and impos'd, to manifest the Justice and Equity of the *Reformation*, by letting their Enemies see, they did not break Communion with them for meer indifferent Things, or that they left the Church of *Rome* no further than she left the Ancient Church; as saith Dr. *Stillingfleet*. When 'tis mani-

manifest, says he, that we left off Praying for departed Saints, the Unction of the Sick, the Mixing Water with the Sacramental Wine, the Chrysm, Exorcism, the Anointing the baptized Person, Crossing the Breast, and at the Consecration of the Eucharist, and the baptismal Water, with many other Things which were retain'd in the Ancient Church, and in the Liturgy of *Edm.* 6.

Thus you see, that notwithstanding the great Cry of Symbolizing with Primitive Antiquity, and not at all with *Rome*, that the latter appears to be as true as the other is false, their Liturgies, Rites and Ceremonies, being (as said) a Composition of *Pagan*, *Papal* Inventions, with some Novel Additions of their own, and Primitive Antiquity almost wholly excluded. And it is very observable to consider what Alterations have been made in *Edward* the Sixth's Liturgy, to gratify the *Papists*, as omitting that Clause of the Letany, *FROM THE BISHOP OF ROME, AND ALL HIS DETESTABLE ENORMITIES*; and that in the Commination, *CURSED BE THE WORSHIPPERS OF IMAGES*; and have left out that Exhortation, which is condemn'd as a most vile Abomination in their usual Masses, where People gaze, but do not communicate.

Secondly, In the next Place it will appear (that as we do not symbolize with Antiquity in our Rites and Ceremonies) that we do symbolize in most, if not in all of them, with *Popery*, tho' so positively deny'd by the *Learned*.

2dly. That we do not symbolize with Popery.

Which is manifest, *First*, By the several Particulars before-mention'd; for as the Church of *England* doth not symbolize with Primitive Antiquity therein, as it is plain they do not (if our Authors speak true) so they do fully symbolize with *Papish* Novelty, as the Proofs make manifest, both in Keeling at the Altar, Cross in Baptism, Surplice, &c.

1. Former Instances.

Secondly, This Symbolizing with *Popery* in our Rites and Ceremonies, appears by what is fully own'd and acknowledg'd by Parties themselves.

2. By Confession of Parties.

The principal Part of Worship (both as to Matter and Manner) perform'd in the Church of *England*, is contain'd in the Rubrick; or Service-Book, by Law Establish'd; which in the Beginning of the *Reformation* in *H.* the 8th's Time, was no other than the *Romish* Liturgy, some Parts only being translated into *English*, viz. the *Creed*, *Pater-Noster*, *Ten Commandments* and *Letany*. *Edw.* 6. went further, translating it all into *English*, yet retaining the same Service Word for Word, except some Alterations; for so *Mr. Fox* tells us in the King and Council's Letter to the *Devonshire* Men, about the Alteration of their Mass-Book, who by the Instigation of their Priests, had been stirr'd up to Rebellion; wherein it is thus told them, as recorded, *Act. & Mon.* Vol. 2. p. 1189.

As for the Service in the *English* Tongue, it perchance seems to you a New Service; and yet indeed it is NO OTHER BUT THE OLD, THE SAME WORDS in *English*, for NOTHING is alter'd, but to speak with Knowledge, that which was spoken with Ignorance, only a few Things taken out, so fond, that it had been a Shame to have heard them in *English*.

Some Alterations were made afterwards in the 2d. of *Edward VI.* and some by Queen *Elizabeth*, and some few by King *James*; but the Body and Essentials of it continu'd, and was preserv'd; for so saith King *Charles II.* in his Preface to the *Common-Prayer*, annex'd to the Act of *Uniformity*, in these Words:

14. Chap. 2. That we find that in the Reigns of several Princes, since the Reformation, the Church upon just and weighty Considerations her hereunto moving, hath yielded to make such Alterations in some Particulars, as in their respective Terms were thought convenient, yet so as the main Body and Essentials of it (as well in the chiefest Materials, as in the Frame and Order thereof) have still continu'd the same unto this Day, and do yet stand firm and unshaken, notwithstanding all vain Attempts, and impetuous Assaults made against it, by such MEN AS ARE GIVEN TO CHANGE.

In Confirmation whereof, you have the Testimony of King *James*, as Mr. *Calderwood* in his History of the Church of Scotland informs us, who tells us, that King *James* in the 8th Session of the General Assembly held at *Edinburgh*, Aug. 4. 1590. said these Words in his Speech to them; viz. *The Kirk of Geneva keep Pasch and Yule, were of no Constitution. And as for our Neighbour Kirk of England, their Service is an evil-said Mass in English; they want nothing of the Mass but the Listings; but that the Kirk of Scotland was the sinoerest in the World.*

*Calderwood's
Chur. Hist.
p. 256.*

So that you have the Acknowledgment and Grant of three Kings to the Truth hereof, that the Publick Worship and Service of the *Protestant Church of England* contain'd in the *English Liturgy*, and practis'd in the Church, is the same in the main Body and Essentials, chiefest Materials, Frame and Order with that of the *Popish*; and whoever will take the Pains to search into the *Popish Breviary, Ritual, Missal, and Pontifical*, which four comprehend their whole Liturgy, will find, tho' there may be some Alterations and Variations, in several Particulars; yet as the King grants, the Substance and chiefest Materials and Order is the same, and that ours is taken out of theirs, viz. *Collects, Mattins, Even-Songs, Epistles, Gospels, Creeds, Letanies, Consecration, Administration of Sacraments, Baptism of Infants, with Gossips to answer for them, Kneeling at the Altar, Confiteor, Absolution, Confirmation, Burial, Matrimony, Visitation of the Sick, Ordination of Arch-Bishops, Bishops, &c.* And which will appear particularly by what follows.

Dr. *Moore* in his *Mystery of Iniquity*, Lib. 2. Chap. 22. p. 468. says thus: ' For undoubredly our Heroical Reformers did not, as is the Use of some, act out of Peevishness and Spight, and please their own Humour and Impetuosity of Spirit, as being Part of the Chaste Spouse of Christ, the true Apostolick Church, the Mother of us all, deals as a Mother with all those that profess themselves in any Sense Children of Christ's Church, and there-

Mystery of Iniquity, l. 2. ch. 22. p. 468.

therefore wou'd not have them divided more than
 needs; whence it is, that out of a Spirit of Charity
 and tender Kindness, she in some Things in themselves
 indifferent (and what indifferent Things they are you
 have heard) humbly condescended to symbolize with
 that lapsed Lady of Rome, to bring off her abused Pa-
 ramours to the pure Worship of God; which Con-
 descension, as is well known, took good Effect for some
 Space of Years, and the *Catholicks* joyn'd in Publick
 Prayer and Service with us [*and well they might, being*
as our three Kings have granted so much their own, only in
the English Tongue] 'till that Harlot that makes nothing
 of having her Children divided, forcibly rent off the
English Roman Catholick from so reasonable and Christian
 a Communion; and yet, *saith he*, do's not our Church
 cease to use this charitable Courtship and sweet Con-
 descension towards them still, [*viz. yet symbolizing with*
her] to win them off to such a Worship, as is every
 Way as graceful as their own?

Dr. *Stillingfleet* in his *Irenicum*, speaks to
 this purpose; *viz.* 'That the great Rea-
 son why our first Reformers did so far
 comply with the *Papists*, was to gain, and
 lay a Bait for them, and which, he hopes, was never
 intended to be an Hook for the *Protestants*.

Thirdly, Will not the Symbolizing with
Papery appear more particularly, by com-
 paring our Divine Service in the *Common-
 Prayer-Book* and *Rubrick*, with their Divine
 Service in their *Mass-Book* and *Rubrick*;
 and how much we have taken them for our
 Pattern, and follow their Direction in the Particulars
 following; *viz.*

First, In the Time when Divine Service, and Publick
 Worship is to be perform'd.

Secondly, In the Divine Service itself, which is to be
 perform'd.

Thirdly, In the Rites and Ceremonies perform'd in Di-
 vine Service and Worship.

First, As to the Times of Worship, their *Breviary* and *Kalendar* divide the Year into *Feasts, Vigils, Fasts* and *Working-Days*: So do we take ours directly from them, dividing our *Kalendar* by theirs, both as to *Feasts, Vigils, Fasts* and *Working-Days*. It's true, they have more than we, but all ours are found in theirs, and tak'n from them, as our *Ritual* makes manifest. For Instance:

1st. As to the Times of Worship.

1. Their *Feasts* are divided into *Movables* and *Fixed*: So are ours. Their *Movable-Feasts* and *Holy-Days* are

1. Their *Easter-Day*, on which the rest depend, is always the first *Sunday* after the first full *Moon*, which happens next after the 21st of *March*; and if the full *Moon* happens upon a *Sunday*, *Easter-Day* is the *Sunday* after, with a *Vigil* before: So ours from them expressly.

2. Their *Advent-Sunday* is always the nearest *Sunday* to the *Feast* of *St. Andrew*, whether before or after, and to four *Sundays* after: So ours directly.

3. Their *Septuagesima Sunday*, 9

4. Their *Sexagesima Sunday*, 8 } Weeks before *Easter*:

5. Their *Quinquagesima-Sund.* 7 } So ours.

6. Their *Quadragesima Sunday* 6

7. Their *Rogation-Sunday*, 5 Weeks

8. Their *Ascension-Day* is 40 Days } after *Easter*

9. Their *Whitsunday*, with a *Vigil*, 7 Weeks } So ours.

10. Their *Trinity-Sunday* is 8 Weeks

And 24 *Sundays* after *Trinity*.

2. Their *Fixed Feasts* are as follow, viz.

1. The *Circumcision* of our *Lord Jesus Christ*, the first of *January*. Fixed Feasts.

2. The *Epiphany*, 6 *January*.

3. Their *Conversion* of *St. Paul*, 25 *January*.

4. Their *Purification* of the *Blessed Virgin*, with a *Vigil*, 2 *February*.

5. Their

40 De Laune's Plea for the Non-Conformists.

5. Their St. *Mathias*, 24 Feb. with a *Vigil* before it.
 6. Their Annunciation of the Virgin, 25 March & *Vigil*.
 7. Their St. *Mark*, 25 April.
 8. Their St. *Philip* and *Jacob*, 1 May.
 9. Their St. *Barnabas*, 11 June.
 10. Their Nativity of St. *John Baptist*, 24 June and *Vigil*.
 11. Their St. *Peter*, the 29 June and *Vigil*.
 12. Their St. *James*, the 25 July and *Vigil*.
 13. Their St. *Bartholomew*, 24 August and *Vigil*.
 14. Their St. *Matthew*, 21 September and *Vigil*.
 15. Their St. *Michael*, 29 Sept. { So ours; to which we }
 { add, and all Angels. -- }
 16. Their St. *Luke*, 18 October and *Vigil*.
 17. Their St. *Simon* and *Jude*, 28 October and *Vigil*.
 18. Their *All-Saints*, 1 November and *Vigil*.
 19. Their St. *Andrew*, 30 November and *Vigil*.
 20. Their St. *Thomas*, 21 December and *Vigil*.
 21. Their Nativity of our Lord, 25 December and *Vigil*.
 22. Their St. *Stephen*, 26 December.
 23. Their St. *John* the Evangelist, 27 December.
 24. Their St. *Innocents*, 28 December.
 25. Their *Monday* and *Tuesday* in *Easter-Week*.
 26. Their *Monday* and *Tuesday* in *Whitsun-Week*.
- So are ours directly.

Their Days of Fasting.

1. Their Forty Days of *Lent*. 5.
2. Their *Ember-Days*, at the four Seasons, *Fasting-Days*. being *Wednesday*, *Friday*, *Saturday*, after the first *Sunday* in *Lent*, the Feast of *Pentecost*, *September* 14, and *December* 13.
3. Their Three *Rogation-Days*, being the *Mondays*, *Tuesdays* and *Wednesdays* before Holy *Thursday*, or the *Ascension* of our Lord.
4. And all the *Fridays* in the Year. So are ours in like Manner.

Thus do we symbolize expressly, or rather take them for our Ritual and Pattern, as to the Times of Worship,
ours

ours being but a Transcript of theirs, and which they practis'd so many hundred Years before us. And of all which, not one Word of Direction in all the New Testament. If it be said, *Who hath requir'd all these Feasts, Fasts, Holy-Days, &c. at our Hands?* Must we not say, our Sovereign Lord, *the Pope*, who Ordain'd all this Service for us, to the Denying the Sovereignty of Christ, as tho' he was not the only Law-giver, being wiser than what is written.

If we must keep Holy-Days for all the Apostles, and the other Saints of the Pope's making, why not for the *Patriarchs* and *Prophets*? Why not for St. *Enoch*, St. *Seth*, St. *Noah*, St. *Abraham*, St. *Lot*, St. *Moses*, St. *Job*, St. *David*, St. *Samuel*, St. *Esay*, St. *Jeremy*, &c.?

Secondly, In the Divine Service itself, which is to be perform'd at the prefixed Times aforesaid: Which they have divided into *Mattins* and *Evensongs*; and so we, after their Example, and appropriated to the particular *Feasts, Fasts, V.gils, Offices of Baptism, Supper, Marriage, Burial, Confirmation, Visitation of the Sick, Churching of Women, &c.* So we directly.

21. As to the Divine Service itself.

The Substance or Matter of their Divine Service consists in *Collets*, or *Short Prayers, Confessions, Absolutions, Prescript Lessons of Psalms, Epistles, Gospels, Prophets, Apocrypha, Litanies, Anthems, or Canticles, and Comminations* appropriated to the several Offices aforesaid. All which is the Substance or Matter of our Divine Service, in all Parts of it appropriated and apply'd to the several and respective Offices aforesaid. It's true, there may be some Variation in the *Collets* and *Lessons, Litanies* and *Anthems*, tho' many times the very same Word for Word, and to the Days and Occasions they appointed them. These six *Canticles* are Word for Word from the *Mass-Book*; viz. 1. *Benedicite omnia opera.* 2. *Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel.* 3. *Magnificat anima mea.* 4. *Nunc dimittis.* 5. *Quicumque vult.* 6. *Te Deum laudamus*, with *Gloria Patri*, as they have directed to be repeated often, and and after every Psalm; and *Gloria in excelsis*, and *Pater noster*

noster is to be often repeated in every Office and Exercise.

Thirdly, In Rites and Ceremonies.

Do they kneel at *Confession* and *Absolution*? So we.

Do they repeat the *Pater noster*, kneeling, after the Priest? So we.

Do they stand at *Gloria Patri*? So we.

Do they stand up and repeat the *Apostle's Creed*? So we.

Do they repeat after the Minister the *Kyrieelyson, Christeclyson*, kneeling? So we.

Do they on the Reading or Singing *Quicumque vult*, or *Athanasius Creed*, stand? So we.

Do they on Saying or Singing *Letanies*, make *Response* by the People? So we.

Do they kneel at the Altar when they partake of the *Eucharist*, or *Lord's Supper*? So we.

Do they on the Rehearsal of the *Ten Commandments*, kneel, asking Mercy and Grace after every Command? So we.

Do the Priest and People read the *Psalms* alternately, *Verse by Verse*? So we.

Do they sit at Reading the *Lessons*? So we.

Do they uncover themselves in the Churches? So we.

Do they sing *Anthems*, and *Canticles*, and *Psalms* and *Prayers* with *Musick*, Vocal and Instrumental; as *Organs*, *Flutes*, *Viols*, &c.? So we in our Cathedrals.

Do they bow to the *East*, and Name of *Jesus*? So we. Of all which not one Word in all the New Testament.

Fourthly, Is there not a Symbolizing with Popeny in the Places of Worship?

4thly. As to the Places of Worship.

The Places of our Worship are either such as were built, and consecrated by the *Papists*, which we took from them, retaining the *Saints Names* they were dedicated to, as *St. Mary*, *St. Peter*, *St. Paul*, *All-Saints*, or such Places as we have built by their Example, posited *East* and *West*; Consecrated and Dedicated to some Saint or Angel, and which we take to be more Holy than any other Place, as they did and give great Reverence by Uncovering the Head, and

Bend

Bending the Knee, and upon Entrance into it, Bowing to the East and Altar plac'd therein: And keep the Annual Feast of *Dedication, Wake, or Paganalia*, as the *Papists* and the *Heathen* before them did. Of all which, not one Word in all the New Testament.

Fifthly, Do we not also symbolize with them in the Priesthood, who are principally to minister in those Places of Worship?

Have they *Superior Priests*, viz. *Bishops* and *Arch-Bishops*, in the room of the *Heathen Flamins* and *Arch-Flamins* for Sacerdotal Service in Provinces and Diocesses? So have we.

Have they *Inferior Priests*, distinguish'd by Dignities, Names and Services; as *Deans, Chapters, Prebends, Arch-Deacons*, to minister in Cathedrals; and *Parsons, Vicars* and *Curates* to officiate in Parishes? So we.

Have they proper, distinguishing Habits for their Clergy, and particular Vestments for their holy Ministrations; as *Albs, Surplices, Chasubles, Amicts, Gowns, Copes, Maniples, Zones, &c?* So we. Of all which, not one Word in all the New-Testament.

That we do symbolize with them in the Ordination of the *Priesthood*, take a brief Parallel of the Pontificials, viz. the *Romish* and the *English*.

Romish Pontifical.

English Pontifical.

4. Ordination. 1. *T*'Empora Ordinationum sunt, &c. The Times of Ordination are the Sabbaths, in omnibus quatuor temporibus, Rom. Pontif. de Ordinibus conferendus.

2. Ordinationes sacrorum Ordinum, The Ordination of holy Orders shall be in the Times appointed, and in the Cathedral Church, with the Canons of the said Church being present there-

1. *W*E declare, That no Deacons, or Ministers be Ordain'd, but only upon the Sundays immediately following *sejunus quatuor temporum*, commonly call'd *Ember-Weeks*, Constir. & Can. Eccl Can. 31.

2. And this be done in the Cathedral or Parish-Church, where the Bishop resideth, and in the Time of Divine Service, in the Presence not only of the Arch-Deacon, but of the Dean.

*Romish Pontifical.**English Pontifical.*

at, shall be publickly celebrated in the Time of Divine Service. *Ibid.*

2. They are taken to the Order of Presbyters, who have continu'd in the Office of a Deacon at least an whole Year, except for the Profit and Necessity of the Church, it shall otherwise seem good unto the Bishop. *Ibid.*

4. *Episcopus autem Sacerdotibus.* But the Bishop, Priests being adjoyn'd to him, and other prudent Men, skilful in the *Divine Law*, and exercis'd in Ecclesiastical Functions, shall diligently examine the Person's Age — of him that is to be ordain'd.

5. *Nullus ad Ordinem* — None shall be admitted to the Order of a Deacon before he be 23 Years old, nor to the Order of Presbytery before the 25th Year of his Age.

6. *Archidiaconus offerens* — The Arch-Deacon presenting those who are to be promoted to the Order of Deacons (each of them being decently habited) unto the Bishop, sitting in his Seat before the Altar, saith, *Reverend Father* —

7. The Bishop shall ask, Do you know them to be worthy? The Arch-Deacon shall answer, As much as humane Frailty suffers me to know, I know and testify that they are worthy.

8. The Bishop shall speak to the Clergy and People, If any one hath ought against these Persons, let him come forth, and with Confidence, speak for God, and before God.

9. Lastly, The Bishop takes and

3. And here it must be declar'd unto the Deacon, that he must continue in that Office the space of an whole Year, except for reasonable Causes it shall otherwise seem good unto the Bishop. The Book of *Ordering Priests and Deacons.*

4. The Bishop, before he admit any Person to Holy Orders, shall diligently examine him in the Presence of those Ministers, that assist him at the Imposition of Hands, *Can. 35.*

5. None shall be admitted a Deacon, except he be 23 Years of Age, and every Man which is admitted a Priest shall be full 24 Years old: *The Preface to the Manner and Form of making Priests and Deacons.*

6. The Arch-Deacon, or his Deputy, shall present unto the Bishop (sitting in his Chair, near to the Holy Table) such as desire to be ordained Deacons (each of them being decently habited) saying these Words, *Reverend Father* —

7. The Bishop shall say — Take heed that the Persons whom you present unto us be apt and meet for their Learning — The Arch-Deacon shall answer, I have enquir'd of them, and also examin'd them, and think them so to be.

8. Then the Bishop shall say to the People — Brethren, if there be any of you who knoweth any Impediment or Notable Crime in any of these Persons, let him come forth in the Name of God, and shew what it is.

9. Then the Bishop shall deliver

Romish Pontifical.

and delivers to them all the Book of the Gospel, saying, Receive the Power of Reading the Gospel in the Church of God.

10. The Bishop shall say, the Ministers and Chaplains answering, Lord have Mercy upon us; O God, the Father of Heav'n, have Mercy upon us; O God, the Son, Redeemer of the World, have Mercy upon us; that it may please thee to bless, sanctify, and consecrate these Elect. R. We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.

11. They sing one and the same Hymn, only the one is in *Latin*, the other in *English*.

*Veni Creator Spiritus,
Mentes tuarum visita, &c.*

12. The Bishop shall lay his Hands severally upon the Head of each of them, kneeling upon their Knees before him, saying to every one, Receive the Holy Ghost, whose Sins thou dost forgive, they are forgiv'n; and whose Sins thou dost retain, they are retained.

13. The Peace of God be always with you; the Blessing of God Almighty, the Father, Son and Holy Ghost descend upon you.

Of all which Progress, not one Word in all the New Testament.

AND as a further Confirmation of our symbolizing with *Poperly* in our Rites and Service, take a few instances.

First, That the *Papists* not only so long approv'd our *Liturgy*, and kept their Communion in our Church in that

English Pontifical.

liver to every one of them the New-Testament, saying, Take thee Authority to read the Gospel in the Church of God.

10. The Bishop with the Clergy and People, shall sing or say the *Letany*; O God, the Father, of Heaven have Mercy on us miserable Sinners; O God, the Son, Redeemer of the World, have Mercy on us; that it may please thee to bless these thy Servants. *Respon.* We beseech thee to hear us good Lord.

*Come Holy Ghost, our Souls inspire,
And enlighten with Celestial Fire.*

12. The Bishop shall lay his Hands severally upon the Heads of every one that receives the Order of Priesthood, the Receivers humbly kneeling upon their Knees, and the Bishop saying, Receive the Holy Ghost; whose Sins thou dost forgive, they are forgiv'n; and whose Sins thou dost retain, they are retain'd.

13. The Peace of God—And the Blessing of God Almighty, the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, be amongst you, and remain with you always.

that Worship, as before remark'd from Dr. Moore; but but also, that the Popes themselves have offer'd to confirm the same, as Dr. Morton's Appeal discovers, and that Pope Pius IV, and Gregory XIII, offer'd to Queen Elizabeth to confirm the English Liturgy, as Cambden in the Life of Queen Elizabeth testifies. Dr.

Explic. Quest.
Illustr. 4. p. 46.
and 112.

Boys produceth the Pope's Letter, and Bristow's Approbation in his 39th Motive.

And that the Jesuit Dr. Carrier saith,
 ' That the Common-Prayer and Catechism contain no-
 ' thing contrary to the Romish Service. Mountague as-
 ' serts, that our Service is the same in most things
 ' with the Church of Rome, and that the Differences are
 ' not so great, that we should make any Separation.

Two famous Instances more we have men-
 Com.Prayer- tion'd in a Book call'd, *The Common-Prayer-*
 unmask'd. p. 9. *Book Un-mask'd*, p. 9. ' One of a Jesuit, who

' coming not many Years since to the Ser-
 ' vice at Paul's, declar'd he lik'd it exceeding well; nei-
 ' ther had he any Exception to it, but that it was not
 ' done by their Priests.

' The other that upon the Pope's Bull that interdicted
 ' Queen Elizabeth, Secretary Walsingham procur'd two
 ' Persons to come into England from the Pope, to whom
 ' he shew'd the London and Canterbury Service (in their
 ' Cathedrals) in all the Pomp of it; who thereupon de-
 ' clar'd, that they wonder'd the Pope should be so ill in-
 ' form'd and advis'd to interdict a Prince, whose Service
 ' and Ceremonies so symboliz'd with his own; and there-
 ' fore returning to Rome, they possess'd the Pope, that
 ' they saw no Service, Ceremonies, or Orders in England,
 ' but might very well serve in Rome; whereupon the Bull
 ' was recall'd.

As to the taking of Collects out of the
 Objection 4. *Mass-Book*, 'tis said by the Resoluer, p. 43.

That if those Prayers are good, which he affirms
 to be very good; then such a Symbolizing (he saith) cannot
 make them bad.

To which it is reply'd, That the Goodness or Badness of Worship and Service, as *Answer.* to the Matter and Form, is to be measur'd not by our Fancies, but the Rule of God's Word : But we do not find any such Pattern of Shreds of Prayers or Collects, to be said or sung, tho' such Things Pope Gregory found in the Ritual of *Numa Pompilius*, which were said or sung in their Processions to their Gods. The *Alcayon*, *Talmud* and *Apocrypha* may have, as we suppose, good Things in them, as well as the *Pagan* and *Papal* Mass-Books ; must we, therefore, put them into our Prayers ?

Therefore, this kind of Collecting, we must, by his Favour, judge bad, because not to be found in Christ's, but in the *Heathen* and *Antichristian* Plat-form, and as not being of Divine, but meer human Invention ; and, therefore, having been abus'd to Idolatry, ought to be rejected by us, because we are commanded not to take off the *Babylonish* Materials ; *A Corner, not a Foundation-Stone*, Jer. 51. 26. Nor to make such a *Lindsy-Woolsey* Medley in God's Worship, Lev. 19. 19. Nor to swear by the Lord and by *Malchim*, Zeph. 15. being requir'd to take heed to ourselves, that we be not ensnar'd, and that we do not enquire, saying, *How did these Nations serve their Gods ? even so will we do likewise : We are commanded not to do so unto the Lord our God But that whatsoever God commands, that we are to observe and do, not adding thereto, or diminishing therefrom.* Dent. 12. 30, &c.

The Learned *Macovius*, on Lev. 19. 19. saith, ' That the sacred Rites of Idolators, tho' they be Things in themselves indifferent, are not to be retain'd, because all Conformity with Idolators is to avoided ; as also saith *Zanchy*, *Junius*, *Calvin*, *Beza*, *Mollerus*, *Danaus*, yea, *Lyra*, tho' a *Papist*.

But what do you say to the Lord's-Prayer ? *Objection.* Must we forbear that too, because we find it in their Mass-Book, tho' so positively enjoyn'd by Christ to use it, who bids us expressly, Luke 11. 2. that when we pray, we should say, *Our Father, &c.* Therefore whoever will pray it, or neglect it ; we must pray that very Set-form of Prayer, in those very Words, when we pray. To

To which we say, That it is a great Mistake, to suppose, that Christ hereby in this Scripture, has appointed this to be a Set-Form to be pray'd by all in these prescript Words, when we pray unto God; for then it would be unlawful to use any other Words than these herein express'd in our Prayers; and that the Disciples and Apostles sinned in using other Words in those their Prayers we read of in Scripture; and so the Church of *England* in forming so many Collects and Prayers.

Answer.

Secondly, The Church of *Rome* and *England* also are great Transgressors, to presume to vary from Christ's Precept, in Altering or Adding to the Form of Words express'd by Christ in *Luke 11.* for so they have done --- they say, *Forgive us our Trespases, as we forgive them who trespass against us*; when there are no such Words in Christ's Prayer: His Words are, *Forgive us our Sins* (or *Debts, ὀφειλήματα*) for we also forgive every one that is indebted to us. And add also the Doxology, which is not in this Prayer, *Luke 11.* But you'll say, as to the Doxology, it is express'd by Christ, at the End of the same Prayer in his Sermon on the Mount, *Matth. 6.* It is very true, it is so, where he delivers this Prayer not as a set-Form, but a Pattern of Prayer, AFTER THIS MANNER PRAY YE, *ἕως, to this purpose*; and which is an Explanation of what he says, *Luke 11. 2.* when you pray, say, *Our Father*; that is, after this Manner; and which only can be a Warrant to the Church of *England*, or any other, to make such Alterations; Christ no more intending to tie the Disciple, who desir'd to be instructed how to pray to this Form of Words, nor any other Disciple, than he did the twelve Disciples, when he sent them out to preach with this Word of Command, *Mat. 10. 7. Preach, saying, the Kingdom of Heav'n is at hand*; that they should thereby be ty'd to those very Words in their Preaching (and preach nothing else): But as this was giv'n as a Text or Theme to preach by, so the other to pray by. The Disciple, who proposes the Question, *ver. 1.* desires that they might be taught to pray, as *John* taught his Disciples; but such a

Set-

Set-Form of Prayer we find not, that *John* in his Teachings gave to his Disciples; neither do we find, that any of *Christ's* Disciples, or Apostles, did pray this very Prayer; to which our Expositors do agree.

Grotius saith on *Luke* 11. 2. That *Christ* herein teacheth us a Compendium of those things we are to pray for: At that Time they were not bound to the Use of so many Words and Syllables. As also *Tertullian*, *Cyprian*, *Musculus*, *Cornelius A Lapide*; and *Austin* himself saith, *Liberum est*, It is free for us to ask the same things in the Lord's-Prayer, *Aliis, atque aliis Verbis*, sometimes one way, sometimes another.

Do's not *Paul* tell us exprelly, *He knew not What to pray for, but as the Spirit gave him Utterance*? *Rom.* 8. But he did know what to pray for, if this was to be his prescript Form.

Tertullian saith, They pray'd, *sine Monitore*, without a Monitor [or *Common-Prayer-Book*]. And *Socrates* tells us, That among all the Christians of that Age, scarce two were to be found that us'd the same Words in Prayer.

Chrysostom on *Rom.* 8. *Homil.* 14. saith, *With other Gifts they had the Gift of Prayer, which was also call'd, the Spirit; and he who had this Gift, did pray for the whole Multitude, for what was expedient unto the Church; and also did instruct others to pray.*

And tho' we find neither *Christ*, nor his Apostles, impos'd this, nor any other Form of Prayer to be us'd by us, (but that we pray in the Spirit, and praise in the Spirit, and that God being a Spirit, seeketh and accepteth such Worshippers) yet we find the Popes and their Councils imposing this, and other *Liturgical Forms*.

The Council of *Toledo*, *Anno* 618, decreed in the 9th Canon, *That every Day, both in Publick and Private Worship, none of the Clergy omit the Lord's-Prayer, under Pain of Deposition; since (say they) Christ hath prescribed this, saying, When you pray, say, Our Father, &c.* And how formally and carnally, if not idolatrously, has the *Pater-Noster* been mutter'd over by the superstitious *Papists*, ever since?

And may we not enquire, whether in the following

Particulars, we do not symbolize with the *Romish* Worship herein?

First, By Enjoyning and Imposing this as a *Set-Form*, as they do, without the Sanction of any sacred Text to warrant our so doing.

Secondly, By an often Repetition of the same Form in the same Exercise, three or four Times at least, inso-much that in Cathedral Services, it is said or sung, ten or twelve Times a Day, contrary to Christ's express Words, viz, *That when we pray, we should not make vain Repetitions, as the Heathen do; for they think they shall be heard for their much Speaking*, Mat. 6. 7.

Thirdly, By Enjoyning the whole Congregation, both Men and Women, to repeat the same after the Priest, tho' no such Direction by Christ; nay, he forbids Women to pray or prophesy in the Church, 1 Cor. 14. 34. &c.

Fourthly, In Singing this Prayer in Cathedrals, by Responses of Priest and People with Musick, without the least Divine Authority for such *Sing-Praying*.

The *Resolver* goes on, p. 43, *Our Brethren*,
 Objection. [surely] will allow of Reading the Scriptures, as they do, viz. Epistles, Gospels, Psalms.

Answer. To which we say, We do surely allow of Reading the Scriptures, but not as they do; especially in those Epistles, Gospels and Psalms, which are given us in the Liturgy, for the following Reasons:

First, Because the Epistles, Gospels and Psalms in the *Service-Book* are mis-translated, being taken from the corrupt *Vulgar Latin-Bible*, which is so extream faulty, and so much complain'd of by the Learned, both *Protestants*, and others.

Secondly, Because what they call Epistles and Gospels, are so curtail'd and mangled, that they become quite another thing than the Evangelists intended in the Gospels, or the Apostles in their Epistles, altogether ruining the Scope and Connexion in divers Places, as may be instanc'd in numerous Particulars, if Need were.

Thirdly, Because they have been the Invention of the *Popes*, who have so adulterated Christ's pure Worship and Service,

Service, to patch up their Idolatrous *Mass-Service*, which *Gregory* (called) *the Great*, compleated, as before; fixing and appropriating the Epistles, Gospels and Psalms to the Mattins and Even-Songs, throughout the Year, as the *Romish* Kalendar, whose Copy ('tis suspected) we imitate, writes after.

Fourthly, That whilst it is suppos'd, we may be instructed in the Lessons order'd to be read on the (so called) *Sun-Days* and *Holy-Days*, thro' the whole Bible, they have omitted so much of the Canonical Scriptures, as the greatest Part of *Leviticus*, *Ruth*, *Chronicles*, *Nehemiah*, *Esther*, *Canticles*, *Lamentations*, *Amos*, *Obadiah*, *Jonah*, *Nahum*, *Zephaniah*, *Haggai*, the second Epistle to the *Thessalonians*, the second and third of *John*, and most Part of the *Revelations*; instead of which, several Parts of *Apocryphal* Writings are read, which are esteemed by the Learned, to be fabulous, and favouring of the too much adored Vanities of *Gentilism*.

Fifthly, Because they have omitted all the Original Titles or Inscriptions of the Psalms, which are Part of the Holy Scriptures, which have so great a Tendency to unfold the Mysteries in the Psalms, and instead of them retain the *Popish Latin* Titles, printed over our *English* Psalms.

Sixthly, Because of those Additions which were made to the Scriptures therein, as to the 14th *Psalms*, three whole Verses which are not in any of the Original Copies; and *Gloria Patri* to the Conclusion of several Psalms, ordering it to be said at the reading of every Psalm, contrary to *Deut.* 4. 2. *Prov.* 30. 6. *Rev.* 22. 18.

Seventhly, Because the Epistles and Gospels are order'd to be sung as well as said, without the least Warrant or Direction from the Scriptures.

Eighthly, Because it is order'd in the *Rubrick*, to sit at the Reading of the Epistles, and to stand up, to bow and scrape, and respond at the Gospel, without any Warrant or Direction from the Scriptures.

Ninthly, Because of the disorderly Chopping and Interchanging of Scriptures, by Way of Colloquy, betwixt

the Priest and People, viz. *The Lord be with thee*, must the Priest say: *And with thy Spirit*, must the People say: *Open our Lips*, must the Priest say: *And let our Mouths shew forth thy Praise*, must the People say. And bandying so often the *Kyricieleison* and *Christeeleison*, *Lord have Mercy upon us*, *Christ have Mercy upon us*, betwixt Priest and People: For which no Rule of Direction from God's Word, but expressly found in the *Mass-Book*.

How faulty the *Liturgy* appear'd in many of these things, to many Learned *Episcopal Divines*, is manifest by that Paper, which was drawn up *Anno 1641*. touching *Innovations* in the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of *England*, together with Considerations upon the *Common Prayer*; and subscribed by Arch-Bishop *Usher*, Dr. *Williams*, Bishop of *Lincoln*, Dr. *Prideaux*, after Bishop of *Worcester*, Dr. *Browning*, after Bishop of *Exeter*, Dr. *Hacket*, afterwards Bishop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, Dr. *Ward*, Dr. *Featly*, &c. and presented to the then Parliament; wherein they give 35 Exceptions against several Things in the *Liturgy*. And amongst others, against the corrupt Translation of the Epistles, and Gospels, and Psalms; against the *Apocrypha* enjoyn'd to be read in the Lessons; against Singing of Service; against adding *Gloria Patri* to the Psalms; against the Hymns taken out of the *Mass-Book*, viz. *Benedicite omnia opera*, &c. against Priests Vestments, enjoyn'd as were us'd, 2 *Eam.* 6. against the Sign of the Cross in Baptism, which was heretofore its Concomitant afore they went always together; against Prohibiting Times of Marriage, &c.

Another *Objection* which should have been spoken to before, and which we here add, is this; viz.

Objection. That it may well be suppos'd, that the Non-Conformists are very numerous in their groundless and unnecessary Scruples, whilst they are offended with the Church, for that her Ancient and Reverend Practice of Bowing at the Name of Jesus, enjoyn'd in the 18th Canon; and for which they have that positive Direction and Command, *Phil.* 2. 10. to warrant it.

It is very true, they are, indeed, offended at that Piece (as they conceive) of voluntary Humility and Will-Worship, because there is no more Ground for Bowing at the Mentioning of that Name, either from that or any other Scripture, than for Crossing ourselves when that Name is named.

Answer.

For, *First*, If it be a Command (as supposed) universally to bow at the Mentioning those Syllables, and that Name *Jesus*, then are all both in Heav'n, Earth, and under the Earth, Men, Angels and Devils obliged thereto, whenever that Name is mention'd; be it either by a wicked Man's blasphemously swearing by it, or a drunken Priest's prophanely muttering it, or the mentioning *Jesus* the Son of *Syrach*, or *Bar-Jesus*, the Conjuror.

And, *Secondly*, If the supposed Command must be understood, to relate to the Naming the Name of our *Blessed Redeemer*; it must then be consider'd which of his Names must be meant, because he has many Names in Scripture, as *Christ*, *Immanuel*, *Jehovah*, *Wonderful*, *the Everlasting Father*, *Saviour*, *Redeemer*, *Son of God*, *Prince of Peace*, *King of Kings*, *Lord of Lords*, &c. And of which being much more properly to be understood here, than this of *Jesus*; because it is at the Name of *Jesus*, viz. some Name of his, and not the Name *Jesus*, that is to be bowed to.

Thirdly, Neither can that Name be suppos'd to be meant here, because it relates to a Name the Father gave him after his Death, Suffering and Exaltation, as the Words make manifest; and therefore, not that Name *Jesus*, which was giv'n him at his Circumcision, before his said Suffering and Exaltation.

Neither, *Fourthly*, Can this Sense be admitted as a Literal Command, that all must bow the Knee at that Name, because at the same time, all and every One, which make that Reverence with the Knee, are enjoyn'd with their Mouths, to declare that he is the *Lord*, to the *Glory of God the Father*, for they are joyn'd together, and why is not one perform'd as well as the other?

There-

Therefore, *Fifthly*, It does necessarily respect another Thing, than Reverencing the Syllables of a Name, *viz.* that Power, Authority and Sovereignty, which the Father gave him in Glory, as a Reward of his Suffering, which he himself declar'd after his Resurrection, *Mat.* 28. *That all Power was giv'n him in Heav'n and Earth*, *Eph.* 28. This Bowing in the Name of Christ in this Place, being by the Prophet, *Isa.* 45. 23, 24. explained a Subjection of all to the universal Authority that he shall exercise: *Name* often signifying *Power* in Scripture, *Deut.* 26. 19. *Gen.* 6. 4. *Psalms* 44. 5, 20. & 20. 1, 7. And therefore, is this very Subjection mention'd in the Text of an universal Bowing the Knee to his Authority, refer'd to the Judgment-Day, when all, both *Men*, *Angels* and *Devils* must be subject to him, *Rom.* 14. 11. And it is observable, that the Words are *ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ*, *IN the Name*, not *at the Name of Jesus*; *viz.* In his *Power* and *Authority*, being not a Command, but a Prophecy when it shall be fulfill'd and accomplish'd; when there shall be that universal Subjection to the Sovereignty of Christ, *That every Tongue shall confess, that he is Lord, to the Glory of God the Father*; as the after Words mention: And which shall be, when he shall exert that Power that is inherent in him, to *subject all Nations* to his Authority; when he *takes to himself his great Power, and reigns*; when the *Kingdoms of this World shall become the Kingdoms of our Lord*; when upon his Vesture and his Thigh shall a Name be written, *KING of Kings, and LORD of Lords*; and when *all shall be gather'd before him in the Judgment-Day*; which I conceive, is the true genuine Sense and Meaning of these Words, and no such Thing as a superstitious Bowing at the Syllables of that Name, intended; which has been so universally practis'd, and enjoyned, to the just Offence of the Conscientious, who have not an implicit Faith to believe as the Church believes.

Imposition and Persecution. *Fifthly*, Their Symbolizing with Popery, in Impositions and Persecutions of *Dissenters*.

Have, and do the *Papists* violently impose their Rites,
Ser-

Services and Ceremonies, and cruelly persecute and persecute the *Dissenters* by *Confiscations*, *Imprisonments* and *Death itself*? Do not we by our *Sanguinary Laws* and Executions of them, do the very same; and whereof not one Word of Warrant in all the New Testament? And how agreeable such a Practice is to the Lamb-like Nature of Christ, and his Disciples and Followers, as also the Doctrines and Sentiments of many of your own Worthies, as well as the Suffrage of several of our Kings and Parliaments, judge you.

And whereof I beg Leave to give you the following Instances, (*viz.*) we shall begin with the famous *Jewell*, who notes it out of *Chrysostom*, *Homil.* on *Mat.* 19. 'Do's the Sheep ever persecute

Bishop Jewell's
Apol. p. 543.

' the Wolf; no, but the Wolf the Sheep;
' so *Cain* persecuted *Abel*, not *Abel*, *Cain*; so *Ishmael*
' persecuted *Isaac*, not *Isaac*, *Ishmael*; so the *Jews*, *Christ*,
' not *Christ*, the *Jews*; so *Hereticks*, the *Christians*, not
' *Christians*, *Hereticks*; whereby (*saith Jewell*) he plainly
' implies, That Persecution for Conscience-sake is a very
' Unchristian, or ANTICHRISTIAN Symptom".
And smartly again in the same *Homily* ----- ' He that is a
' Persecutor is no Sheep of Christ's, but a Wolf; which
' (*saith he*) should make any Man afraid to feel any per-
' secuting Motion arise in his Breast, as being Indicati-
' ons of a *Cainish*, *Ishmaelitish*, and *Wolfish Nature*, and a
' certain Sign that he is none of the Sheep of Christ.

The Learned *Dr. Moore*, in his Preface to the *Mystery of Godliness*, hath many plain and pertinent Passages to this Point, asserting ' That it is an Anti-
' christian Use of Church-Government, to *Dr. Moore.*
' direct it to the Upholding of useless or
' mischievous Opinions, scandalous Ceremonies and en-
' snaring Inventions of Men. And what is it (*saith he*)
' but a Notorious *Specimen* of Pride, thus to force others
' to acknowledge, by making them profess to be of their
' Opinion; And what but Injustice and barbarous Cruel-
' ty, to afflict Men for what they cannot help, and in
' what they do not sin? And what but plain Rebellion
' against

against God, to wrest his Scepter out of his Hand, by which he ruleth in the Consciences of Men, and to usurp his Empire to themselves? And again, lastly, (saith he) A mutual Agreement in bearing with one another's Dissents, in the Non-Fundamentals of Religion, is really a greater Ornament of Christianity, than the most exact Uniformity imaginable, in being an eminent Exercise of Charity, the Flower of all Christian Graces, and the best Way, I think, at the long-run, to make the Church as uniform as can justly be desir'd. Thus far the Doctor.

To this Purpose also the great *Chillingworth* in his 4th Chapter, Sect. 16. speaks thus: ‘ This pre-
 Mr. *Chillingworth*. ‘ sumptuous Imposing of the Senses of Man
 ‘ on the general Words of God, and laying
 ‘ them on Mens Consciences together, under the equal
 ‘ Penalty of Death and Damnation; This vain Conceit,
 ‘ that we can speak of the Things of God, better than in
 ‘ the Words of God; This Deifying our own Interpretations,
 ‘ and tyrannous Inforcing them on others; This
 ‘ Restraining of the Word of God from that Latitude and
 ‘ Generality, and the Understandings of Men from that
 ‘ Liberty, wherein Christ and his Apostles left them, is,
 ‘ and hath been the only Foundation of all the Schisms
 ‘ of the Church, and that which makes them immortal,
 ‘ the common Incendiary of *Christendom*, and that which
 ‘ tears in Pieces, not the Coat, but the Bowels and Mem-
 ‘ bers of Christ, *Ridente Turca, nec dolente Judaeu*: Take
 ‘ away these Walls of Separation, and all will quickly be
 ‘ one; take away this persecuting, burning, cursing, and
 ‘ damning of Men, for not subscribing to them as the
 ‘ Words of God; let those leave claiming Infallibility,
 ‘ who have no Title to it; and let them who in Words
 ‘ disclaim it, disclaim it also in their Actions: In a
 ‘ Word, Take away *Tyranny*, which is the Devil's Instru-
 ‘ ment to support Errors, Superstitions, and Impieties in
 ‘ the several Parts of the World, which could not other-
 ‘ wise, long withstand the Power of Truth; I say, Take
 ‘ away *Tyranny*, and restore the *Christians* to their just
 ‘ and

and full Liberty of Captivating their Understandings to Scripture only, and as Rivers, when they have a free Passage, run all to the Ocean; so it may well be hop'd by God's Blessing, that Universal Liberty thus moderated, may quickly reduce *Christendom* to Peace and Unity. These Thoughts of Peace, *saieth he*, I am perswaded, come from the God of Peace, and to his Blessing I commend them.

This Book of Mr. *Chillingworth's* was Licens'd by *R. Bayly*, Vicc-Chancellor of *Oxford*, Dr. *Prideaux*, Reg. Profess. Dr. *Fell*, and Dr. *Stradling*.

And Dr. *Stillingfleet*, most excellently in his *Irenicum*, to the same purpose, tells us in the *Preface*, 'That Christ, who came to

take away the insupportable Yoak of the *Jewish* Ceremonies, certainly did never intend to gall the Necks of the Disciples with another instead of it; and it would be strange, the Church would require more than Christ himself did, and make more Conditions of Communion than our Saviour did of Disciple-ship.

The Grand Commission the Apostles were sent out with, was only to teach what Christ had commanded them, not the least Intimation of any Power giv'n them, to impose or require any Thing beyond what he himself had spoken to them, or they were directed to by the immediate Guidance of the Spirit of God: And again declares thus, 'That without Controversy the main of all the Distractions, Confusions, and Divisions of the Christian World, hath been by Adding other Conditions of Church Communion than Christ hath done.

And speaking of the grand Reason our first Compilers of the *Common Prayer* had, in taking in so much of the *Papish* Service, which was to gain over the *Papists* to 'em, desires that their Charity therein to the *Papists*, may not be a Breach of Charity to the *Protestants*: His Words are these,

'And, certainly, these holy Men, who did seek by any Means to draw in others, at such a Distance from

' their Principles as the *Papists* were, did never intend,
 ' by what they did for that End, to Exclude any Truly-
 ' Tender Consciences from their Communion; That
 ' which they laid as a Bait for them, was never intended
 ' by them as a Hook for those of their own Profession.

Dr. Taylor. Dr. Taylor in his *Ductor Dubitantium* tells us wittily, that for a Trifling Cause to cut off a Man (which our Lay-Chancellors so familiarly do) from the Communion of the Church, is to do as the Man in the Fable, espying a Fly upon his Neighbour's Forehead, went to beat it off with an Hatchet, and so struck out his Brains.

Dr. Tillotson. Dr. Tillotson in his Sermon before the Parliament, on *Luke 9. 55.* p. 156. You know not what manner of Spirit you are of. ' Which is as if he had said; You own yourselves to be my Disciples, but do you consider what Spirit now Acts and Governs you, not that, surely, which my Doctrine designs to mould and fashion you into, which is not (saith he) a Furious, and Persecuting, and Destructive Spirit, but mild, and gentle, and saving; tender of the Lives and Interests of Men, ev'n of those who are our greatest Enemies: You are to consider, that you are not now under the rough and sowre Dispensation of the Law, but under the Calm and Peaccable Institution of the Gospel; to which the Spirit of *Elias*, tho' a good Man, would be altogether unsuitable, but under the Gospel intolerable; for that designs Universal Love, and Peace, and Good Will: And now no Difference of Religion, no Pretence of Zeal for God and Christ, can warrant and justify thy passionate and fierce, thy vindictive and Exterminating Spirit.

To these we might add the worthy Sayings of Bishop *Usher*, *Davenant*, *Hall*, which the late worthy Author of the *Protestant Reconciler*, hath furnish'd us with, and many more, but let these suffice; only for a Conclusion, take a Passage of the Lord *Castlemain's*, a great *Papist*, Husband to the Dutchess of *Cleveland*, in his Book against Dr. *Floyd*.

' Sure (*saith he*) these Men that persecute others, are beside themselves; for, if they should go but to reckon themselves up together, with all their Adherents, they would find they are not the sixth Part of the Reformed People in England: And adds, p: 18. That they have not much Reason to reproach the *Roman Catholicks* for the *Parisian* Massacre, that of *Ireland*, and the *Gun-Powder-Plot* on the 5th of *November*, 1605, since that these Massacres were committed only on those Persons whom *Rome* had Anathematiz'd, and Proscrib'd as *Hereticks* and *Apostates*; and it was never known, that *Rome* persecuted (as the Bishops do) those, who Adhere to the same Doctrine and Faith with themselves, and Establish'd an Inquisition against the *Bigots* among them; nor against the Professors of the strictest Piety.

Lord Castlemain.

And again tells us in another Place, to this Purpose, That however the Prelates complain of the Bloody Persecution under *Q. Mary*, it is manifest their Persecution exceeds it; for under Her (*saith he*) there were not more than Two or Three Hundred actually put to Death: Whereas under their Persecution, there has been above Treble that number Stiff'd, Destroy'd, and Ruin'd in their Estates, Lives, and Liberties, being (as is most remarkable) Men for the most part of the same Spirit and Principle with those *Protestants*, who suffer'd under the Prelates in *Q. Mary's* Time.

In the next Place, as a farther Witness against *Imposition* and *Persecution*; take the following Declared Sense, and Suffrage of several of our Kings; viz.

Bede L. 1. ch. 26. tells us, That King Ethelbert declar'd after he professed the Christian Religion, that he would compel none; having been instructed, that it was contrary to the Christian Religion, which ought to be voluntary, not compulsive.

King James affirm'd, that for Concord there is no nearer Way, than diligently to separate Things necessary from unnecessary,

cessary, and bestow all our Labour, that we may agree in the Things necessary; and that in Things unnecessary, which are most of the Rites and Ceremonies, there may be a Christian Liberty allow'd. Apud Cauf. Ep. ad Car. Perron.

King Charles the First, in his Declaration, Anno 1641. saith thus: As for Differences amongst ourselves, for Matters indifferent in their own Nature concerning Religion, we shall in Tenderness to any Number of our Loving Subjects, very willingly comply with the Advice of our Parliament, that some Law may be made for the Exemption of Tender Consciences, from Punishment or Persecution for such Ceremonies, and in such Cases, which by the Judgment of most Men are held to be Matters indifferent.

His Present Majesty in His Declaration from Breda, April 4. speaks thus: We do declare a Liberty to Tender Consciences, and that no Man shall be disquieted, or called into Question for Differences in Opinion, which do not disturb the Peace of the Kingdom.

Which was also the Declared Sense of most of the Nobility and Gentry at that Time; to which they subscrib'd their Names.

The which He often inculcates, viz. Declar. Octob. 25. 1660. We do again Remember what we have formerly said from Breda, for the Liberty of Tender Consciences.

And again in His Speech, May 8. 1661. I do value My Self much upon keeping my Word, upon making good whatever I Promised to my Subjects. To which the Chancellor repeats.

And again, July 8. 1661. Reminds His Promise, as also what the Lords had promised to the same Purpose at that Time afore-mention'd, which His Majesty calls an honest, generous and Christian Declaration, sign'd by the most Eminent Sufferers amongst them; Telling them, He would not have it be in any Man's Power to charge Him, or them, with the Breach of their Words or Promises; which, he saith, would be no good Ingredient for the future Security.

And again in His Declaration, Dec. 26. 1662. We will remember the Confirmations we have made of them, upon several Occasions in Parliament, and as also these Things are still fresh

fresh in our Memory, so are we still firm in the Resolution of Performing them to the full. And we do conceive ourselves so far engag'd in Honour, and in what we owe to the Peace of our Dominion; which we profess, we can never think secure, whilst there shall be a Colour left to the Malicious and Disaffected, to inflame the Minds of so many Multitudes upon the Score of Conscience, with Dispair of ever Obtaining the Effect of our Promises for their Ease.

His Majesty's Speech to both Houses, Feb. 10. 1667. declares thus: *One Thing more I hold my self Oblig'd to recommend unto you at this Present, which is, that you wou'd seriously think of some Course to beget a better Union and Composurc in the Minds of my Protestant Subjects in Matters of Religion, whereby they may be induc'd, not only to submit Quietly to the Government, but also Chearfully give their Assistance to the Support of it. And,*

In His Declaration of Indulgence, March 15. 1671. saith, *That it was evident by the sad Expericnce of Twelve Years, that here was very little Fruit of all those forcible Courses, and many frequent Ways of Coercion that we have us'd, for the Reducing of all Erring or Dissenting Persons. And thereupon granted His Indulgence.*

Again in His Speech to both Houses, 1678. says thus: *I meet you here with the most earnest Desire, that Man can have, to Unite the Minds of all my Subjects both to Me, and one another, and resolve, it shall be your Fault if the Success be not suitable to my Desires.*

Hereupon, the Parliament, Jan. 10. 1680. from their own Inclination and known Experience, as well as in Obedience to His Gracious Direction, did for the Relieving and better Uniting all His Protestant Subjects, declare in their Vote *Nemine Contradicente*, That *It is the Opinion of this House, that the Prosecution of Protestant Dissenters upon the Penal Laws, is at this time grievous to the Subject, a Weakening the Protestant Interest, an Encouragement to Popery, and Dangerous to the Peace of the Kingdom.* And Novemb. 6. 1680. resolv'd *Nemine Contradicente*, That *It is the Opinion of this House, that the Acts of Parliament made in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth and*
King

King James, against Popish Recusants, ought not to be extended against Protestant Dissenters, having divers Laws under Consideration, as His Majesty directed for the Relieving, Composing and Uniting the Protestants: A Bill having passed both Houses for Repealing the 35th of Elizabeth.

Thus you see that Imposition and Persecution for Conscience, does not only symbolize with Antichrist, but is the highest Contradiction to the Name, Nature, Gospel, and Followers of Christ, a violent Infringer of the Law, and Light of Nature [of Doing to others, as we would be done unto;] as well as the Royal Law of Loving our Neighbour as our selves; and in utter Enmity, not only to those Worthy Sentiments of our Learned and Great Men, but of our Latter Kings and Parliaments.

As a farther Ratification and Confirmation, that our English Service and Ceremony was from the Popish Race and Succession; take this following Historical Account; given us by some Eminent Writers, and Famous Sons of the Church of England.

Cambden in the Life of Q. Elizabeth assures us, ' That the Change of Religion
 the Life of Q. Elizabeth. ' was not in her Time suddenly made, but
 ' by little and little, by Degrees, for the
 ' Roman Religion continu'd in the same State it was
 ' first, a full Month and more after the Death of Q.
 ' Mary. The 27th of December it was tolerated to have
 ' the Epistles, and Gospels, the Ten Commandments, the
 ' Symbol, the Letany, and the Lord's-Prayer, in the vulgar
 ' Tongue. The 22d of March, the Parliament being
 ' Assembled, the Order of Edw. 6. was Re-established,
 ' and by an Act of the same, the whole Use of the
 ' Lord's-Supper granted under both Kinds. The 24th of
 ' June, by the Authority of that which concern'd the
 ' Uniformity of Publick Prayers, and Administration of
 ' the Sacrament, the Sacrifice of the Mass was abolish'd,
 ' and the Liturgy in the English Tongue more and more
 ' establish'd. In the Month of July, the Oath of Allegi-
 ' ance

‘ance was propos’d to the Bishops, and other Persons ;
 ‘And in *August*, Images were thrown out of the
 ‘Temples and Churches, and broken and burnt.

Thus far *Cambden* gives us the Steps *Queen Elizabeth* took in the *Reformation*, what she cast off by Degrees, and so consequently, what she retain’d ; which was the rest of the *Papish* Rites and Ceremonies, and which she had a great Love to, and Liking of, which was the Reason there was no greater Alteration.

Whereof we have this Account from *Dr. Burnet*, in his *History of Reformation*.

‘ *Queen Elizabeth* receiv’d some Impres- *Dr. Burnet’s*
 ‘ sions in her Father’s Reign, in Favour of *History of Re-*
 ‘ such Old Rites as he had still retain’d, *formation.*
 ‘ and in her own Nature, loving State, and some Mag-
 ‘ nificence in Religion (as well as in every Thing else)
 ‘ she thought, that in her Brother’s Reign, they had
 ‘ strip’t it too much of External Ornaments, and had
 ‘ made their Doctrine too narrow in some Points, there-
 ‘ fore she intended to have some Things explain’d in
 ‘ more general Terms, that so all Parties might be com-
 ‘ prehended by them, She inclined to keep up Images
 ‘ in Churches, and to have the Manner of Christ’s Pre-
 ‘ sence in the Sacrament, left in some general Words,
 ‘ That those, who believ’d the *Corporal Presence*, might
 ‘ not be drawn away from the Church, by too Nice an
 ‘ Explanation of it. *So far Dr. Burnet.*

In pursuance of these Resolves, the Queen attempts the Accommodating Matters of Religion, so unto the *Romish* Clergy, as to take them into the Communion of the Church of *England*, as *Dr. Heylin* affirms ; She so effectually compass’d it, that for several Years, the *Papists* continu’d in the Communion of the Church, and when they did forsake it, ’twas not because they approv’d not of our Liturgy, but upon Politick Considerations, and because the Council of *Trent* had commanded it, and *Pope Pius* the 5th had Excommunicated the Queen, and Discharg’d Her Subjects from their Allegiance, and made the Going, or not Going to Church, a Sign di-
 stinctive

ftinctive to Difference; a *Roman Catholick* from an *Eng-
lish Protestant*.

Concerning which, take Dr. *Heylin's* own Words in his History of *Queen Elizabeth*.

‘ There pass’d another Act for Recommending and
 ‘ Imposing the Book of *Common-Prayer* and *Administra-
 ‘ tion of the Sacraments*, according to such Alteration and
 ‘ Correction as were made therein, by those, who were
 ‘ appointed to revise it, as before is said; in the Pursu-
 ‘ ance of which Service, there was great Care taken for
 ‘ the Expunging all such Passages in it, as might give
 ‘ any Scandal or Offence, to the *Popish* Party, or be urg’d
 ‘ by them in their Excuse for their not Coming to Church,
 ‘ and Joyning with the rest of the Congregation in God’s
 ‘ Publick Worship. In the *Letany* first made and pub-
 ‘ lish’d by King *Henry* the Eighth, and afterwards con-
 ‘ tinu’d in the two *Liturgies* of King *Edward* the Sixth;
 ‘ There was a Prayer to be deliver’d from the *Tyranny
 ‘ and all the Detestable Exorimities of the Bishops of Rome*,
 ‘ which was thought fit to be Expung’d, as giving Mat-
 ‘ ter of Scandal and Dissatisfaction to all that Party, or
 ‘ that otherwise wished well to that Religion. In the
 ‘ first Liturgy of King *Edward*, The Sacrament of the
 ‘ Lord’s Body was deliver’d with this Benediction; that
 ‘ is to say, *The Body of our Lord Jesus, which was giv’n
 ‘ for the Preservation of thy Body, and Soul, to Life Ever-
 ‘ lasting, &c. The Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, &c.*
 ‘ Which being thought by *Calvin* and his Disciples, to
 ‘ give some Countenance to the *Cross* and *Carnal Presence*
 ‘ of Christ in the Sacrament (which passes by the Name
 ‘ of *Transubstantiation* in the School of *Rome*) was alter’d
 ‘ into this Form into the said Liturgy; *That is to say,*
 ‘ Take and Eat this in Remembrance that Christ dy’d
 ‘ for thee, and feed on him in thy Heart by Faith with
 ‘ Thanksgiving; *Take and Drink this, &c.* But the Re-
 ‘ visers of the Book joyned both Forms together, lest
 ‘ under Colour of rejecting a Carnal, they might be
 ‘ thought also to deny such a Real Presence as was de-
 ‘ fended in the Writings of the Ancient Fathers, upon
 ‘ which

' which Ground she expunged also a whole Rubrick
 ' at the End of the Communion Service ; by which it
 ' was declar'd, that *Kneeling* at the Participation of the
 ' Sacrament was requir'd for no other Reason, than
 ' for the Signification of the humble and grateful Ac-
 ' knowledgment of the Benefits of Christ, giv'n therein
 ' unto the worthy Receiver, and to avoid that Propha-
 ' nation and Disorder which otherwise might have en-
 ' su'd, and not for giving any Adoration to the *Sacra-*
 ' *mental Bread* and *Wine* there Bodily receiv'd, or In re-
 ' gard of any Real or Essential Presence of Christ's Body
 ' and Blood ; and to come close to the Church of *Rome*,
 ' it was order'd by the Queen's Injunctions, That the
 ' Sacramental Bread, which the Book requir'd only to
 ' made of the finest Flower, should be made round in
 ' Fashion of the Wafers used in the Time of *Q. Mary*.

' She also order'd, that the *Lord's-Table* should be
 ' plac'd where the *Altar* stood ; and that the Accustom'd
 ' Reverence should be made at the Name of *Jesus*.

' *Musick* retain'd in the Church, and all the Old *Festi-*
 ' *vals* observ'd with their several *Eves*, by which Com-
 ' pliances and Expunging the Passage before-mention'd,
 ' the Book was made so passable amongst the *Papists*,
 ' that for Ten Years they generally repair'd to their
 ' Parish-Churches without Doubt or Scruple, as is af-
 ' firm'd, not only by Sir *Edward Cook* in his Speech a-
 ' gainst *Garnet*, and his Charge giv'n at the Assizes held
 ' at *Norwich*, but also by the Queen Herself, in a Letter
 ' to Sir *Francis Walsingham*, then Her Embassador in
 ' *France*.

' The same is confess'd by *Sanders* also, in his Book
 ' *De Schismate* ; and therefore, Dr. *Heylin* in a few
 ' Pages after, adds, *viz.* And now we may behold the
 ' Face of the Church of *England*, as it was first settl'd
 ' and Establish'd under Queen *Elizabeth*, the Govern-
 ' ment of the Church by *Arch-Bishops* and *Bishops*, &c.
 ' the *Liturgy* conform to the Primitive Pattern, [*viz.*
 ' *of Popery*] and all the Rites and Ceremonies therein
 ' prescrib'd, accommodated to the Honour of God, and

6 Increase of Piety, the *Festivals* preserv'd in their for-
 6 mer Dignity, observ'd with all their distinct Offices
 6 peculiar to them, and celebrated with a religious Con-
 6 course of all Sorts of People, the *Weekly Fasts*, viz. *Wed-*
 6 *nesdays*, *Fridays* and *Saturdays*; the holy Time of *Lent*,
 6 the *Embring Weeks*, together with the Fast of the *Ra-*
 6 *gation*, severally kept by a Forbearance of all kind of
 6 Flesh, now by Virtue of the Statute, as in the Time
 6 of King *Edm.* but as appointed by the Church in her
 6 publick Calendar before the Book of *Common-Prayer*
 6 [so correspondent with Rome.] The Sacrament of the
 6 *Lord's-Supper*, celebrated in most Reverend Manner;
 6 the *Holy Table* seated in the Place of the *Altar*; the
 6 People making their due Reverence at their first En-
 6 trance into the Church, *Knceling* at the *Communion*, the
 6 *Confession* and the *Publick Prayers*, Standing up at the
 6 *Creed*, the *Gospels*, and the *Gloria Patri*, and Using the
 6 Accustom'd Reverence at the Name of *Jesus*; *Musick*
 6 retain'd in all the Churches, in which, Provision has
 6 been made for the Maintenance of it; or where the
 6 People could be train'd up, at least to plain Song; all
 6 which Particulars were either Establish'd by the Laws,
 6 or Commanded by the Queen's Injunctions; or other-
 6 wise retain'd, by Virtue of some Ancient Usages, not
 6 by Law prohibited; nor is it much to be admir'd,
 6 that such a general Conformity in those Ancient [viz.
 6 Popish] Usages was constantly observ'd in all Cathed-
 6 drals, and the most Part of the Parish-Churches; con-
 6 sidering how well they were Presidented by the Court
 6 itself, in which the *Liturgy* was officiated every Day,
 6 both Morning and Evening, not only in the Publick
 6 Chappel, but the Private Closet, celebrated in the
 6 Chappel with Organs, and other Musical Instruments,
 6 and the most excellent Voices of Men and Children,
 6 that could be got in all the Kingdom, the Gentlemen
 6 and Children in their Surplices, and the Priests in
 6 Copes, as oft as they attended the Divine Service at
 6 the *Holy Altar*: The *Altar* furnish'd with Rich Plate,
 6 two fair gilt Candlesticks, with *Tapers* in them, and a

' *Massy* Crucifix of Silver in the Midst thereof, which
 ' last remain'd there for some Years, 'till it was broke
 ' in Pieces by *Pach* the Fool (no wiser Man daring to
 ' undertake such a Desperate Service) at the Solicita-
 ' tion of Sir *Frances Knoles*, the Queen's near Kinsman
 ' by the *Caries*, and One who openly appear'd in Favour
 ' of the Schism at *Frankford*; the Ancient Ceremonies
 ' accustomably observ'd by Knights of the *Garter*, in
 ' their Adoration towards the Altar, abolish'd by King
 ' *Edward* the 6th, and reviv'd by Queen *Mary*, were
 ' by this Queen retain'd as formerly in her Father's
 ' Time, for which she receiv'd both Thanks and Honour
 ' from the very Enemies, [*viz.* the *Papists*] as appears
 ' by *Harding's* Epistle Dedicatory, before his Answer
 ' to the Apology.' So far Dr. *Heylin*.

Thus from what the Sons of the Church, *Cambden*,
Burnet, and *Heylin* have affirm'd, 'Tis apparent, that
 Queen *Elizabeth* had a Natural Propensity to favour the
Papists, and that this was discover'd by her making the
 Terms of Communion much more easy to the *Papists*
 than in King *Edward's* Time; whereby she became the
 more Difficult and Arduous to the *Protestant Dissenters*,
 and whom she rigorously prosecuted for their Dissents.
Cambden informs us, ' That about the Year, 1583. the
 ' Queen [Who held it for a Maxim, that she ought not
 ' to be more remiss in Ecclesiastical Affairs] advancing
 ' *Whitgift* from the Sea of *Worcester* to that of *Canter-*
 ' *bury*, above all, Commanded him to Re-establish the
 ' Discipline of the Church of *England*, that as then
 ' lay dismember'd by the Connivency of Prelates,
 ' the Obstinacy of Innovators, and by the Power of
 ' some Great Ones, whilst some Ministers using to their
 ' own Fancy, new Rites of Services in their Private
 ' Houses, utterly condemning the Liturgy, and the ap-
 ' pointed Manner of Administring the Sacrament, as be-
 ' ing in many Things contrary to the Scripture, and
 ' therefore many refus'd to go to Church; to abolish
 ' which Things, and to reduce them in Unity, *Whitgift*
 ' propounded three Articles to the Ministers by them

to be subscrib'd; but. [*adds Cambden*] 'Tis incredible, what Controversies and Disputations arose upon this, what Troubles *Whigist* suffer'd of certain Noble Men, &c." How the said *Whigist* vexed the poor *Dissenters*, what Letters were writ to him from the Council, and Treasurer *Cecil*, on their Complaints, and his Answers, you have at Large in a late Piece, call'd *The Harmony between the Old and Present Non-Conformists*; some small Abridgment thereof take as follows, not unworthy of your Notice; viz. in a Letter sent unto the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, and Bishop of London, from her Majesty's Council, Septemb. 20. 1584.

We have heard of Late Times sundry Complaints against a great Number of Preachers, whereby some were depriv'd of their Livings, some suspended from their Ministry and Preaching; especially such who instruct the People against your Spiritual Courts, advancing their Profits by such kind of Proceedings; and particularly the Lamentable Estate of the Church in the County of Essex; Where there is a great Number of Zealous and Learned Preachers suspended from their Cures, the Vacancy of their Place for the most Part without any Ministry, or Preaching, Prayers and Sacraments; and in some Places, of Certain appointed to those void Rooms, being Persons neither of Learning, nor of good Names; and in other Places of the Country, a great Number notoriously unfit, chargeable with Ignorance, and with great enormous Faults, as Drunkenness, Filthiness of Life, Gamesters at Cards, Hunting of Ale-Houses, and such like, against whom we hear not of any Proceeding; but that they are quietly suffer'd to the Scandal of the Church, to the Offence of good People; yea, to the Famishing them for Want of good Teaching, and thereby Dangerous to the Subverting of many Weaklings, from their Duties to GOD and Her Majesty, by secret Jesuits and counterfeit Papists, &c.

And in a Letter to the Arch-Bishop, by the Lord Treasurer *Burleigh*, dated July 5. 1584. it is said;

It may please your Grace, I am sorry to trouble you so often as I do; but I am more troubl'd my self, not only with many private Petitions of sundry Ministers, recommended from Persons of Credit, for Peaceable Persons, yet greatly troubl'd; but also am I daily now charg'd by Counsellors and Publick Persons, to neglect my Duty in not staying these your Grace's Proceedings, so vehement, and so general against Ministers and Preachers, as the Papists thereby are greatly Encourag'd, and Evil-dispos'd Persons animated, and thereby the Queen's Majesty's Safety endanger'd, with these kind of Arguments I am daily assaulted, and now my Lord, I am come to the Sight of an Instrument of 24 Articles of great Length and Curiosity, form'd in a Romish Style, to Examine all Manner of Ministers in this time without Distinction of Persons; which Articles are entitul'd, Apud Lambeth, May 1581. to be Exetuted Ex Officio mero, &c. Which Articles I find so Curiously penn'd, so full of Branches and Circumstances, that I think, the Inquisitors of Spain use not so many Questions, to comprehend and trap their Preys; I know the Canonists can defend these with all their Particles; but surely under your Graces Correction, This Judicial and Canonical Sifting of poor Ministers is not to Edify and Reform; and in Charity, I think, they ought not to answer to all these Nice Points, except they were very Notorious Offenders in Papistry or Heresy, I write with the Testimony of a good Conscience, &c. This Kind of Proceeding is too much favouring the Romish Inquisition, and is rather a Device to seek for Offenders, than to reform any. And in another Letter adds, Seeking rather by Excommunication to urge them to Accuse themselves, and then Punish them.

Treasur. Burleigh's Letter to Arch-Bish. Whigist.

The Arch-Bishop makes a large Reply, The Arch-Bishop's Reply. in it saith thus: ----- ' I have taken up-
' on me the Defence of the Religion and
' Rites of this Church of England, to appease the Sects
' of Schisms, therein to reduce all the Ministry there-
' of to Uniformity and due Obedience; Herein I intend
' to be constant, and not to waver with every Wind,
' the

the which also my Place, my Person, my Duty, the
 Law, Her Majesty, and the Goodness of the Cause
 do require of me, and wherein your Lordship and
 Others, all Things consider'd, ought in Duty to Assist
 and Countenance me; It is strange, that a Man in
 my Placc, dealing with so good Warranties as I do,
 should be so encounter'd, and for not yielding, should
 be accounted wilful, but I must be contented, *Vincit
 qui patitur.* --- And if my Friends herein forsake me,
 I trust God will not, neither the Law, Her Majesty,
 who hath laid the Charge on me, and are able to
 protect me."

Many were the Severe Laws made against the *Non-
 Conformists*, which were put in Execution with great
 Cruelty, to the Suspending, Imprisoning, and Executing
 many of the Faithful Servants of Christ in this Queen's
 Reign, whereof *Fuller* in his Ecclesiastical History gives
 a particular Account. The *High Commission-Court* (that
 grand Grievance) was set up also by her.

In the next Place I shall give you some Confirmation
 of the Truth of the Prevalency of *Popery* under a *Prote-
 stant Mask*, in the Rites and Ceremonies impos'd in these
 and succeeding Times, by the Witness born by several
 Eminent *Dissenters*, which we find on Record in several
 Books; *viz.* A Book call'd the *Register*; another the *A-
 bridgment*, which was deliver'd to King *James* by the
 Ministers of *Lincoln-Diocefs*, Anno 1605.

In the *Register* Page 3. We have the 24 Articles a-
 greed in the Synod, and Confirm'd by the Queen, Ex-
 hibited to Mr. *Edward Deering*, and his Answers there-
 to, Anno 1573. whereof receive his Answer to the first
 Article. The Article was, 'Whether the Book, Enti-
 tul'd, the *Book of Common-Service*, allow'd by Publick
 Authority in this Realm, is to be allow'd in the Church
 of God, by God's Word or no? To which he reply'd,
First, 'That the Similitude, that this Book hath with
 the Form of Prayer which the *Papists* us'd, I think,
 declineth from the Equity of those Laws, *Deut.* 7.
 25. 12. 30. 18. 4. Which Things our Fathers so much

garded in the Primitive Church, that their Books are full of great Complaints against all Similitude to be had with the *Gentiles*; yea, the Second Council of *Bracca* made a Decree, *That no Christian should have either Bay-Leaves or Green Boughs in their Houses, because the Gentiles so accustomed*: And at this Day, all the Reformed Churches in *France, Polonia, Helvetia, Scotland*, and other Places, have changed that Form of Prayers, which Prudency of all Ages, if we shall condemn, the Rebuke of the Apostle, I think, will teach us; *1 Cor. 14. 36. Came the Word of God out from you, or came it unto you only.*

Secondly, We have the *Psalms, Venite, Benedictus, Magnificat, Nunc dimittis*, usual in our Ministry, of which we can give no good Reason; nor I see no Cause, why we should more leave out *Ave Maria*, than for parting the Scriptures again into the Epistles and Gospels, which was not heard of before the Days of *Poperly*; I dare not avow, that this is that Reverend Handling of the Scriptures, and the *Right Dividing the Word of Truth*, which *St. Paul* requires, *2 Tim. 2. 15.*

Thirdly, The great Inconveniency which has follow'd this Book, while it has maintain'd an Unlearned Ministry, and made it thought sufficient to have the Service read, wherein we have made the Spirit of God to speak in vain; *1 Tim. 3. 12.* which requires the Ministers of the Gospel to be *Apt to Teach, to Exhort and Reprove*; *Tit. 1. 9.* This is another Cause, why I cannot subscribe unto the Book, that it hath not all Things answerable to the Word of God.

But the *Abridgment* is much more full, bringing Arguments from the *Scripture, the Fathers, the Old Reformers, and our own Old Protestant Doctors* against it; whereof I shall give this following Account.

First, *It is contrary to the Word of God to use such Ceremonies in the Worship of God as Man has devised; if they be notoriously known to have been of Old, and still to be abus'd unto Idolatry and Superstition by the Papists; especi-*

ally if the same be of no necessary Use in the Church; where note, that the Ceremonial Part of the English Service, that is like to that of the Romish, is what has been abus'd by the Papists to Idolatry or Superstition; but yet are not so necessary to Divine Worship, but that the Worship may be Compleat, Devout and Orderly without them: Which appears, say they,

1st, ' By the Second Commandment, which forbids
' all Provocation to Spiritual Fornication, as the Seventh
' does to that which is Carnal:

2dly, ' By the Commandment and Direction God
' has giv'n us in his Word, to separate ourselves from
' Idolaters, and be as unlike to them, as may be, espe-
' cially in their Religious Observations, and Ceremo-
' nies, to abolish not only all Idols; and that so, as we
' may best shew our utmost Detestation to them, and
' root out the very Memory of them.

3dly, ' By the Equity and Reasons of these Command-
' ments, which we find set down in Holy Scripture, viz.

(1.) ' The Detestation which the Lord our God
' (being a Jealous God) beareth to Idolatry, and all
' the Instruments and Tokens thereof, as to Spiritual
' Whoredom.

(2.) ' That it cannot be said sincerely, we have
' repented of the Idolatry of our Fore-Fathers, unless
' we be asham'd of, and cast away with Detestation, all
' the Instruments and Monuments of it.

(3.) ' That we should be in Danger to be corrupted
' in the Substance of Religion and Purity of Doctrine,
' and even to fall back again to Idolatry, if we conform
' ourselves to Idolatrous Ceremonies; yea, if we shew
' not all Detestation to them.

(4.) ' That our Conformity with Idolaters in their
' Ceremonies, wherein they repose the greatest Part of
' their Religion, will be a special Means to harden them
' in Superstition.

(5.) ' That seeing the Pope is reveal'd to be that
' great Antichrist, and his Idolatry troubles the Church
' at this Day more than any other, and our People
' con-

‘ converse more with *Papists*, than with any other *Idolaters*; there is more Danger in the Retaining of the Ceremonies and Relicks of *Popery*, than of any other *Idolatry* whatsoever.

Secondly, *By the Judgment of the Godly Learned of all Churches and Ages, who have Constantly taught, and giv'n Testimony of this Truth, That Christians are bound to cast off the Ceremonies and Religious Customs of Pagans, Jews, Idolaters and Hereticks, and Carefully to shun all Conformity with them therein.*

In the Council of Nice it was Decreed, *That Christians might not keep the Feast of Easter at that Time, nor in that Manner the Jews did: Let us, say they, in nothing agree with that most detestable Rout of the Jews.*

And in another Council, *That none should fast on the Lord's-Day, because the Manichees had taken up that Day to Fast in: That such Alars as were set up in the Country, and High-Ways, in Memory of the Martyrs, should be abolish'd; and that Solemn Requests should be made to the Emperor, that all Reliques and Monuments of Idolatry might be utterly destroy'd.* And this Decree we find cited by Dr. Fulk.

In another Council, *That Christians should not celebrate Feasts on the Birth-Days of Martyrs, because that was the Manner of the Heathens. Tertullian is large, and vehement on this Point.*

As (saith he) we may give nothing to the Service of an Idol, so may you borrow nothing from the Service of an Idol; if it be against Religion, to sit at Table in any Idol's Temple; what is it to be seen in the Habit of an Idol? Thou, that art a Christian, must hate those Things, the Authors and Inventers whereof, thou canst not choose but hate.

Austin himself saith, If you would win Pagans, leave all their Solemnities, forsake their Toys.

The Judgment of the Church of Scotland, in their Letter to the Bishops of England, 1556. from a General Assembly at *Edenburgh*, thus writ: *If Surplice, Corner Cap, and Tippet, have been Badges of Idolaters, in the very Act of Idolatry, what have the Preachers of*
M
Christians

Christian Liberty, and the open Rebukers of Superstition to do with the Dress of the Romish Beast. And in the Confession of their Faith sworn to by them, and the King's Majesty also, we find these Words; *And detest all the Ceremonies and false Doctrines of the Roman Antichrist, added to the Administration of the True Sacraments; We detest all his vain Rites, Signs and Traditions, brought into the Church without the Word of God.* Mr. Rogers, that holy Martyr, would not consent to a Canon that was to be made in King Edward's Days, for the Clergy's Conformity in Cap, Tippet, and the rest of the Apparel, unless it might be decreed, that the *Papists*, for a Difference between them and others, might be constrain'd to wear upon their Sleeves, a *Chalice* with an *Host* upon it.

Bishop *Pilkington* disliked, That in our *Liturgy* we are so like the *Papists* in Marriage, and other Things: *This*, saith he, *is our Fault generally, that we differ not from them in all our Ministry.*

Bishop *Bilson* defending the Reformed Churches against a Slander of the *Papists*, approvingly reports thus of 'em, *The Reformed Churches*, saith he, *are so far from Admitting the full Dose of your Heresies, that by no Means they can digest one Dram of your Ceremonies.*

Dr. *Humphrey* saith, *That we ought to refuse to conform ourselves to the Enemies of God in any of their Ceremonies; professing plainly his Desire, and Hope of the utter Abolishing of the Ceremonies of all the Monuments of Popish Superstition, that yet remain in our Church.*

Dr. *Fulk* saith, *That if a Man mislike our Form of Service, as not differing sufficiently from yours, he sheweth his greatest Zeal in Detestation of your Idolatry and Blasphemy.* And again, *We abhor*, saith he, *whatsoever hath but a Shew of Popery.*

Dr. *Sutcliff* makes this one of his principal Arguments against the *Papists*, *That they have deriv'd most of their Ceremonies from the Jews and Pagans.* To the same Purpose Mr. *Greenham* and Mr. *Marbury*.

That Agreeing with us, most of the Reform'd Divines do hold,

1. That those Laws that we have alledg'd out of the Old Testament, against the Monument of Idolatry, do bind us as much as they did the *Jews*; and from them they conclude as we have done, That all the Relicks of Popish and Heathenish Superstition are to be banish'd out of the Church of Christ: Of this Judgment are *Calvin, Martyr, Grineus, Wolphius, Ursinus, Machebeus, Zanchius, Simeon, Zepperus*, our own Book of *Homilies*, *Dr. Fulk*, and others.

2. That *Hezekiah, Josiah*, and the rest of the Godly Kings of *Judah*, who shew'd most Zeal in Abolishing those Things which had been abus'd by Idolatry, did no more than they were bound by the Law of God to do; and that from their Example, the Argument holds strong against the Monuments of Idolatry now, because all Christians are bound to imitate their Zeal therein: Of this Judgment was *Augustin, Calvin, Martyr, Wolphius, Levator, Zanchius, Bishop Jewell, Bilson, Dr. Fulk, Dr. Raynold, Dr. Andrews, Mr. Perkins*, and Others.

3. That the Retaining of *Popish Ceremonies*, will certainly be a Means to endanger the Doctrine that we profess, and to bring the People back to *Papery*: This was the Judgment of the People of *Saxony*, and them of *Hamborough*, and of *Luther*.

4. That the Retaining of the Ceremonies of Idolaters will cause them to insult over our Religion, as if it could not stand without Help from them, and to harden them in their Liking of their own Idolatry: This Reason has been us'd against Conformity with the *Jews*, by *Constantine* the Emperor, and by all the Fathers in the first Council of *Nice*, and against Conformity with the *Papists*, *Regentius, Musculus, Bishop Jewell*, and Others.

5. We are confirm'd in this our Perswasion, That it is unlawful, to retain the Ceremonies of the *Papists*, by Experience of the great Hurt they have done, and daily do in the Church; for we find that some of the Learnedst of the *English Papists*, namely, *Martial, Bristow*, and he that penn'd the Petition for the *Papists*, which *Dr. Stutchiff* and *Mr. Powell* have answer'd, have by this Argument

justify'd their Church and Religion, that we have borrow'd our Ceremonies from them; yea, some of them, as *Harding*, *Martial*, and he that writ the Astrological Epistle for our *English* Papists have profess'd, that this was to them an Evident Argument, that *Q. Elizabeth* did in her Conscience like well of their Religion, because She lik'd and maintain'd their Ceremonies; and the superstitious Multitude do usually defend the Blessing of themselves, with Crossing their Breasts and Foreheads, by our Crossing our Children in Baptism. *So far the Abridgment.* And to which we may add this further Testimony following, *viz.*

Altas Damas. p. 612, 613. tells us, ' That from three
 ' *Romish* Channels was the *English* Service rak'd toge-
 ' ther; namely, 1st. The *Breviary*, out of which the
 ' Common Prayers are taken. 2^{dly}. The *Ritual*, or *Book*
 ' of *Rites*, out of which the Administration of Sacra-
 ' ments, Burial, Matrimony, Visitation of the Sick are
 ' taken. 3^{dly}. The *Mass-Book*, out of which the Confe-
 ' cration of the Lord's-Supper, Collects, Gospels and
 ' Epistles are taken.

Bishop *Hall* in his *Quo vadis* saith, ' That his Eyes and
 ' Ears can witness, with what Applause the *Catholicks*
 ' entertain'd the new translated Liturgy of our Church.

Mr. *Thomas Gage*, in his *English American*, Chap. 22.
 p. 205. thus expresseth himself: ' I continu'd twelve
 ' Months at my Uncle's House at *Gatton*, searching (tho'
 ' unknown to my Uncle and Kindred) into the Doctrine
 ' and Truth of the Gospel profess'd in *England*, for
 ' which Cause I made many Journies to *London*, and then
 ' privately, I resorted to some Churches, and especially
 ' to *Paul's* Church, to see the Service perform'd, and to
 ' hear the Word of God preach'd; but so that I might
 ' not be seen, known or discover'd by any *Papist*. When
 ' in *Paul's* Church, I heard the Organs, and the Musick,
 ' the Prayers and the Collects, and saw the Ceremonies
 ' at the Altar, I remember'd *Rome* again, and perceiv'd
 ' little Difference betwixt the two Churches. I search'd
 ' further into the Common Prayer, and carry'd with
 ' me

‘ me a Bible into the Country, on purpose to compare
 ‘ the Prayers, Epistles and Gospels with a *Mas.-Book*,
 ‘ which there I had at Command, and I found no Dif-
 ‘ ference but only *English* and *Latin*; which made me
 ‘ wonder, and to acknowledge, that much remain’d still
 ‘ of *Rome* in the Church of *England*; and that I fear’d
 ‘ my Calling was not right.

And p. 209. tells us, ‘ That upon his Return after-
 ‘ wards to *Rome*, that Father *Fitz Herbert* told him,
 ‘ that the Common-Prayer Book (which was compos’d
 ‘ for *Scotland*) was by Arch-Bishop *Laud* sent to *Rome*,
 ‘ to be first view’d and approv’d by the Pope and Car-
 ‘ dinals, and who upon the Perusal did approve there-
 ‘ of, and liked very well, for *Protestants* to be train’d
 ‘ in such a Form of Prayer and Service, &c.

Great *Cerus Panegyer*, *Missæ*, Cap. 11, 12. alledgeth a-
 gainst the Reformed Churches, the *English Service-Book*
 for their *Papish* Holy-Days, the Book of Canons for the
 Sign of the Cross, and Kneeling at the Altar, and for
 the whole Hierarchy, &c.

Cornelius Scultingius, in his *Herarchica Anicrifs*, citeth
 whole Leaves out of *Whitgift* for the Defence of their
 Hierarchy.

Stapleton’s Reflect. against *Whitaker*, Cont. 2. Qu. 3.
 Art. 3. useth *Whitgift*’s Argument to uphold their Dis-
 cipline, and professeth they are built upon one Founda-
 tion.

They further say, as *Pap. Sapp. Anno 1604. Reas. of*
Relig. 13. ‘ That from their Treasure-House, the Re-
 ‘ ligion now establish’d in *England* hath learn’d the Form
 ‘ of Christening, Marrying, Churching of Women, Vi-
 ‘ siting the Sick, Burying the Dead, &c. as their Book
 ‘ (say they) translated out of ours declares.

Curtaine, Of Ch. Power, p. 40. says, ‘ That he heard
 ‘ one of the *Jesuits* say, That it was his Hopes, that our
 ‘ Service and Ceremonies would return us again to *Rome*.

Another Objection is this, *That whilst they separate for*
Indifferent, and about Disputable Things, they do violate a
known, plain, positive Scripture, which enjoyns the Inferiours
to be obedient and subject to their Superiours.

The

The *Protestant Reconciler*, Part II. urges it as an Objection brought against the *Dissenters*, compar'd with Part I. p. 198. ' That seeing God hath enjoyn'd all Persons to obey those that have the Rule over them, ' Heb. 13. 17. *And submit themselves, and to be subject to the Higher Powers, as to the Ordinance of God, and that for Conscience-sake*; He that can satisfy his Conscience in his Refusal so to do, must shew some Law of God, as evidently forbidding his Obedience to what Superiors do enjoyn, as do these Scriptures command OBE-
 ENCE to them in ALL LAWFUL THINGS.

And you tell us in your *Scrupulous Conscience*, p. 33. ' That these Things of a Publick Nature belong only to our Superiors and Governours; and if they appoint what is unfit, indecent, and inconvenient, they only are accountable for it: It is not the Fault of those that joyn in such Worship, or yield to such Injunctions (NOT PLAINLY SINFUL) for the Sake of Peace and Order. And the late most terrible Thunder-Clap from the Bench, giving the *Dissenters* in Charge to the *Grand-Jury*, as such Despisers of Authority, who had sin'd the unpardonable Sin, not to be forgiven them.

To which we say, That it is most certain, that Obedience is due from Inferiors to Superiors, for Conscience-sake, and for the Lord's-sake: But then that is limited to be only in the Lord; for if they who are his Ministers, command any Thing not agreeable to his Word, and plainly sinful, tho' they may call them indifferent Things, State-Policy, Order and Decency, we are justify'd with the Mid-Wives, in disobeying the King's Command, *Exod. 1. 17.* and *Saul's Guard*, in refusing Obedience to the King, *1 Sam. 22. 17.* and *Daniel* and the *Three Children*, in disobeying the King, *Dan. 3. 6.* and with *Peter* and *John*, who refus'd to forbear preaching Christ at the Ruler's Command, telling them, *It was better to obey God than Man.* Tho' this Absolute Obedience to Superiors (as you'll find) is an Argument principally urg'd by Men, who have the Magistrate on their Side, and their own Profit and Advantage concern'd,
 then

then Obedience to them is cry'd up to be better than Sacrifice, and fall foul upon the Conscientious, as Disobedient, Seditious and Rebellious. So *Celsus* the *Heathen* reproaches the *Christians*, for their forsaking their Publick Assemblies, getting into Corners, and disobeying Authority. So all the Time of *Popery* were the *Waldenses*, *Wickliviſts*, *Lollards* and *Protestants*, branded with Seditions, Disobedience to Authority, impugning the King's and Queen's Proceedings. And how doth *Bonner* lay the 13th of the *Romans* to the Martyrs, to require their Obedience and Subjection to all their *Mumpsimus's* and *Sumpsimus's*? But if the Tide be turn'd, and the Magistrate on the other Side; then the same Men cry out against Imposition and Persecution, as it was with the *Arians* and *Orthodox*, under the several Emperours of different Minds: The 13th of the *Romans* was in those Days used as the *Dutch-Man's* Breeches, to serve all Occasions, and always improv'd to establish, and enforce the present Impositions by the Power and Religion, which was uppermost. This reproves all our worthy Witnesses, the *Waldenses*, *Wickliviſts*, *Lollards*, &c. who bore up for Christ against all their sanguinary Laws, Prohibitions and Commands, and those who oppos'd *Jeroboam's* Calf-Worship. This would establish the Religion of the present Power, be it either *Judaism*, *Turcism*, *Popery*, &c. and a Conformity to it. But 'tis said, you intend this Subjection to Superiors, only in *Lawful Things*, *Things not plainly sinful*. Then if the Inferior be to judge what is Unlawful, and plainly Sinful, the Controversy is at an End. If they command Lawful Things, they command no other than God has commanded, which makes it Lawful; then Obedience (as due) is giv'n to God. If they command in the Things of God any other than Lawful, or what he has requir'd, they have no Authority so to do; and we sin not in Disobedience, by your own Rule, if they command Sinful, or Unlawful Things.

As to those Things of an Indifferent Nature, or Things not positively forbidden, under which is included

So De Laune's Plea for the Non-Conformists.

ded all the Rites and Ceremonies enjoy'd by Man; whereof no Word of God for. We know of no such Things; all the Rites, Services and Ceremonies to be observ'd, and enjoy'd in God's Worship, being Necessary Things, and no Negative Articles of Faith, as before.

Objection. But is it not manifest, That the Persons, who presume to separate from the Religion *Establish'd by Law*, are usually of turbulent, seditious, factious Spirits? Otherwise what means those sensible Impressions that have lately been made upon Authority, expressed by the Publick Declaration, manifold Addresses, and Pulpit Alarms, reflecting upon them as to the PLOT, and the Severity us'd, by putting the Penal Laws in Execution, against this Sort of People, in City and Country?

Answer. It's very true, that Press and Pulpit, Late Declaration, Weekly Addresses, and severe Usage both in City and Country, speak this Language. But 'tis not therefore true, that the *Dissenters* are guilty of Sedition, Treason and Rebellion, because the Truth and Innocency of God's Church and People (as traduc'd to Authority) have been so falsely and maliciously branded and handled all along, which may be some Relief to them under their present Tryals and Sufferings; Suggestions, Calumnies and Outcries, being no Proofs.

Did not the Church of Old pathetically complain of the very same Usage? *The Mouth of the wicked and deceitful are open'd against me, they have spoken against me with a Lying Tongue, they compassed me about with Words of Hatred, and fought against me without a Cause,* Psalm 109. 2, 3. So no new Thing.

And again, *They that hate me without a Cause, are more than the Hairs of my Head, they that would destroy me, being my Enemies wrongfully, are mighty; for lo, they lye in wait for my Soul; the Mighty are gather'd against me, not for my Transgressions, not for my Sin, they run and prepare themselves without my Fault,* Psal. 69. 4. 59. 34.

And further, *Mine Enemies (saith the Church) reproach me*

me all the Day; and they that are mad against me, are sworn against me. [It seems they wanted not perjur'd Informers in those Days.] Therefore prays,

Let not them who are my Enemies wrongfully rejoyce over me; neither let them wink with the Eye, that hate me without a Cause; for they speak not Peace, but devise deceitful Matters against them that are quiet in the Land.

Was not the Slander wherewith the Adversaries of the Church reproach'd them in *Ezra's* and *Nehemiah's* Time, viz. (That for their peaceable Attending upon the Lord, they were esteem'd) *A rebellious and Factious People, and hurtful to Kings, moving Sedition, Ezra 4. 15. Nehem. 6. 6.*

And was not this the Accufation of wicked *Haman* against God's People, that because they dissented from the Religion establish'd by Law; *Having Laws contrary to the King's Laws, therefore as Seditious and Rebellious, they ought to be cut off, and not suffer'd to live. Esth. 3: 8, &c.*

Were not the three Eminent Dissenters in *Nebuchadnezzar's* Time so treated, for their *Non-Conformity* to to the Religion establish'd by Law, and as *Turbulent, Stubborn, Factious, Disobedient and Rebellious, cast into the fiery Furnace?* Dan. 3. And afterwards, *Daniel* upon the same Score flung to the Lyons, tho' his God and his Innocency pleaded his Cause against his malicious, trappanning Adversaries, [that could only in the Matter of his God get the Advantage against him.] *My God (saith he) hath sent his Angels, and shut the Lyons Mouths: Forasmuch as before him Innocency was found in me, also before thee, O King, have I done no hurt. Dan. 3. 21, &c.* And what became of their malicious Accusers afterwards, you there understand.

Neither did our Saviour himself, who Luke 20. 21
was so meek, gentle, and innocent, so &c.
harmless and inoffensive, meet with other
Measure, being directly so dealt with. Did not the
Trappanners assault him? For is it not said, *They
watched him, and sent forth Spies, which should feign them-*
Nselves

elves just Men, that they might take hold of his Words; that they might deliver him unto the Power and Authority of the Governour. And they asked him, saying, Master, we know that thou sayest and teachest rightly; neither acceptest thou the Persons of any, but teachest the Way of God truly. Is it lawful for us to give Tribute unto Cæsar, or not? There was the catching Question. And to which, tho' by his Practice, working a Miracle to pay Tribute, Mat. 17. 27. and his present Answer, he stop'd their Mouths; yet would it not serve their turn, but stoutly do they accuse him of the very Sedition and Treason they design'd to make him guilty of. And they began to accuse him, saying, We found this Fellow perverting the Nation, and forbidding to give Tribute to Cæsar, saying, that he himself is Christ, a King, and they were not Cæsar's Friends who said otherwise. Luke 23. 2, &c. Upon which he was cast, condemn'd, and put to Death, and the Inscription wrote over him (to justify his Crucifixion) was, THIS IS THE KING OF THE JEWS; tho' he was altogether innocent, Having done no Violence, neither was Guile found in his Mouth; but under all their Mischief and Spight, with Meekness and Patience committed himself to Him, who judgeth righteously; giving us therein also an Example, how we should behave ourselves under like Circumstances.

And so they dealt with his Followers afterwards; Did they not draw Jason, and the Brethren unto the Rulers of the City? Crying, *These that have turned the World up-side down, are come hither also. And these do all contrary to the Decrees of Cæsar, saying, There is another King, one JESUS; and they troubled the Rulers of the People when they heard these Things. Acts 17. 6, 7.*

And so they laid many and grievous Things against Paul, which they could not prove; viz. That *He was a pestilent Fellow, a Mover of Sedition throughout the World. Acts 25. 7, and 24. 5.* And what was this for, but the Preaching and Practising the Precepts and Doctrine of the Gospel, to make Men holy and happy?

And did they not so deal with the Christians, in the Days

Days after the Apostles; as *Justin Martyr's* and *Tertulian's* Apologies, and *Origen's* Defence against *Celsus* make manifest? How all manner of Evil is charg'd against the Dissenters in those Days falsely? How Vicious and Seditious in their Conventicles? What Despisers of Dignities? What Enemies to *Cæsar*? And whatever Publick Evil or Calamity befell, it must be laid to the Christians Charge; and to the Lyons they must go, right or wrong, for the same. If *Nero* has a Mind to burn *Rome*, it is but laying it to the Christians Charge, and that's enough.

And was it not just so they dealt with our Fore-Fathers, the *Waldenses*, *Wickliviſts*, *Lollards* and the *Protestants* in the *Marian* Days, as Turbulent, Factious, Seditious Resisters of Authority, &c.?

And may we not truly say, as it was then, so it is now? And may not you your selves, who so carry it to your Dissenting Brethren, expect the same Measure from that Generation of Men, if they should get an Advantage again in this Nation? as our Saviour tells you, *Mat. 7. 1, 2.*

It is no new Thing, you see, to have Innocency and Truth falsely and injuriously charg'd, and treated as Sedition and Treason.

And may not the Dissenting Party, notwithstanding all the Rage, Noise and Clamour, the many Provocations by malicious Persecutions, invading of Properties, Privileges, &c. Worrying of Informers and Soldiers, Fines, Confiscations, Imprisonments, yea, Deaths, both in City and Country these Two and Twenty Years, challenge the worst of their Enemies to come forth and produce any one Thing wherein the *Dissenters* (as *Dissenters*) are justly to be charg'd with Sedition, Treason or Rebellion, [in this Nation,] but that under all they have behav'd themselves meekly, patiently and submissively, as becomes their Holy Profession?

And as for this horrid Slander of being all engag'd in a Late *Plot*, [their Principles leading thereto] 'tis like all the rest. If to have been under the highest Provoca-

tions, and in the Exercise of the greatest Patience under them, renders them guilty, it may be something: Otherwise, if Proofs be necessary to make People guilty, Why have not the Witnesses appear'd? But this is but a Pretence; for have they not suffer'd long before any Plot was talkt of?

But as to this, 'tis said, Have not several been imprison'd, some fled, and others executed about the Plot?

That several have been imprison'd, some fled, and some executed, who have been reputed *Non-Conformists*, is very true; and so have many more of the *Conformists*; I presume, Four for one of the other: Will it therefore be a fair Way of Arguing, Because so many of the *Conformists* are said to be in the Plot, therefore all the *Conformists* of the Nation are guilty, and ought to be severely handled? I remember it was thought a very unfair Way of proceeding of Old, because *Coll. VVagstaff* transgress'd in the *West*, that therefore my Lord of *Kingstone* must be punish'd in the *North*; nay, the whole Party decimated for the same.

If some of the *Non-Conformists* are found tardy on good Proof, let them suffer the Penalty of the Law; but let not the Innocent be judg'd and punish'd with the Guilty; much less let not the Principle of *Non-Conformity* be judg'd, because some have miscarry'd under that Profession; for by that Rule may not the Purest State of the Church, both in the Old and New Testament, be censur'd and judg'd, who had their *Chora's*, *Judasses*, and *Diotrephes's* amongst them? His Majesty in his Speech to both Houses, gives us a good Rule hereupon, viz. *Let us look forward, and not backward, and never think of what is past, except Men put us in Mind, by repeating Faults we had forgot; and then let us remember no more than what concerns those very Persons.*

But have they not appear'd of late Years, very zealous and forward in Elections of Parliament-Men, and other Publick Officers in City and Country?

It is true, they have so; and so have the *Conformists* also, ten for one to their Number, both in City and Country;

Country; but what Transgression is that? What Law have they broke, in Voting according to their Consciences, by endeavouring to bring such into Trust and Authority, as they have judg'd most Able and Honest to serve their Country, in a Time when we are told by the King and Four Parliaments, of a *POPISH PLOT* to subvert the Government, and to ruine us in all our Concerns?

But this as to Heresy, Schism, Treason, Rebellion, and Plotting (that are charg'd upon us) I do ingeniously and fully so far own and acknowledge in my own Behalf, and in all others that I know of this despised reproached Number, that 'If to worship the God of our Fathers in the Way of his own Appointment, believing all Things which are written in the Law and Prophets, be esteem'd Heresy, we are Hereticks; [as *K. Charles I.* answer'd the *Popish* Marquess, as before.]

That if in *Dr. Pierce's* Words (to justify the Schism and Separation from *Rome*) 'To have Recourse to the Scriptures, consulting those Oracles, how Things stood from the Beginning, and only separating from them, we find Separatists from the Primitive Church and Truth; we make a Seccession that we may not partake of the [*English Roman*] Schism, and answering the Lord's express Command, *Come out from amongst them, be ye separate, &c.* 2 Cor. 6. Rev. 18. 4. be to be esteemed Seditious, Schismaticks, and Separatists.

Prim. Rule of Reformation.

If to own the Sovereignty of Christ (by whom all Things were created, and by whom all Things consist, who to this End Dy'd, Rose again, and Reviv'd, that he might be Lord both of Quick and Dead, to whom the Father hath giv'n all Power, both in Heaven and Earth, King of Kings, and Lord of Lords) and Powers and Potentates as under him, in Conscience to him, to whom you own every Knee must bow; and the King is but next, and immediately under him, Supreme Head and Governour in all Causes Ecclesiastical and Civil, it being also stamp'd on our Coyn, *Christo Au-*

spice Regno. [Christ the Kingdom's happy Guide.] If the owning and asserting his Sovereignty in chief, be Treason and Rebellion, we own we are such Traytors and Rebels.

If in our Places and Stations, to endeavour the Defence of the *English* Government, Laws, Liberties and Properties, and to keep out the *Pope's* Foreign Usurp'd Power, who has heretofore so Tyranniz'd over Prince and People, both as to their Bodies and Souls, in these Nations, and to which, all who have taken the *Oath of Allegiance* are so solemnly engag'd, be to be esteem'd Plotting and Plotters, we own ourselves guilty of that Plot.

The CONCLUSION.

THUS, SIR, you have at your *Friendly Call* and *Invitation*, a Fair and Impartial Examination of the Merits of the Cause, giving you the different Sentiments of the Guides on both Sides, in the most material *Objections* made by the one, and the candid *Answers* of the other; and how far your own Principles and Practice in Separating from Superstitious, Idolatrous and Persecuting, *Bloody Rome*, justifies, in many Things, their Principles as well as Practice, in Separation from you, walking in their Steps. The Substance whereof, for a Conclusion, I shall briefly sum up, with some Reflections thereon in the following Queries. *Viz.*

* *Costerus*
Inft. Chrft.
l. 2. c. 1. *Hæc*
Sacris Literis
non prohiberi
atq; sine pecca-
to fieri possit,
quia ubi non
est Lex ibi nec
prevaricatio.

Query 1. If your Answer to the Papists * calling for your Negative Proof from the Scriptures, against their Idolatrous, Poppish and Un-written Traditions be good against them; *viz.* That there needs no Negative Proof to disprove them, because they are not contain'd in OUR ONLY RULE OF FAITH, THE BIBLE; as *Page 5.* Then whether the same Answer is not good from the Dissenters, when you ask

ask them the very same Question (which carries in it the whole of the Controversy, as Dr. *Stillfleet* observes, p. 4.) viz. *That there needs no Negative Proofs to disprove all the Rites, Services and Ceremonies in question, because none of them are contain'd in our ONLY RULE OF FAITH, where they say, They no more find National, Provincial, Diocesan Churches (your Government by) Lord Arch-Bishops and Bishops, Deans, Arch-Deacons, Parsons, Vicars, Curats, Chancellors, Officials, your Consecration of Churches and Priests, your Priest's Garments, Altars, Liturgies, Singing-Service, Letanies, Bowing, Crossing, Kneeling at the Sacrament, Holy-Days, Fasts, Feasts, Vigils; than the Popish Holy Water, Salt, Oyl, Spittle, Baptizing of Bells, Exorcisms, Conjurations, Bowing to Images and Altars, and other such like Fopperies. Pag. 6, 7, 8.*

Query 2. If your own Pens declare, that to enjoyn Unnecessary, or Indifferent Things, viz. Things not contain'd in the Scripture, in God's Worship and Service, as necessary, ought to be reputed an Adding to God's Word, *a Teaching for Doctrine the Commands of Men*, Superstition, Will-Worship, or Worshipping God in vain, as p. 12. then how can you avoid the same Charge brought against you by the Dissenters, when you (as self-judg'd and condemn'd) do the same Things? For are not your Rites and Ceremonies confess'd by you to be *Indifferent Things*, as p. 9, 10. impos'd upon Dissenters as absolutely necessary, to the Excommunicating, or as much as lyes in you, Damning their Souls, Ruining their Bodies and Estates, who conscientiously scruple and refuse them, as p. 11, 12, 13.

Query 3. If you declare the Rites, Services and Ceremonies in the Liturgy are of *Primitive Antiquity*, and not of *Popish Novelty*, as p. 14, 15. and that you have left (or separated from) the Church of *Rome*, because they have left *Primitive Antiquity*, and therefore the Dissenters have no Cause to boggle at, or scruple them as Popish. But if it appear to be quite otherwise, as the Examination of each particular seems to demonstrate; as

16, 17, 18, 19, 20, &c. viz. That they are not of Primitive Antiquity, but of Popish Novelty, and all of them fetch'd from the Institution of Popes and Popish Councils and Canons, and not from Jesus Christ, and his New Testament Canons: If so, then *First*, Whether you do not betray much Rashness and Weakness (not to say with the *Protestant Reconciler*, one of your own) Falshood and Hypocrisy? And *Secondly*, Whether you do not thereby justify the Dissenters Separation from you, as warrantable, because they separate from you, for being in the Practice of Popish Superstition and Un-written Tradition, because they are expressly commanded by Christ, *To separate, and come out from such unwarrantable Practices*, 2 Cor. 6. 14, 15, 16, 17, 18. Rev. 18. 4. *Lest partaking of such Sins, they share of the threatned Judgments?* It being very dishonourable as well as dangerous to halt betwixt two. If God be God, he (but if *Baal*, he) is to be served and followed.

To which purpose we find in that most remarkable Letter of Bishop *Hall* to Dr. *Laud*, afterwards Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, that which is very instructive upon this Account, whereof therefore, I shall presume to give you this following Part of it; viz. 'Resolve (*saieth he*) one Way, and know at last what you do hold, and what you should cast off, either your Wings or your Teeth; and loathing this Bait, like Nature, be either a Bird or Beast: If you must begin, why not now? It is dangerous Deferring that whose Want is deadly, and whose Opinion is doubtful. God cryeth out with *Jehu*, *Who is on my Side? Who?* Look at least out of your Window to him, and with a resolute Courage cast down this *Jezebel*, &c." Thus far the good Bishop. Which is a good Caution against Indifference, and Lukewarmness in the Service of Christ, agreeable to our Saviour, *Rev. 3. to Laodicea*, *I would thou wert either cold or hot, &c.*

Query 4. If your selves have judg'd Popish Imposition and Persecution for Conscience, to be Antichristian, Wolfish and Beastly, wholly contrary to Christianity,

and the Lamb-like Nature of Christ; and that 'tis Injustice and barbarous Cruelty to afflict Men for what they can't help, and a plain Rebellion against God, by wresting his Scepter, and usurping his Empire over Conscience, out of his Hand, the Principle itself being so much decry'd by so many of your great Men, as well Kings as Parliaments; as p. 51, 52.

Then whether you doing the same thing, *viz.* Imposing on the Consciences of your Brethren, and Persecuting them with so much Cruelty, to the Ruining, as much as lies in you, both their Souls, Bodies, Liberties and Estates, be not to be self-judg'd with a Witness? *2dly.* Does it not greatly justify the former Popish Cruelties (and make way for new ones) over Protestants, as well as contract their Guilt, appearing thus in their Spirit and Practice, as Christ told the persecuting *Jews* in that day, that they thereby fill'd up the Measure of their Fathers, &c. and brought the Guilt of the former Blood on themselves, ev'n from the Blood of righteous *Abel*, &c. *3dly.* Is it not a wonderful Contradiction to abet, succour and relieve the *French Presbyterian* Dissenters, under their cruel Persecutions for their *Non-Conformity*, and yet at the same time to exercise all that Cruelty, Ruin and Destruction to the *English Presbyterian* Non-Conformists, like the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*, who built the Tombs of the Prophets, and at the same time kill'd the Prophets. And *4thly.* Whether you do not hereby raise a mighty Cry of Christ's poor Lambs (appointed by you to the Slaughter) against you to their Lord and Master, and who may thereupon say to you, as to persecuting *Saul* of old, *Why do you persecute me? 'tis hard for you to kick against the Pricks.*

But 'tis possible you may say, *That the Persecution is not from you, but barely the Prosecution of the Laws we transgress, which if we break we must thank ourselves, & not complain of you.*

So said *Bonner* of old to the Martyrs in *Q. Mary's* Days, and so said the *Scribes* and *Pharisees* of Christ, *They had a Law, and by their Law he ought to dye.* But you know 'tis a Maxim in the *English Law*, 28 *H. 8.* *That if any Law, Usage or Custom be contrary to God's Law, they are null and void in*

themselves. And how much such Laws so rigorously put in force against Dissenters, are against both the Law of God and Nature, you have by your own Pens decided, and do also know what the proper Interpreters of the Law have said of 'em, viz. that *Protestant Dissenters* are not intended by them, but the *Popish* only; as p. 47, 48, 49, 50.

And as for the severe Penalties inflicted on Dissenters as seditious and riotous for their Assembling together to worship God, as tho' they thereby infringed the Law, and violated the Publick Peace; and for which they have in these three last Years suffer'd in their Estates and Trades, at least two Millions (as suppos'd) contrary to the true Intent and Meaning of those Statutes, if the Maxim of the Law be true, that *The Intention makes the Legal Trespass*, both as to TREASON, Felony, Murder and Riot; Twenty Three Years Experience evidencing their quiet and peaceable Behaviour, and that they have been as far from Sedition and Riot (as the Law defines) as any in the Nation.

Lamb. Erenar
chs. p. 175.
ch. 4.

Lamberd our great English Lawyer, defining a Riot, tells us, 'Tis where three or more Persons be disorderly assembled in Armour, with an Intent to commit with Force and Violence an unlawful Act; and that great Numbers being assembled together make no Riot, 'till such a riotous Intent be known; quoting these following Statutes, so defining it, 13 H.4. c.7. 2H.5. c. 8. 4 H. 7. c. 13. 2 Edw. 3. c. 3. 2 R. 2. c. 6.

But have you disown'd and witnessed against the Cruelties exercis'd, and done what you cou'd to prevent them? or rather with *Edom* stood on the other side? *Obad. v. 11.* and help'd forward your Brethren's Afflictions, and by your Presses, Pulpits and Addresses, and cruel Courts, further'd it all that lies in you.

Query 5. If you declare, that 'tis no sinful Separation to separate from those who separate from the Truth and true Church, but a Duty to God and ourselves, to free us from Sin and Suffering, as p. 71. Then if you yourselves have made a Separation from the Truth and true Church, you not only reproach your own Separation from Rome, but justify your Brethrens from you, as warrantable by your own Principles; Who

art thou that judgest another, and dost the same things, &c ?

Query 6. If by your own, as well as Scripture Rules, 'tis no Sedition nor Contempt to Authority, not to obey the unlawful Commands of Magistrates in the things of God, as p. 64, 65, 66. Then whether your *Dissenting Brethren* are not most injuriously dealt with by you, for that great Out-cry gone out against 'em from your Pulpits and Presses, for *Sedition* and *Rebellion* ? when 'tis only in the Matter of their God you have to accuse 'em, and for their saying with the Apostles, *It is better to obey God than Men*; there being in truth no more Sedition nor Rebellion to be found either in their Principles or Practice, than your own.

Query 7. If all this be true, then whether it does not very much explain that usual Saying, *That Popery is rather to be chosen than Presbytery*; and that 'tis better to be a Papist than a Presbyter ?

Thus, Sir, you have something which the *Dissenters* have to say for themselves, hoping it shall not be judg'd either Unreasonable or Unseasonable, to present to you this their just Defence, and give you thus *the Merits of the Cause*, not only from your Call so to do (and a Silence thereupon might either bespeak consenting Guilt, or prevent a satisfying Reply to our conscientious Scruples) but also the many severe Pressures and Sufferings we lye under from you for our *Non-Conformity*, which may plead some Excuse for this *modest Plea*; Loosers being admitted the Liberty of Speech, as *Sick Men* to groan, and the *Afflicted* to cry; therefore may we not hope for a fair Admission of our *Plaint* for present, as better Usage for the future, since we have not to do with savage *Indians*, nor brutish *Irish*, *Massacring-Cut-Throats*, worse than *Canibals* (to whom all Reason, Right and Truth is inaccessible) but with our own *Country-men*, *Neighbours*, *Fellow-Citizens*, *Acquaintance*, *Relations*, *Gentlemen*, *Scholars*, with Men professing the same *Protestant Religion* with ourselves, and with so many who have offer'd Reasons and Arguments to us, and may therefore hope, they'll receive it from us (how else can they answer our *Scruples*) and not stop our Mouths with *Goals*, *Pillories* and *Halters* (say what they please, to render us and our Principles obnoxious, and

refuse and reject our just Defence, it being below *Common Ingenuity* to challenge an Adversary to the Field, and when he appears, cause him to be disarm'd, gagg'd and bound, and then manfully cudgel him, and boast of a Conquest, (as be it from us so to think) and particularly since you yourselves lye under the same Censure of *Schism, Heresy* and *Sedition* from the *Popish Party*, as we from you, and have giv'n the same Arguments to justify your Separation from them, as we from you; so that there wants nothing but *Demonstration, Candor* and *Charity* to set all honest *Protestants* to rights.

But especially living under a Prince, who has express'd so much *tender Regard*, and so many *Promises* to *tender Consciences*, who live peaceably, and who is of that *Sagacity* and *Prudence*, to judge, whether 'twill be more for his Interest and Profit to root up and destroy such an innocent, peaceable and profitable People, and suffer their Substance to be tak'n from 'em (as some wicked *Hamans* may suggest and provoke) or with the *Eastern Monarchs* (in like case) to let such *cruel Harpies* and *bloody Incendiaries* against the innocent *Non-Conformist*: of this Day, feel his just Rebukes, as *Esh. 7. 10. 8. 11, &c. Dan. 3. 29. 6. 24.* And as to enrich the *Treasury*, whether 'tis not like to be more *effectual & just*, to do it with *Popish Emoluments* yet remaining in the Nation, and to take up where *H. 8.* left, and make thorow Work of it.

Lastly, To conclude, be pleas'd in your own Words to be exhorted, *That laying aside all Prejudices, Favour to, or Admiration of Mens Persons, evil Affection, Love of a Party, or carnal Interest to byass your Judgment, you would impartially weigh & consider the Arguments herein propos'd, being diffident of your own Apprehension, and indifferent to either part of the Question, and think it no shame to change your Mind when better Reason is offer'd you; for the Dissenters desire none to be their Profelites any further than they give Scripture and Reason for it; resting very confident, that if they cou'd prevail with People equally to hear both Sides, and diligently to examine the Merits of the Cause, their Churches would ev'ry Day gain more Ground amongst all wise Men; so saith also,*

Your Friend and Servant, Thomas De Laune.

To the READER.

READER,

YOU have here a brief, and I hope, satisfactory Account (from many Learned Authorities) of the Rise and Original of many of the Rites and Ceremonies now in Question (which have, and do occasion so much Trouble and Distress) the only Right Way to end Disputes, and which was the Method Christ took with the Pharisees, Mat. 19. 8. and which Dr. Pierce so wisely observes from him, in confuting the Papists: Whereby it is easily discern'd what is from above, and what from beneath; what from God, and what from Man. This proves their Rise and Birth to be many Hundred Years before Christ, therefore not from him for Christian Service.

The Learned Casaubon in his Original of Idolatry (writ in French, and collected (as his Epistle tells us) from Eusebopolitan's Commentaries, Translated by Mr. Darcy) says, p. 73.

That the main and principal Parts of the Mass are digested and brought in by Numa Pompilius [the second King of the Romans, a great Magician, about 700 Years before Christ, p. 37.] The further Additions were invented by other Roman Pontiffs, and especially by a Monk, call'd Gregory, the first of that Name, who attain'd the Papacy, being instructed in Pythagorical Magick and Philosophy, having also study'd the Laws of King Tullus Hostilius, Successor to Numa, and to the End he might perpetuate his Name, instituted divers Additions to the Mass, &c.

You have therefore (for your better Information) this Parallel-Scheme here presented to you, of the Pagan and Papal Rites and Ceremonies, where you find the great Harmony and Agreement that is between them therein (the Child being not more like the Father, than Rome Papal is to Rome Pagan in its Ecclesiastical Rites and Service) and therefore is it

not significantly by the Holy Ghost stiled, The Image of the Beast, Rev. 13. 14, 15, &c. And did it not prove the healing the Deadly Wound giv'n to the Dragonical Beast? Ver. 4. And who you'll find not to be in greater Non-Conformity to the Pagan, than to the Christian Church, of which you have a brief Prospect from the Scripture, the true Standard to try and judge all Images and Idols by.

But you'll say, Why do you give the Heathen the Denomination of a Church, Is that proper? Yes, Why not? Do you not read of the Church of Evil-Doers? Psal. 26. And Synagogue of Satan, Rev. 2. And I know no Reason why Rome Pagan the Mother, may not be so call'd, as well as Rome Papal, the Daughter, who fetches so much of her Ecclesiastical Policy, Church-Rites, Services and Ceremonies from her. But did not Pagan Rome kill Christ, and disown Christianity, which Papal Rome did not? It is true, Rome Pagan did murder Christ in his Person, and so doth Rome Papal in his Members, which is killing him afresh; and tho' in Words, they seem with Judas to say, Hail Master, and kiss him, with a Jesu, Jesu, yet in their Words they Deny, Betray, Sell and Crucify him; and by blasphemous Traditions and impious Superstitions, make void his whole Law, usurp his Throne and Authority, sit in the Temple of God as God, changing Times, Laws, and Ordinances.

As to the Authorities to justify each Particular, which you might have expected under each Head, I must refer you to a larger Piece treating thereof, which doth it very distinctly, this being but the Epitome of it, tho' in general, you may understand the following Authors have been consulted hereupon, viz. Plutarch in Numa, Tacitus, Titus Livius Decad. Plioy, Alex. ab Alexand. Blund de Rom. Triump. Durandus, Darcy's Translation of Cantabon, Dr. Moore's Mystery of Iniquity, and that late Worthy and most Excellent Piece, call'd Pagana Papismus, &c.

Thine in the Service of Truth, T. D.

Ἐικὼν τοῦ Διαι.

OR, THE

IMAGE of the BEAST:

Shewing, by a Parallel Scheme,

What a *Conformist* the Church of Rome is to the *Pagan*:

AND

What a *Non-Conformist* to the *Christian Church*, in its Rites, Services and Ceremonies.

The *Dragonical*, or *Pagan Church* consisteth in, *viz.*

I. Its Head.

THE Emperor of Rome, presiding by the Policy of *Hell*, over all Ecclesiastical Affairs, as well as Civil, was call'd *Pontifex maximus*, or *High Priest*; to whom was giv'n *divine Honour*, and Prostration at his Feet: And as Head of the Church, or *High Priest*, had *First-Fruits*, *Annates*, *Oblations*, &c. paid him, and also a *Purpurate Synod*, or Princes in Purple to assist him.

The *Beastly*, *Papal Church* is conformable to the *Pagan* in,

I. Its Head.

THE Pope of Rome presiding by the Policy of *Hell*, over all Ecclesiastical Affairs, claiming the Civil, is also call'd *Pontifex maximus*, or *High Priest*; to whom *divine Honour* is giv'n, and Prostration at his Feet: And as Head of the Church and *High Priest*, has *First-Fruits*, *Annates* and *Oblations*, &c. paid him, and a *Purpurate Synod*, *viz.* *Cardinals* in Purple to assist him.

The *Christian Church* consisteth in, *viz.*

I. Its Head.

Neither Emperor, Pope, nor King, but *Christ* himself, to whom the Father has committed it, having purchas'd it also with his own Blood, who as *High Priest* and *King*, is the alone *Author*, and *Institutor* of its *Order*, *Rule* and *Worship*, with all Things that belong thereto; and necessary to be observ'd therein; to Whom *divine Honour* is duly paid; GOD blessed for ever, the Government on his Shoulders, without any *Catholic Vicar* to assist.

2. Its

2. Its Members.

The Members and Parts of the Church were the Parts of the *Empire*, as divided into Ten Parts, *Horns* or *Kingdoms*; and those Ten *Kingdoms* distributed into *Nations*, *Provinces*, *Diocesses* and *Cures*, under respective *Governors*, *Civil*, *Military*, and *Ecclesiastical*.

2. Its Members.

The Members and Parts of this *Catholick* Church, are the Parts of the *Empire*, as divided into Ten *Horns* or Ten *Kingdoms*; and those Ten *Kingdoms* distributed into *Nations*, *Provinces* and *Diocesses*, and *Parishes*, for the better Administration of *Papal* Jurisdiction.

2. Its Members.

The Members of the *Christian* Church are not any *Empire*, *Region*, *City*, *Diocess*, or *Province*, but only such of the Faithful, or Believers in all Parts of the World, who are call'd to visible *Sainthood*, and orderly put together into distinct *Congregations*, as *Christ* has directed in the *New-Testament*.

3. The Gods worshipped.

Besides their Supreme God *Jupiter*, or *Jove*, whose Name they deriv'd from *Jehovah*, the Governour of Heaven and Earth, they had divers inferior *Deities*, *Gods*, and *Goddesses*, whom they divinely worshipp'd; viz. *Diva Vesta*, (*Juno* or *Luna*) the Queen of Heaven (and Mother of God) with *Saturn*, *Mars*, *Venus*, *Mercury*, *Phæbus*, *Bacchus*, *Vulcan*, to whom they, as their *Numens*, *Heroes* or *Intercessors*, built *Temples*, erected *Altars* and *Statues*; dedicated *Feasts*, and call'd the Days by their Names; they had *Dæmons* *Ætherial*, and *Tutular* Gods and *Goddesses*, to be

3. The Gods worshipped.

Besides the Supreme God *Jehovah*, the Governour of Heaven and Earth they pretend to worship, they have divers inferior *Deities*, *Gods* and *Goddesses*, whom they divinely worship; viz. *Diva* or *Sancta Maria*, the Queen of Heaven (and Mother of God) with *Divus Petrus*, *St. Paul*, *St. John*, *St. Thomas*, *St. Stephen*, *St. Andrew*, &c. To whom they, as their *Numens* or *Intercessors*, build *Temples*, erect *Altars*, dedicate *Feasts*; paying also so much Reverence to the *Pagan* Gods, as to keep up their Names in the Days of the Week, viz. *Sunday*, *Monday*, *Tuesday*,

3. In Worshipping the True God, only and truly.

Tho' there be that are called *Gods*, whether in *Heaven* or in *Earth* (as there be *Gods* many, and *Lords* many) but to us there is but *One God*, the *Father*, of whom are all Things, and we in Him; and *One Lord Jesus*, by whom are all Things, and we by Him; 1 Cor. 5. 6. *Make no Mention of the Names of other Gods, neither let it be heard out of thy Mouth*, Exod. 23. 13. *Thou shalt have no other Gods besides Me, thou shalt not make to thy self any graven Image, or any Likeness of any Thing that is in Heaven above, or Earth beneath, Thou shalt not bow down thy self to them,*

be apply'd to by several Vocations, Countries, Cities, Families, Orders, Sick Persons; as *Divus Neptunus* for Mariners; *Divus Pan* for Shepherds; *Divus Pales* for Husband-Men; *Divus Flora* for the Curtesan; *Divus Diana* for the Hunts-Men; *Divus Esculapius* for the Physician; *Divus Bacchus* for the Good-Fellow; *Divus Mercurius* for Trades-men; they had Gods for ev'ry Family, Country, City, Diocese, as *Cant. sicat, Era,* &c. Besides in the *Pontifex Maximus* and *Synod*, was plac'd the Right of *Apotheosis*, or God-making; viz. To create and inroll some deceased Worthy in the Number of the Gods, to whom *Temples, Altars, Orders,* and *Statues* were appointed, and *Festivals* in their Names celebrated.

day, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, Saturday; they have also *Tutelar* and *Aetherial Gods* and *Goddeses*, to be apply'd to by several Vocations, Countries, Cities, Families, Orders, Sick Persons; as *Divus, or St. Nicholas* for the Mariner; *St. Windotine* for the Shepherd; *St. John Baptist* for the Husband-men; *St. Magdalene* for the Curtesan; *St. Hubart* for the Hunts-man; *St. Crispian* for the Shoemaker, &c. The City, Country, Family, and *Physick-Gods* are innumerable. *St. George* for England, *St. Denis* for France, *St. Mark* for Venice, &c. Gods almost for every Disease; besides the God-making Power, that is in the *Pope* and *Cardinals* to canonize what deceased Worthy they please, and to appoint 'em *Temples, Altars, Orders, Festivals.*

them, nor serve them; for I the Lord thy God am a Jealous God; Exod 20. 4, 5. What Agreement hath the Temple of God with Idols? For ye are the Temple of the Living God. Wherefore come out from amongst them, and be ye separate, saith the Lord, and touch not the unclean Thing, &c. The Things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to Devils and not to God; and I would not that you should have Fellowship with Devils, 1 Cor. 10. 20. Rev. 18. 4. 2 Cor. 6. 16.

4. The Places of Worship.

Temples, or Fanes, both rich and magnificent, they built in the Names, and dedicated to the Honour of their Gods; as the *Temple of Jupiter*, the *Capitol of Rome*, was dedicated to him; *Vesta* the Q. of Heaven, and Mother of God, had

4. The Places of Worship.

They enjoy'd the *Temples of the Heathen*, only new consecrated, and dedicated them to their own Gods, to whom they gave new Names at their *Christenings*; as *St. Saviour's* for *Jupiter*, *St. Mary's* for *Vesta's Temple*; And so for the rest

4. In its Worship, respecting Place.

There having been no consecrated Place, or holy Ground since the Dissolution of the Temple, by God's Appointment to build Temples, or Holy Places of Worship; the true Worshipers, who worship the Father in Spirit and Truth, are

P 2 truly

had a Temple, and Nunnery dedicated to her; and so had all the rest of the Gods, Saturn, Mars, Venus, Diana, Minerva, Neptune, Apollo, &c. yea, one to all the Gods, call'd PANTHEON. They build their Temples East and West, worshipping towards the East, by their Auguri and Auspices, with many Prayers, Ceremonies and Solemnities. They consecrated first the Ground, and then the Temple upon which it was built; Altars were erected in them, and sumptuously adorn'd, and Statues plac'd in them with lighted Candles, which they worshipped. A Feast of Dedication was Annually kept, to the Honour of the Demon the Temple was dedicated to; which after their Religious Rites were over, was spent in Revelling and Jollity; and this, as God's House, they paid great Reverence to.

5. The Times of Worship.

They divided their Days into Fests, Feast-Days; Profests, Working Days; and Intercists half Holy Days; the Feast Days they dedicated in the Name, and to the Honour of their Gods

rest of their Gods; St. Peter's for Apollo's. St. Paul's for the Temple of Diana (so it was at London) St. Nicholas for Neptune's, & All-Saints for PANTHEON. They built new Temples East and West, and worshipped as the Heathens did, towards the East; and do by their Priests, consecrate first the ground, then the Temple which stands upon it; Altars are erected in them, and sumptuously adorn'd, & Statues plac'd on 'em with lighted Candles, which they worship. A Feast of Dedication is Annually kept, to the Honour of the Saint the Temple is consecrated to, which is spent with Revelling and Jollity, and this, as God's House, they pay great Reverence to.

5. The Times of Worship.

They divided their Days into Feasts, Fasts, Vigils and Working Days (as their Kalendar mentions) their Feasts dedicated in the Names and to the Honour of their Saints (or Gods) are

truly his Church and House, wherever they meet, be it in Wood, Field, House or Barn; so saith the Apostle, with all, who in every Place call upon the Lord Jesus Christ, our Lord, 1 Cor. 1.2. Whose House are ye. Heb. 3.8. The most High dwelling not in Temples, made with bands, as saith the Prophet; What House will ye build me? Or what is the Place of my Rest? who sitt Heaven, and Earth. Acts 7.48, 49. No Altars and Candles, Worshipping East and West; or Feasts of Dedications in Christ's Church, being all Pagan or Papal Inventions.

5. The Times of Worship.

The first Day of the Week is the Christian Sabbath, and the only standing Time for Rest and Worship, to be observ'd Holy unto the Lord: The other six Days being

Gods were very many, some of their *Capital Feasts* were these, viz. Their *Saturnalia*, kept several Days together in *December*, with *Eul-games*, Mrs of *Misrule*, *Mascarading*, and all *Debaucheries*; adorning their *Temples* and *Houfes* with *green Leaves* and *Boughs*; the *Epiphany*, (from the *Appearing* of their *Gods*); their *Proserpinalia*, or *Feasts* of *Candles* in *February*; their *Palelia*, or *Shepherds Feasts* on *Midsummer-Day*; their *Floralia* on *May-Day*, with great *Jollity* by young *People* of both *Sexes*, scattering *Boughs* and *Flowers*, and dancing about *May-Poles*; their *Ambervalia*, or *Procession*, when they beg'd a *Blessing* of their *Gods* on their *Fields* and *Fruits*; the *Feast* of *Easter* to that *Goddeſs* in *April*; they had their *Bachanalia*, their *Ceralia*, their *Vernalia*, and their *Panathenea*, a *Feast* to all their *Gods*; *Canonical Hours* for *Sacrifice* and *Devotion*; and a *Jubilee*, or *Year* of *Reſt*.

are very many, some of their *Capital Feasts* are these; viz *Christ-mas* (their *Saturnalia*) observed directly both in *Time* and *Manner* as theirs was, with *Eul-Games*, Mrs of *Misrule*, *Mascarades*, *Debaucheries*; adorning their *Houfes* and *Temples* with *green Leaves* and *Boughs*; the *Epiphany Feaſt* as theirs; also *Candle-mas*, the *Purification* of the *Virgin Mary*, in *February*, as their *Proserpinalia*, or *Candle Feaſt*; their *St. John Bapitiſt* on *Midsummer Day*, as their *Palelia*; also *Philip* and *Jacob* on *May-Day*, kept as their *Flora's Feaſt*, *Time* and *Manner*; also *Proceſſion* or *Perambulation*, in *Rogation Week*, *Time* and *Manner*, with their *Ambervalia*; also the *Feaſt* of *Eaſter*, *Time*, *Name* and *Manner*; they have their *Whitſon-Ales* for their *Bachanalia*; their *All-Saints* for their *Panathenea*, *Canonical Hours* for *Service*, and a *Year* of *Jubilee* for *Reſt*.

appointed for *Labour*, as the *Fourth Commandment* orders, viz. *Remember to keep holy the ſeventh Day, ſix Days ſhalt thou labour, and do all thy Work*. The *Pope*, that *Changer* of *Times*, ſaith, *Thou ſhalt labour but three or four Days, the reſt are his Holy Days*; no *Set-Times*, either for *Feaſts*, *Faſts* or *Vigils*, are appointed by *Chriſt*, which are only to be obſerv'd as *Occaſion* is adminiſtered; all their *Holy Days* and *Festiivals* celebrated in *Honour* of the *Papal* and *Pagan Gods*, *Numens* or *Dæmons*, are an *Abomination* to the *Lord*, and a great *Oppreſſion* to the *Nations*; *God* requiring but a *ſeventh Part* of *Time* for his *Publick Worſhip* and *Service*; and they exact half, if not two *Thirds* of it, for the *Worſhip* and *Service* of their *Idols*.

4. Its Priesthood.

They had *Superior Priests*, viz. *Flamins*, and *Arch-Flamins*, for *Pacer-*

5. Its Priesthood.

Their *Priests* were either *Superior*, viz. *Bishops* and *Arch-Bishops*,

6. Its Ministry.

In *Chriſt's Church* there are only *Two Sorts* of *Offices*, and *Officers*

Sacerdotal Service in their Provinces and Diocesses; and *Inferior Priests*, distinguished by dignify'd Names, *Tonsures, Orders, Habits*; the Dignify'd Priests were those who attended on the Capital Temples, as the proper Priests of *Jupiter, Apollo, Minerva, Vesta, Diana, Venus, Cybele*, some of which were called *Dialia, Martialis, Querinalia, Augures, Salians, Fecials*. And more inferior Priests who had the Care of the sacred Celebrations, in the Cures call'd *Curiones*; there were proper Habits for all the Priesthood, and particular *Vestments* for their *Divine Service*, viz. *Albes, Tunicles, Amicts*; they had *Tonsures* and Shavings, so the Priests of *Isis, Diana, Jupiter*; divers Orders of Priests, whereof most *Cælebate*, to whom Marriage was prohibited; as the Priests of *Vesta, Minerva, Apollo*, and those of *Cybele*; who were castrated, elected, and consecrated according to the Ritual of *Numa*, and put into their Cures by the *Pontifex*, maintain'd according to their

shops, for Sacerdotal Service in Provinces and Diocesses; or *Inferior*, distinguish'd by Dignify'd Names, *Tonsures, Orders, Habits*; the Dignify'd Clergy were those who attended the *Capital, or Cathedral Churches*, as *Deans, Chapters, Prebends, Arch-Deacons*: And the more *Inferior Priests*, who have Care of Sacred Celebrations in the *Cures or Parishes*, call'd *Curats, Parsons, Vicars, Deacons*, answering their *Curiones*; they have proper Habits for the *Clergy*, and particular *Vestments* for their holy Ministrations, viz. *Surplises, or Albes, Chasubles, or Tunicles, Vails, or Amicts, to which they add Coapes, Ephods, Miniples, Zones, &c.* They have *Tonsures* or Shavings of their Orders, and most whereof *Cælebate*, to whom Marriage is forbidden; Elected, and Consecrated according to the *Pope's Ecclesiastical Canons*, and put into their Cures by his Authority, maintain'd according to their Ecclesiastical Customs; the *Popes* by *Annates, Oblations, &c.* The *Priests*

Officers (by the *New Testament Appointment*) viz. *Elders and Deacons*; the *Elders* to administer *Ordinances*, and to govern the Church. And *Deacons* to make Provision for, to visit, and take care of the *Poor*, none of the *Ministry* distinguish'd from the *Layety*, by Habits or *Tonsures*, which are all *Pagan* and *Papal Inventions*, and *Abominations*; the Prohibition of *Marriage* being a *Doctrine of Devils*; Elected and Consecrated according to *Christ's Canons*, by the particular *Congregations*; wherein they serve *Christ*; and according to *Christ's Law* and *Primitive Practice*, are maintain'd by the *Voluntary Contribution* of the *Flocks* they feed, and rule, having no *Benefices*, or forc'd Maintenance of *Tythes* to live upon.

their Ecclesiastical Constitution; the *Pontiffs* by *Annates, Oblations*; and the *Priests* by *Benefices, Offerings, Obsequies, &c.*

7. Its Rites and Ceremonies.

Their principal Service comprehending most of their Rites and Ceremonies, was call'd the *Mass*, whereof ten principal Parts, viz. 1st. The *Asperges*, which was sprinkling with Holy Water at the Temple-Door, all that attended that Service for Sanctification. 2^{dly}, The *Procession*, when the *Priest* in his *Vest, shaven Crown, Taper* in his Hand, carry'd about *Shrines* with *Supplication* and *Thanksgiving*, with *Musick*. 3^{dly}, *Trimming Altars* with *Cloths, Lights* and *Images*. 4^{thly}, The *Confiteor*, making *Confession* and *Supplication* to the *Gods*. 5^{thly}, The *Vertegines*, viz. *Antick Postures* and *Gestures*, of the *Priest* at the *Altar*. 6^{thly}, The *Church Musick* *Vocal*, and *Instrumental*; putting up *Canticles, Paans, Collects* to their *Gods*, with *Organs, Flutes, Viols, &c.* 7^{thly}, The *Thural* Part, offering

In

by *Benefices, Offerings, Oblations, Obsequies, &c.*

7. Its Rites and Ceremonies.

Their principal Service comprehending most of their Rites and Ceremonies, is call'd the *Mass*, where we find, 1st, The *Asperges*, or sprinkling with Holy Water at the *Temple-Door*, for *Sanctification*, all that attend the *Service*. 2^{dly}, The *Procession*, wherein the *Priest* in his *Vest, shaven Crown, Taper* in his Hand, carries about the *Relicks* or *Shrines*, with *Supplication* and *Singing* with *Musick*. 3^{dly}, *Adorning the Altars*, with *Cloths, Lights, Images*. 4^{thly}, The *Confiteor*, or *Confession*. 5^{thly}, The *Vertegines*, viz. *Windings, Turnings*, and *Lifting up* of the *Priest's Hands*. 6^{thly}, Their *Church-Musick*, *Vocal* and *Instrumental*; putting up *Songs, Collects, Anthems, &c.* With *Organs, Flutes, Viols, Voices*. 7^{thly}, *Offering Incense* with *Oodours*, and *Perfumes*. 8^{thly}, The *Offertory* or *Offerings*. 9^{thly}, The

Wa

7. Its Rites and Ceremonies.

No such Things in *Christ's Service*, by his *Appointment*, as *Liturgies, Letanies, Church-Musick, Organs, Flutes, Viols, Singing of Prayers, Anthems, or Collects*; no *Burning Incense, Odors, Tapers, Candles* upon *Altars*; no *Cringsings, Crossings, Kneelings* at *Altars*, *Bowing* to the *East*; but *Praying* in the *Spirit*, and *Praising* in the *Spirit*, and *Receiving* the *Lord's - Supper, the Bread* and the *Wine*, according to his *Institution*, without all their *Pagan* and *Papal* *Inventions* and *Superstitions*.

8^{thly}.

Incense, Odours and Perfumes. 8thly, The *Offertory*, viz. Oblations and Offerings. 9thly, The *Round Host*, or small round *Loaves*, given to the *Communicants*. 10thly, The *Conclusion*, with *Ite missa est*, pronounc'd by the *Priest*; they had many *Curvations*, or *Bowings*, *Fastings*, *Flagilations*, or *Whippings*, *Lying-Wonders*, by *Sorcery*, and miraculous *Appearing* of their *Gods*, *Dirges*, *worshipping* towards the *East*.

Waser, or *Round Host*, given to the *Communicants*. 10thly, The *Conclusion*, with *Ite missa est*, pronounc'd by the *Priest*; they have *Curvations*, *Flagilations*, *Penances*, *Lying-Wonders*, *Dirges*, *worshipping* towards the *East*. They have also several *Additions* to the *Mass*, as *Letanies*, *Epistles*, *Gospels*, *Canons*, *Tracts*, *Kiss-pix*, *Crosses*, *Kneelings*, &c.

8. In its Imposition and Persecution.

They violently impose their *Service* and *Ceremonies*, not suffering the *Dissenting Christians*, to buy or sell; persecuting them to *Confiscation* and *Blood*.

8. In its Imposition and Persecution.

They violently impose their *Service* and *Ceremonies*, not suffering the *Dissenters*, to buy, or sell; but persecute them to *Confiscation* and *Blood*.

8. In its Love, Meekness, &c.

No forcible *Imposition* of *Christ's Service*, no *Persecution*, *Corporal Mulcts*, and *Punishments* on *Dissenters* or *Gainfayers*; but the *Exercise* of all *Love*, *Patience*, and *Long-Suffering*, with *Gentleness* towards them.

A
NARRATIVE
OF THE
SUFFERINGS
OF

Thomas De Laune,

For Writing, Printing and Publishing a Late Book, Call'd, *A PLEA for the NON-CONFORMISTS*; With some Modest Reflections thereon.

Directed to Dr. Calamy, in Obedience to whose *CALL*, that Work was undertaken.

By *THOMAS DELAUNE.*

Gal. 4. 16. *Am I, therefore, become your Enemy, because I tell you the Truth?*

Eccles. 5. 8. *If thou seest the Oppression of the Poor, and Violent Perverting of Judgment and Justice in a Province, marvel not at the Matter; for He that is higher than the Highest regardeth.*

1 Pet. 3. 14. *If you suffer for Righteousness sake, happy are ye; and be not afraid of their Terrors, neither be ye troubled.*

Printed in the Year, 1684. and Re-printed

1712.



A
 NARRATIVE
 OF THE
 SUFFERINGS
 OF

Thomas De Laune, &c.

S I R,

I Am concern'd to acquaint you with my Case, and because possibly, some Affairs that are more considerable to you, may have diverted you from any Inquiry, respecting a Prisoner (whose Compliance to you made him so) I will give you a brief Account of the whole, and entreat you to give me some Resolution to some certain Things which I shall propose; which if fairly resolv'd, will, in my Opinion, prove a considerable Step to convince a great many *Scrupulous Consciences*, or else give a Check to Pulpit and Prefs-Challenges; and mollify the Hearts of such as so ruinously and severely prosecute them, for such Scruples as are invincible by any other *Medium* than what you direct to, *viz.* Our ONLY RULE OF FAITH, the BIBLE.

My Case is briefly thus.

ON the Twenty-Ninth of *November* last, Late in the Evening, I was Apprehended by one *Robert Stephens*, a Messenger to the Press; and by him Carry'd before *Sir Thomas Jenner*, now Recorder of *London*, who ask'd me divers Questions, the most material of which are mention'd in the following Letter sent afterwards to him: By the same Recorder I was sent to the Compter in *Wood-street*, where I had most wretched Accommodation; I was turn'd in amongst the Common-Side Prisoners, where a hard Bench was my Bed, and Two Bricks my Pillow; and not suffer'd to see some of my Acquaintance that were Prisoners there, as *Dissenters*.

Next Morning *Mr. Stephens* got me call'd to the Lodge, and to his Praise be it spoken, narrowly search'd me for Papers, but found none for his Purpose, and so left me to be turn'd in again; but a little While after I was sent by a fresh Warrant to *Newgate*. The Copy of which follows.

To the Keeper of *Newgate*, or his Deputy.

London ss. YOU are hereby requir'd to receive into your Custody the Body of *Thomas De Laune*, and him safely keep, until he shall be deliver'd by due Course of Law; for that it appear'd before me, by his own Confession, that he is the Author and Pen-Man of a Certain Pamphlet, Entitul'd, *A Plea for the Non-Conformists*; and hath caused many hundred Sheets thereof to be Printed, wherein are contain'd several Seditious and Dangerous Matters against the Government, and for that he refus'd to find Sureties to appear at the Next Sessions of the Peace, to be held for the City of *London* at the *Old-Baily*, and to be of Good Behaviour in the mean Time, and for your so Doing this shall be your Warrant. Given under my Hand

Hand and Seal, this XXXth Day of November, Anno Caroli Secundi nunc Angliæ, &c. 35. Annoq; Dom. 1683.

Tho. Jenner, Recorder,

Exam. per A. Nicolas.

By Virtue of that Warrant I was committed to *Newgate*, and lodg'd amongst *Felons*, whose horrid Company made a perfect Representation of that Horrible Place, which you describe when you mention *HELL*. But after Two Days and Nights, without any Refreshment, the Unusualness of that Society and Place having impair'd my Health, the Constitution of which, at best, is very Tender and Crazy; but I am now in the *Pres-Yard*, a Place of some Sobriety, tho' still a Prison.

Some few Days after I sent the following Letter to Sir *Thomas Jenner*, and on the Eighth of *December*, by my Wife, another to you; the Words of the former were these.

To Sir *Thomas Jenner*, Kt, Recorder of London.

SIR,

YOU know I was committed Prisoner first to the Compter in *Wood-Street*, then to *Newgate*, by your Warrant. In my *Mittimus* 'tis said, that I refus'd to give Bail, which is a Mistake; for being ask'd by you, whether I would give Bail then? I said I could not, it being so late at Night, when I had no Opportunity to send to such as would Bail me, and being ask'd whether I would give Bail the next Morning? I said I knew not whether I could or not; because I was not certain, whether such, to whom I might have made Application, would do it or not: This was no Sullenness, nor Obstinacy in me, but what my real Apprehensions then were. Some Friends of mine, Free-Men of this City, went afterwards to be my Bail,

‘ Bail, but they were told you were not at Home;
 ‘ They made thereupon an Application to Sir *William*
 ‘ *Turner*, who refer’d them to you.

‘ It is said in the Warrant, that I confess’d I was
 ‘ the Author of a Libel, entitul’d, *A Plea for the Non-*
 ‘ *Conformists*; wherein are contain’d Things dangerous
 ‘ to the Government, of which thus much and no fur-
 ‘ ther is true; I confess’d before you, that I deliver’d
 ‘ a Manuscript of my own Writing to one *John How*,
 ‘ with that Title, in Order to be Printed; and that
 ‘ if the Print agreed with the Manuscript, I would own
 ‘ it, otherwise I could not; because the Misplacing of
 ‘ a Stop, the Mis-Printing of a Letter, or Syllable, or
 ‘ some other Errata’s of the Press, would alter the
 ‘ Sence ev’n to Contradiction of what was intended to
 ‘ be discuss’d; which was not as my Indictment words
 ‘ it, (in a Form of aggravating Terms) but in Order
 ‘ to a plain Disquisition of such Things, as Dr. *Calamy*
 ‘ from Pulpit and Press invited Dissenters to enquire
 ‘ into, as you may see in his Book call’d, *A Discourse*
 ‘ *of a Scrupulous Conscience*. There is nothing of Mat-
 ‘ ters relating to the Civil State, in what I am charg’d
 ‘ with, for I am not concern’d with that; but if the
 ‘ Guides of the Church (as Dr. *Calamy* calls the Bene-
 ‘ fic’d Men of the Church of *England*) will make pub-
 ‘ lick Challenges, they should receive Objections with-
 ‘ out Punishing the Objectors, whose (suppos’d) Crime
 ‘ is only for obeying them; and that you know, Sir,
 ‘ is disagreeable to Justice.

‘ If any Thing I have done, falls within the Lash of
 ‘ the *English* Laws, *Fiat Justitia*: But I am satisfy’d, I
 ‘ have done nothing in this Point unbecoming an honest
 ‘ Subject, a Scholar, a Gentleman, and which is worth
 ‘ all, a Christian. I commit the whole Matter, with
 ‘ Respect to this Dispute, to that SUPREAM LE-
 ‘ GISLATOR, Who is without Exception, JUST;
 ‘ and Who will judge all that are subordinate to Him,
 ‘ which is all from

Sir, Your Servant, Thomas De Laune.

To Dr. Benjamin Calamy, These.

S I R,

IN your Printed Sermon, entitul'd *Scrupulous Con-*
science; you know you gave a fair Invitation to
 such as differ from you, to examine what each Party
 (viz. *Conformists* and *Non-Conformists*) say for them-
 selves, with Respect to the Rites and Ceremonies,
 which the Guides of the Church impose on their
 Members; and by Penal Laws on their *Protestant Fel-*
low Subjects, the *Non-Conformists*: Without Doubt
 your Call to such, pre-suppos'd a Reply, by which
 you expected, that there may be either an Opportu-
 nity giv'n to you and your Brethren, to rectify what
Scrupulous Consciences misunderstand; or that there may
 be some Relaxation procur'd of the Severity they
 undergo, if their Dissent appears to be warranted by
 that ONLY RULE OF FAITH, which Dr. *Stilling-*
fleet, and other Eminent Conformists call the BIBLE.

If you did not expect an Answer, or thought that
 none (for Fear of the *Act of Uniformity*, &c.) would
 make any Return to your Call; what can a Man of
 Reason judge, but that it was a Florid Declamation,
 or a Triumphant Harrangue, a meer Mockery and
 Ensnaring of poor *Scrupulous Consciences*, when they
 must be so muzzl'd, that they must not exhibit the
 Causes of their Doubts. Sir, you know, that 'tis un-
 equal to gagg the Respondent, when the Opponent's
 Mouth is at Liberty; or to manacle the Assaulted,
 when the Challenger flourishes a Menacing Sword.

Upon that Publick Call of yours, I adventur'd to
 examine (with the most diligent Search I could make)
 what each of the said Parties say for themselves; and
 this not out of any Litigious Principle (that *Pruritus*
Disputandi) now too fatally grown Epidemical; but
 to give such as are concern'd, Occasion to investigate
 these disputed Matters to the very Foundation, to
 the Clearing up of Truth in a Juncture when it can
 never

' never be more seasonable. What was digested, was
 ' intended to be sent you in a Manuscript, with some
 ' modest Inferences and Enquiries; but on Recollection,
 ' I judg'd it would more answer your End, *viz.* Publick
 ' Information, to have such Arguments as are produce-
 ' able by the Dissenters, as publick as the Invitation
 ' you gave them from Pulpit and Press; it being equal,
 ' that the Answer should be as spreading as the Ob-
 ' jections.

' I am far from the Vanity of pretending to be your
 ' Competitor in the Faculties of the Schools: I cannot
 ' judge of them any otherwise, than as unserviceable
 ' to Christian Religion, unless tinctur'd with that Grace
 ' derivate only from the Sanctifier of all Gifts; which I
 ' hope you partake of.

' I am one of the meanest of the Flock, yet not
 ' below the Regard of the Shepherd of Souls, who is
 ' no Respector of Persons, and whose Example such as
 ' call themselves his Ambassadors ought to follow.
 ' And therefore, tho' some who pin their Faith on
 ' Canonical Sleeves, may censure me, for Opposing
 ' (or if I may use a Military Metaphor, taking up the
 ' Gantlet against a Man of your Figure) yet I can take
 ' up my Satisfaction in this, that it was not Pride,
 ' nor a Popular Itch, much less the Love of a Prison,
 ' influenc'd me to become an Answerer of your *Scrupu-*
 ' *pulous Consciences.*

' I could heartily wish (as a Mercy to these Nations)
 ' that all Religious Differences were compos'd by E-
 ' vangelical Rules, and that all who own the Name of
 ' Christ, would serve him with one Heart, and with
 ' one Soul, and not tear each other to Pieces, which
 ' by Consequence, must expose them as a Prey, to such
 ' as gape for their Destruction.

' If the Sanctions of Christ in the Old and New Te-
 ' stament, ought to regulate the Modes of his Wor-
 ' ship, and that we are under an indispensable Oblig-
 ' ation to obey that *Magna Charta* of Heaven, then let
 ' us either quit the Name of Christians, or act accord-
 ' ing

ing to the Supream Law-Giver's Unrepealable Statutes, quite Exploding what's undeniably borrow'd from the *Pompilian* or *Pontifical Canons*.

Some Sheets have been printed off, of what I intended to present to you, but the Messenger of the Press interrupted the Procedure, and got me committed to *Newgate*, where I am now confin'd. There is nothing done, nor was intended to be done, but a fair Examination of those Things your Sermon invited to, which I had thought (if esteem'd Criminal) should fall rather within the Cognizance of Divines, than the Men of the Law: For methinks the Pandects should not be the Oracles of Religion; and that Temporal Statutes should be so Civil, as to give Precedency to the Sacred Records.

'Tis possible, that Enquirers into Religion will look on it, as a preposterous Proceeding, and disagreeable to the Nature of the *Christian Faith*, to force Doubting Persons by *PENALTIES* to Embrace it; for that can never make them good Converts, but Hypocrites. May they not say, that 'tis an horrid Disparagement to the self-evidencing Light of the Gospel, if it cannot stop the Mouths of the Gainsayers, any other way, than by the Rigid Execution of Acts of State? I cannot find, that Christ or his Disciples ever *Church-Cursed*, or *Newgated* Scrupulous Consciences to Conformity.

My Confinement is for Accepting your Invitation to hear both Sides, and I appeal to you, whether it be Candid to punish me, for Obeying a Guide of the Church? I look upon you (*in Honour*) oblig'd to procure my Sheets (yet *unfinish'd*) a Publick Passport, and to me my Liberty, else I must conclude it Unfair; and that if the Irresistable Logick of *Goals* grows *Al-a-mode*, it will make the Reformation some pretend to, suspected to be very little Meritorious of that Name.

RELIGION is a Sacred Thing, and has been most horribly abus'd by such as have super-added

their own Inventions, or those *Traditional Fopperies*, re-
 ceiv'd from our Deceived and Superstitious *Ancestors*.
 I am satisfy'd, you as well as Dr. *Stillingfleet* will
 own (or there's no Debating with you) that the
Scripture is our *Only Rule of Faith*; If so, pray let your
Scrupulous Consciences be won to Conformity by *That*.
 All Men are not of Equal Capacity to apprehend Things
 doubtful, for if they had been so, there had been no
 Necessity of *Preachers*; for the Method of Convincing
 Men, is as plainly laid down in the *Bible*, as any Thing
 there; viz. By plain demonstrative Arguments, meek
 and winning Perswasions, not the Syllogisms of *Prisons*,
Pillories, &c.

I beseech you, in the Fear of God, and as you will
 answer it to our Great Lord and Master, *JESUS*
CHRIST, that without respect to any other End
 than the Good of Souls (as the Profession you take
 obliges you to) that you would treat *Scrupulous Con-*
sciences as you would be dealt withal yourself: If they
 have no Reason for their *Dissent*, and will, without
 ground, suffer *Imprisonments*, with all the Ruinous Con-
 comitants of so dismal a Circumstance, 'tis certain,
 that *Bedlam* is more fit for them, than such Places
 of *Confinement* as are appointed for Men in their Wits;
 and by Consequence, 'tis Pity to be so severe with
 such Simpletons. But if you will allow them any *Mo-*
dicum of Reason, then I appeal to all the Guides of
 the Church, whether it be not more consonant to the
 Precepts of our *Sovereign Legislator*, to confute them
 by his *Rules*, rather than by such Coercive Methods,
 which *His Majesty* judg'd Ineffectual in His Declara-
 tion of *Indulgence*, March 1672.

As *Truth* seeks no Corners, nor Suborners, and as
Real Beauty will not be beholden to the Artificial
 Dawblings of a *Pencil*; so the *Christian Religion* (where
 professed in its naked Simplicity) needs no other Ar-
 gument to heget *Profelites*, than its own Lovely and
 Illustrious *Features*, altogether Plain, Honest, and eve-
 ry way Amiable, void of all Meretricious Gawdery,

or Majestical Pomp, which pleases only the External Sense.

I have no Malignity against any Person whatsoever, much less against your Church, or any of its Members; all I desire is, that *Scrupulous Consciences*, who trouble not the Peace of the *Nation*, should be dealt withal (at least) as *Weak Brethren*, according to *Rom. 14. 1.* and not Ruin'd by *PENALTIES*, for not swallowing what's impos'd under the Notion of *Decency and Order*, tho' Excentrick to the Scheme we have of it in our *Only Rule of Faith*. Sir, I entreat you to excuse this Trouble from a Stranger, who would fain be convinc'd by something more like *Divinity* than *Newgate*; where any Messlage from you shall be welcome, to

Your Humble Servant,

From the Press-Yard,
Newgate, the 8th of
December, 1683.

Thomas De Laune.

To this Letter, deliver'd by my Wife, I receiv'd an Answer to this Effect, *That if I had been Imprison'd upon the Account of Answering your Book, you would do me any Kindness that became you*: But not hearing from you, I sent the following Letter by my Wife.

Januarii Die Nono, 1683.

Reverende Vir,

Quod semel atq; iterum Concionatus eras, Typisq; mandaveras, de Dubitanti Conscientia, quotquot diversæ sint Sententia circa quosdam Ritus ac Ceremonias, ad utriusq; Partis Rationes Examinandas, satis publice vocitaverat.

Tacentibus aliis, in illa re, tibi parebam; non litigandi Causa (impar enim est Congressus inter te, tantum Virum & me tantillum) sed ut hujusmodi Litem adimendi, sicuti præceperas, adhibeatur Occasio.

Si propter tale (duntaxat) obsequium me Pœnas daturum; nescio quot, quibusve modis decretum fuerit; Nunquid nova vincendi ratio in sacris Paginis inaudita, apud quosdam Antesignanos exoritur?

Quid de his rebus sentiendum esse videatur, ex sacro Codice ac probatis Scriptoribus disquirere proposui (te cunctos vacillantes tam acriter invitante) ex illo Lumine Semitarum, ex illa Lucerna (Psal. 119. 105.) Rationes aliquot hausseram adversus varios ac multiplices Errores, qui in Ecclesiam irrepserunt.

Ea sola de Causa usq; ad Carcerem, ubi nihil amabile est, adactus sum.

Utrum istiusmodi Argumenta valuerint ad vestra Concionis vtròdesus probandas sub Judice supremo Lis sit.

Anve tali modo ullus ex dubitantibus in spirituale cogi potuerit Ovile, Judex esto.

Nihil adversus Regiam Majestatem, nihil de Regimine Civili, nihil contra Monarchia Pacem asseritur.

De Rituum ac Ceremoniarum origine, deq; rebus qua specie veritatis, etiamsi parum recte, in dubitantes objiciuntur, solæ Disertatio est.

Quid de me Curia decreverit, nescio; fiat summi Patris Voluntas. Universis qui Salutis humana Largitorem secundum Verbum ejus colunt, Pacem Internam ac Externam in hoc, Aeternamq; in futuro Seculo precatur,

Thomas De Laune.

Ut Responsum aliquod, quod Theologum decet per Dilectissimam meam Conjugem, uti promisisti remittas, obsecro.

The English of which is thus:

January the 9th. 1683.

Reverend Sir,

WHAT you once and again Preach'd, and then Printed, respecting a *Doubtful Conscience*, has, loudly enough, call'd all such as were dissatisfy'd about some

‘ some *Rites* and *Ceremonies*, to examine the Reasons on
 ‘ both Sides.

‘ Others being silent, I obey’d you in that Particular,
 ‘ not meerly to wrangle (for the Encounter is unequal,
 ‘ betwixt a Man so Eminent as you are, and so mean a
 ‘ Person as I am) but that an Occasion may be giv’n,
 ‘ in Compliance to what you desir’d, to conclude Con-
 ‘ troversies of this Nature.

‘ If meerly for such Obedience I must be punish’d, I
 ‘ know not how, nor in what Manner; Is there not a
 ‘ new Way of Conquering [*Scrupulous Consciences*] un-
 ‘ heard of in the Holy Scriptures, started by some cer-
 ‘ tain Ring-Leaders?

‘ I purpos’d, from Holy Writ and Approv’d Writers,
 ‘ to examine what we ought to judge of these Things.
 ‘ From that *Light of our Paths*, and from that *Lanthorn*,
 ‘ *Psal.* 119. 105. I gather’d some Reasons against those
 ‘ various and multiply’d Errors, which have crept into
 ‘ the Church.

‘ For that only Thing am I brought to a Prison, where
 ‘ there is nothing amiable.

‘ Whether Arguments of that Kind will prevail to
 ‘ prove the Suppositions in your Sermon, let the Su-
 ‘ preme Judge determine.

‘ Or, Whether any of the Doubting Persons can
 ‘ that Way, be compell’d into the Spiritual Sheep-Fold,
 ‘ judge you?

‘ There’s nothing against the King’s Majesty, nothing
 ‘ about the Civil Government, nothing against the Peace
 ‘ of this Monarchy, there asserted.

‘ The only Dispute is about the Original of Rites and
 ‘ Ceremonies, and some Things, which under a Shew
 ‘ of Truth, tho’ not righteously, are charg’d on Doubt-
 ‘ ing Persons.

‘ What the Court will do with me, I know not, the
 ‘ Will of the Supreme Father be done. Inward and
 ‘ Outward Peace in this, and Everlasting Peace in the
 ‘ World

‘ World to come, to all such as worship the Saviour
 ‘ of Mankind according to his Word, is pray’d for,
 ‘ by

Thomas De Laune.

*I desire you to return me some Answer becoming a Divine,
 by my beloved Wife, as you have promis’d.*

To this Letter you answer’d by Word of Mouth to my Wife (for I had no Answer in Writing) that *You look’d on yourself Unconcern’d, as not being mention’d in the Sheet you saw with the Recorder* : To satisfy which Doubt, I sent you a Third Letter, with the first Sheet of the Book I am imprison’d for ; which was a plain Demonstration that it was an Answer to your Call, you know the Letter was thus ;

January the 14th, 1683.

S I R,

‘ **W**Hereas in Answer to my Two Letters, you said
 ‘ to my Wife, that my Papers no Way concern’d
 ‘ you, viz. such as I am indicted for ; to satisfy you
 ‘ with Respect to that Matter, I here send you the first
 ‘ Sheet, and leave you to consider, whether in pure Ge-
 ‘ nerosity you are not oblig’d to procure a Prisoner,
 ‘ (whose Obedience to you made him so) his Liberty.

I am, Sir,

Your Humble Servant,

Thomas De Laune.

I appeal to your Conscience, whether I had not some Reason to expect some Return to these Applications ?

But I had none to any Purpose, and that too but in few Words by my Wife ; I had some Thoughts,
 that

that you would have performed the Office of a Divine, in Visiting me in my Place of Confinement; either to Argue me out of my *Doubts*, which your promised *SCRIPTURE* and *REASON*, not a *Mittimus* and *Newgate* could easily do. To the former I can yield ----- To the latter, it seems, I must. ----- This is a severe Kind of Logick, and will probably dispute me out of this World, as it did Mr. *Bampfild* and Mr. *Ralphson* lately, who were my Dear and Excellent Companions in Trouble ----- and whose Absence I cannot but bemoan, as having lost in them a Society that was truly pious, truly sweet, and truly amiable: But I hope, the God of Mercy will supply the Want, by a more immediate Influence of Comfort, than what can be obtain'd at second Hand.

On the Tenth of *December* Two Bills were found against Mr. *Ralphson* and me, by the *Grand-Jury* of *London*, whose Names are as follow.

Tho. Vernon.

Tho. Goddard.

Will. Gore.

Will. Wills.

Rand. Manning.

John Martin.

Richard Hows.

Tho. Hodges.

Joseph Woolhead.

Josias Ewth.

John Paine.

William Fazakerly.

Jos. Sparrow.

Joh. Reendal.

David Pool.

Ri. Beauchamp.

Rob. Minories.

On the 13th Day of the same Month, we were called to the *Sessions-House* in the *Old-Baily*; and then our Indictments were read in *English*, to which we pleaded *Not Guilty*. We desired Copies of the said Indictments, and Time to make our Defence 'till next Sessions; which the Court, after some Pause, granted.

The Substance of the Indictment against me was thus, ----- *Juratores pro Damino Rege super Sacram. suum*
pre-

presentant, quod Tho. De Laune, nuper de London. Gener. contemnens, &c.

In plain English thus, as to the material Part of it.

The Furors for our Lord the King, upon their Oath Present, that Thomas De Laune, late of London, Gent. Not regarding his Due Allegiance, but Contriving and Intending to disquiet and disturb the Peace and common Tranquility of this Kingdom of England, &c. To bring the said Lord the King into the greatest Hate and Contempt of his Subjects ----- Machinating and farther Intending to move, stir up, and procure Sedition and Rebellion, and to disparage and scandalize the Book of Common-Prayer, &c.

On the 30th Day of November in the 35th of the King, at London, in the Parish of St. Botolph without Bishops-Gate, in the Ward of Bishops-Gate aforesaid, by Force and Arms, &c. Unlawfully, Seditiously and Maliciously, did Write, Print, and Publish, and Caused to be Written, Printed, and Published, a certain False, Seditious and Scandalous Libel, of and concerning the said Lord the King, and the Book of Common-Prayer aforesaid; Entitul'd A Plea for the NON-CONFORMISTS.

In which said Libel are contain'd these False, Fictitious and Scandalous Sentences following; viz. ' The Church of Rome and England also, are great Transgressors, to presume to vary from Christ's Precept, in Altering or Adding to the Form of Words, express'd by Christ, in this 11th of Luke, for so they have done: They say, Forgive us our Trespases, as we forgive them who trespass against us; when there are no such Words in Christ's Prayer, his Words are, Forgive us our Sins, or Debts, for we also forgive every one that is indebted to us. And (says the Indictment again) In another Part of the said Libel are contain'd these False, Fictitious, Seditious and Scandalous Sentences following; viz. ' And may we not say, that in these following Particulars, we do symbolize with Idolatrous Rome herein? First, ' By Enjoyning and Imposing this (Here the Indictment ' makes

' makes an Innuendo) viz. Meaning the Book of Com-
 ' mon Prayer aforesaid) as a Set-Form; as they do with
 ' Penalties, contrary to the Scripture. Secondly, By an
 ' often Repetition of the same Form in the same Exer-
 ' cise, Three or Four Times, at least; *insomueh*, that in
 ' Cathedral Churches, it is said, or sung, ten or twelve
 ' Times a Day, contrary to Christ's Express Words,
 ' that *When we pray, we do not make vain Repetitions as*
 ' *the Heathens do; for they think they shall be heard for*
 ' *their much Speaking.* Thirdly, By Enjoyning the whole
 ' Congregation, Men and Women, to repeat the same
 ' after the Priest, tho' no such Directions by Christ :
 ' Nay, He forbids Women to pray, or prophesy in the
 ' Church. Fourthly, In Singing this Prayer in the Ca-
 ' thedrams by Responses of People, without the least War-
 ' rant from Christ for such Song-Praying. [*Then the*
 ' *Indictment ends with a fearful Aggravation, that is*] *In*
 ' *Contempt of the King, and to the Evil and most Perni-*
 ' *cious Example of all such other Delinquents in the like Case,*
 ' *and against the Peace of the said Lord, now King, His*
 ' *Crown and Dignity, &c.*

The Copy of the *Indictment* Signed

Wagstaff.

On the 16th of *January* we were call'd again to the *Sessions-House*, but there being some Tryals that prov'd very tedious, we were not brought on.

The next Day we were call'd to the Outer Bar, after the Attendance of divers Hours, in a Place not very lovely, and in the sharpest Winter that you have known, which 'tis likely prov'd the Original of that Indisposition, which carry'd my Two Friends beyond the Jurisdiction of *Sessions*, *Bale-Docks*, or *Presi-Yards*, to a glorious Mansion of Rest.

Then a Jury was sworn to pass upon us, whose Names were,

James Wood.
James Smith.
Bernard Mynn.
Thomas Jenny.
Kenelme Smith.
Mathew Walker.

Thomas Medcalf.
John Harbing.
Samuel Seale.
Laurence Weld.
John Callow.
Richard Johnson.

I desir'd my Indictment should be read in *Latin*, which was done. Then the Gentlemen of the Law, aggravated Things with their usual Rhetorick ----- One of them (I think the Attorney General) was pleas'd to say, That the Prisoner that stood there before (for Mr. *Raphson* was try'd before me) did labour to undermine the *State*; and that Man (meaning me) would undermine the *Church*: So that to incense the Jury against us, he said, *Here's Church and State struck at.* Which Sir, was very improbable to be true; for 'tis wonderful, that any *Church* or *State* so potent as this, should fear Two such Underminers, as that Extravagant *Harangue* term'd us. For my Part, I cannot be righteously charged with any Attempt against either, unless my Obedience to you be so; and then if I be guilty, you that tempted me to it, can never prove yourself innocent.

Being desir'd to speak what I had to say for my self, I spoke the following Words, which One that knew me, took in Short-Hand, though without my Knowledge.

My LORD,

Last Sessions I pleaded Not Guilty; that is, Not Guilty *Modo & Forma*; for I design'd not *Vi & Armis*, to raise Rebellion, Sedition, &c. I detest such Things;

Things; He that swears in that Respect against me, must be perjur'd. ----- The Instances in the Indictment relate to no such Thing. My Lord, I pray you to trouble no Witnesses about me, I wo'n't prevaricate. I have written some Papers, Entitul'd, A Plea for the Non-Conformists; not Instigated by the Feign'd Formalities in the Indictment; but it was at the Loud Challenge of Dr. Calamy, one of the King's Chaplains, in his Discourse about Scrupulous Consciences, Dedicated to your Lordship; wherein he call'd upon doubting Persons to examine what could be said on both Sides, which I did: Now since Publick Challenges are made to be Answer'd, to punish me for Obeying a Guide of the Church, is hard, very hard.

I desire that the entire Paragraphs may be read, from which the Crimes charged against me are inser'd. If Fragments only be produc'd against me, from which no perfect Sence can be deduc'd, I shall be Unfairly dealt with; The Coherence of Sence in a Continu'd Discourse, not Scraps and Broken Pieces of Sentences, can demonstrat^e the Scope of an Argument.

If what I have written be True, 'tis no Crime; unless Truth be made a Crime: If False, let Dr. Calamy, or any of the Guides of your Church confute me [as he promis'd, p. 25. of his Sermon aforesaid] by good Scripture and good Reason, then I'll submit. If the Latter Method be not taken, (I must repeat it) 'tis very hard, my Lord, 'tis very hard.

Here the Chief Justice interrupted me, addressing himself to the Jury, and expounded that Part of the Indictment which I excepted against; saying, It was only for Forms-sake, and that any Breack of the Peace in the Sence of the Law, may be said to be Vi & Armis, by Force and Arms; with some other Expressions to that Purpose. ----- To the Latter which I acknowledg'd, he said, after a Torrent of Aggravations, Gentlemen, If you believe that Man (pointing to me) viz. In what I had confess'd in Writing the Non-Conformist's Plea, you

must find him guilty; viz. of the whole Indictment. And which they readily did accordingly.

The Next Day (viz.) the 18th. I receiv'd my Sentence; the very same with Mr. Ralphson: viz. (As 'tis recorded.)

Ad General. Quarterial. Session. Pacis Dom. Regis tent. pro Civitat. London: per Adjournament. apud Justice Hall in le Old Baily, London. die Mercurii scil. Decimo sexto Die Januarii, Anno R. Regis Caroli Secundi nunc Angliæ, &c. 35.

Thomas De Laune Convict. pro Illicite Scribend. Imprimend. & Publicand. Libel. Sedit. der. concern. Librum Communis Precationis. Fin. 100 Marc. Et Committit. &c. Et ulterius quousq; Inven. bon. de se bene gerend. per spacium Unius Anni integri ex tunc prox. sequen. Et quod Libel. Seditios. cum Igne combust. sint apud Excambium Regal. in London. Et si del. sol. 6 s.

Wagstaff.

Thomas De Laune Fined 100 Marks, and to be kept Prisoner, &c. [which &c. they interpret 'till he pay his Fine] and to find good Security for his good Behaviour for one whole Year afterwards; and that the said Books, and seditious Libels by him published, shall be burnt with * Fire, before the Royal-Exchange in London. And if he be discharged to pay † Six Shillings.

* Not with Water, you must note.
† To the Hang-man for the Faggots, I suppose.

Signed Wagstaff.

The Recorder ask'd me some Questions then; (viz.) Whether I was in Orders? I told him, I was never in any Ecclesiastical Orders, nor never Preach'd among any People: That I was bred a Scholar, and had been a School-Master, and kept a Grammar-School, 'till sever'd from it by the present Prosecutions, &c.

The

The Court told both Mr. *Ralphson* and me, *That in respect to our Education, as Scholars, we should not be Pillory'd, tho' (twas said) we deserv'd it.*

We were sent back to our Place of Confinement, and the next *Execution-Day* our Books were burnt as the Sentence order'd it, WITH FIRE, in the Place aforesaid, and we continue here; but since I writ this, Mr. *Ralphson* had a *Supersedeas*, by Death, to a *Better Place*:

Thus *Sir*, you have a Series of my Circumstances; I will make no Complaints of the Usage I had, when forced, as aforesaid, to Lodge amongst a Rabble of Wretches, whose Society seem'd to me, to be an Hell upon Earth, as before; nor of my other Hardships, as Confinement, Loss of Employment, Loss of Health, &c. But if you have any Sense of Humanity in you, you will recollect your self, and procure me my Freedom, (being not able to pay the Fine) lost by Obedience to your publick Call. *Sir*, I must tell you plainly, that you discover'd in your very Dedication to *Sir George Jefferies*, now Chief Justice, a Kind of Doubt, to say no more, respecting your Cause.

You say there (*Page 2. Epist. Ded.*) 'How many it (*viz. Your Sermon*) will anger and displease, I am not at all concern'd, and tho' I may be thought by some ill-advised, in Publishing such a Sermon; yet, ev'ry One * will commend and justify my Discretion, in Prefixing your Name before it: For so great an Awe have the † Enemies of our Church and Government, of your Loyalty and Fidelity to both, that they will *Not dare* Loudly to condemn what you are pleas'd to Protect, they will be *Justly afraid* of Quarrelling with me, when they know I have *Engag'd* you on my Side,

* of your
Mind.

† Meaning
Protestant Dis-
senters.

From these Expressions I must conclude (if you are in Earnest) that you care not how much you offend
your

your weak Brother. The Apostle Paul was of another Mind, *Rom. 15. 1, &c. We then that are strong, ought to bear the Infirmities of the weak, and not to please ourselves; let every one of us please his Neighbour for Edification.* Pray consider this, and what follows in the same Chapter: And *1 Cor. 8. 12. But when you sin so against the Brethren, and wound their weak Consciences, ye sin against Christ. Ver. 13. Wherefore if Meat make my Brother to offend, I will eat no Flesh while the World standeth, lest I make my Brother to offend.* And in *1 Thes. 5. 14. the same Evangelical Doctor exhorts you, To Comfort the Feeble-minded, Support the Weak, and to be Patient toward all Men. And Gal. 6. 1. To restore the Faulty in the Spirit of Meekness.*

What a Superlative, What a True Christian Compliance is here! Worth the Imitation of the Guides of your Church! This Apostle would rather make a perpetual Fast from Flesh, than offend his weak Brother. And I am apt to think, no Flourishes of Pulpit-Rhetorick ever dropt from him, to grieve his weak Brethren, and that he never shrouded his Writings or Preachings, under the Terrible Patronage of such Men, as you represent *Sir George Jefferies* to be. I have a Kind of Fancy that your said Patron, now Lord Chief Justice, as he is a Gentleman in Eminent Place, and of a Piercing Judgment, Strong Memory, and of Fluent Oratory, could not but look thro' the superficial Addresses of that Dedication.

In the second Place, a Man so dignify'd as he is, must certainly take it as an Affront to his Title of Lord Chief Justice; that you should say, that Men will be justly afraid of Quarrelling with you, when they know you have engag'd him on your Side. That same Word [afraid] denotes a Champion-like Courage in you that no Body should dare to come near you; and withal, a Reflection on the Justice of your Patron, that he will take your Part right or wrong. As to the Word [quarrelling] I know no-Body that has assaulted you in any more perillous Attack, than in Examining the Merits
of

of the Cause, as you preach'd, and by the same Sermon (transfigur'd from the Press) invited Men to do.

No Force and Arms were us'd against you by me, but Pen, Ink, and a few Papers. The Indictment makes this a very formidable Kind of Artillery.

But to bring the Matter a little closer, I must desire you will please to take Notice of this Hainous Charge giv'n in against me, and how made good in the Indictment, and how severely handled both by the *Juries* and *Court* thereupon.

The Charge as you have heard, is, ' For Intending to
' disturb the Publick Peace; To bring the King in-
' to the greatest Hate and Contempt of his Subjects;
' To stir up and procure Sedition and Rebellion;
' [An High and Hainous Charge indeed!] But how
' is this made good? viz. By my Disparaging the
' Book of COMMON PRAYER. But how doth
' that appear? viz. By Force and Arms used Unlaw-
' fully, Seditiously, and Maliciously, to Write, Print,
' and Publish a Seditious and Scandalous Libel, con-
' cerning our Lord the King and the Book of Com-
' mon Prayer, Entitul'd, A Plea for the Non-
' Conformists. But wherein doth it appear by any
' Thing which is written in that Book, that this Hai-
' nous Charge is made good? viz. By their pregnant
' Instances produced out of the Book expressed in
' the Indictment.

The which therefore, since we must suppose, they are the most Hainous and Dangerous Passages to be found therein, and most proper and significant to make good the Charge; I shall, for your Information, and that you may the better judge how the Charge is prov'd against me, give you the entire Paragraph out of which the Instances were pick'd, which I must beg the Justice of you to read; and which I could not, with all my Entreaties, obtain of the Court, tho' so necessary (as you'll find) to come to the right Sence; (And for greater Illustration,

tion, I shall distinguish the Instances of the Indictment in a different Character.) Know therefore, that I having (in the *Plea for the Non-Conformists*, from p. 16.) at your Desire, been giving an Account what the *Non-Conformists* answer to that great *Objection*, That all Things they scruple in the *Rites and Ceremonies* of the Church, are not *Popish Novelties*, but of *Primitive Antiquity*, (as you say) and having distinctly gone thro' most of them, giving their Reasons, why they are not of *Primitive Antiquity*, but of *Popish Novelty*, and contain'd in the *Mass-Book*. ----- This *Objection* came to be started, p. 47.

Object. ' But what do you say to the *Lord's Prayer* ?
' Must we forbear that too, because we find it in the
' *Mass-Book* ; tho' so publicly enjoin'd by Christ, to
' use it as a Stinted Form, *Luke 11. 2. That when we pray,*
' *we should say, Our Father, &c. ?*

Answer. To which the *Non-Conformists* say, ' That
' 'tis a great Mistake, to suppose that Christ hereby in'
' this Scripture, has appointed this to be a *Set-Form*,
' to be pray'd by all, in these prescript Words, when we
' pray unto God ; for then it would be Unlawful to use
' any other Words, than these herein express'd, in our
' Prayers ; and that the Disciples and Apostles sinned in
' Using other Words, in those their Prayers, we read of, in
' Scripture, and so do's the Church of *England*, in Forming
' so many *Collects* and *Prayers*. And p. 48, 49, 50.

' Secondly, The Church of *Rome* and *England* are great
' Transgressors, to presume to vary from Christ's Pre-
' cepts; in Altering or Adding to the Form of Words
' express'd by Christ, in this 11th of *Luke*; For so they
' have done, they say, *Forgive us our Trespases, as we*
' *forgive them who trespass against us*, when there are no
' such Words in Christ's Prayer; his Words are, *Forgive*
' *us our Sins, our Debts, ὀφειλήματα, for me, also, forgive every*
' *One that is indebted to us.* " Which (says the *Indict-*
ment) are False, Fictitious, and Scandalous Sentences ;
but 'it shews not whereiz.

‘ And also the Doxology, which is not in this Prayer
 ‘ in *Luke 11.* [viz. *For thine is the Kingdom, and the*
 ‘ *Power, and the Glory for Ever and Ever. Amen.*] But
 ‘ you’ll say, as to the *Doxology*, it is express’d by Christ,
 ‘ at the End of the same Prayer, in his Sermon on the
 ‘ Mount, *Mat. 6.* It is very true, it is so; where he
 ‘ delivers this Prayer not as a Set-Form, but a Pattern
 ‘ of Prayer: *After this manner pray ye; &c.*, to this pur-
 ‘ pose; and which is an Explication of what he says
 ‘ *Luke 11. 2.* *When you pray, say, Our Father, &c.* That
 ‘ is, *After this Manner*; and which can only be a War-
 ‘ rant to the Church of *England*, or any Other, to make
 ‘ such Alterations; Christ no more intending to tye the
 ‘ Disciple, who desir’d to be instructed how to pray,
 ‘ to this Form of Words, (nor any other Disciple)
 ‘ than he did the Twelve Disciples, when he sent them
 ‘ out to preach with this Word of Command, *Math.*
 ‘ *10. 7.* *Preach, saying, The Kingdom of Heaven is at*
 ‘ *Hand*; that they should thereby be ty’d to those very
 ‘ Words in their Preaching; (and preach nothing else)
 ‘ but as this was giv’n as a Text, or Theme, to preach
 ‘ by, so the other to pray by: The Disciple, who propo-
 ‘ ses the Question, *Ver. 1.* desires, they may be taught
 ‘ to pray as *John* taught his Disciples; but such a Set-
 ‘ Form of Prayer, we find not, that *John* in his Teach-
 ‘ ings, gave to his Disciples; neither do we find, that
 ‘ any of Christ’s Disciples, or Apostles, did pray this
 ‘ very Prayer; to which our Expositors do agree.

‘ *Grotius*, on *Luke 11. 2.* saith, That Christ herein
 ‘ teacheth us a Compendium of those Things we are
 ‘ to pray for: At that Time (saith he) they were
 ‘ not bound to the Use of so many Words and Syl-
 ‘ lables: As also *Tertullian*, *Cyprian*, *Musculus*, *Cornelius A-*
 ‘ *Lapide*, and *Austin* himself (upon the Place) who saith,
 ‘ *Liberum est*, it is free for us to ask the same Thing in
 ‘ the Lord’s Prayer, *Aliis atq; aliis Verbis*, sometimes
 ‘ one Way, and sometimes another.

‘ Do’s not *Paul* tell us expressly, He knew not what to
 ‘ pray for, but as the Spirit gave him Utterance. *Rom. 8.*

But he did know what to pray for, if this was to be his prescript Form.

Tertullian saith, They pray'd *sine Monitore*, without a Monitor. (Or Common Prayer Book.) And *Socrates* tells us, That among all the Christians of that Age, scarce Two were to be found, that used the same Words in Prayer. *Chrysostom* on *Rom. 8. Homil. 14.* saith, With other Gifts they had the Gift of Prayer, which was also called the Spirit; but he who had the Gift, did pray for the whole Multitude; for that was expedient unto the Church, and, also, did instruct others to pray.

And tho' we find neither Christ, nor his Apostles, impose this, or any other Form of Prayer to be used by us (but that we pray in the Spirit, and praise in the Spirit; and that God being a Spirit, seeketh and accepteth such Worshipers) yet we find the Popes, and their Councils imposing this, and other Liturgical Forms.

The Council of *Toledo*, Anno 618. decreed in the Ninth Canon, That every Day both in Publick and Private Worship, none of the Clergy omit the Lord's Prayer, under Pain of Deposition; since (say they) Christ hath prescribed this, saying, *When you pray, say, Our Father, &c.* And how formally and carnally, has the *Pater Noster* been mutter'd over by the Superstitious *Papists* ever since.

And may we not enquire, whether in the following Particulars we do not symbolize with the *Romish* Worship herein. Which the *Indictment* injuriously words thus.

And may we not say in these following Particulars [for may we not enquire, whether in the following Particulars.] we do symbolize with *Idolatrous Rome* herein: For we do not symbolize with the *Romish* herein [meaning saith the *Indictment* with an *Innuendo*] the Book of COMMON PRAYER; whereas it only relates to the LORD'S PRAYER.

‘ *First*, By Enjoyning, and Imposing this as a Set-Form, without the Sanction of any Sacred Text to warrant it. [Which the Indictment words contrary to the Scriptures.]

‘ *Secondly*, By an often Repetition of the same Form in the same Exercise, Three or Four Times at least, insomuch that in Cathedral Services, it is said or sung, Ten or Twelve Times in a Day, contrary to Christ’s exprefs Words, that *When we pray, we should not make vain Repetitions, as the Heathens do, for they think they shall be heard for their much speaking.* Mat. 6. 7.

‘ *Thirdly*, By Enjoyning the whole Congregation, both Men and Women, to repeat the same after the Priest, tho’ no such Direction by Christ; nay, he forbids Women to pray, or prophesy in the Church. 1 Cor. 14. 34, &c.

‘ *Fourthly*, In Singing this Prayer in Cathedrals by Responses of Priests and People, with Musick, without the least Divine Authority for such Song-Praying.

Which the Indictment saith are Fictitious, Seditious and Scandalous Sentences. (But shew not wherein.) Thus have you the whole Paragraph, and what is pick’d out of it, to make good the Charge; whereby you will easily discern,

First, Whether I have done otherwise Query 1. therein than giv’n you at your Call, a True and Modest Account of the *Non-Conformists* Arguments, why the Lord’s Prayer is not a Stinted Set-Form of Prayer as suppos’d, but a Pattern to pray by, which is done by several Arguments: *Viz.*

1st. From the Practice of both Churches, *Rome* and *England*, who have both alter’d and added to it, which they ought not to have done (no, not so much as one Syllable) if so intended by Christ.

2^{dly}. From the Practice of the Ancients, and Opinions of many Learned Commentators upon the Place.

3^{dly}. Because neither Christ, nor his Apostles, have so enjoyn’d, and practis’d it as a Stinted Form.

4thly. Because the Church of *Rome*, without Scripture Authority, has so imposed and practis'd it; and therefore are those Queries, Whether for us so to impose it with Penalties, and to make often Repetitions of it, with Responses of Priest and People, and to sing it with Musick, is not without Scripture Warrant, and a Symbolizing with *Rome* therein? And where's the *Sedition, Rebellion, Breaking the Publick Peace by Form and Arms* in all this?

Query 2. Secondly, Whether the Picking out Part, and Leaving out the greater Part, Changing of Words, and Inverting of Sence, is not most injurious Dealing? For what is it not, which may not be made of any Man's Sayings and Writings, if such a Liberty may be taken? For may it not with such a Latitude, be prov'd by Scripture, that there is no God; or any such Blasphemy, or Immorality?

Query 3. Thirdly, Whether the *Grand Jury*, in Honesty and good Conscience, could find this Bill upon their Oaths, and the *Petty Jury* cast me upon it, and the Court pass Sentence upon me thereupon, without Admitting the whole Paragraph to be Read and Consider'd, as was so earnestly desir'd by me?

Query 4. Fourthly, If this Writing of mine was only occasioned and drawn forth at your Call, as your Book evidences, and as declared to the Court; then doth not that hainous Charge, of a Malicious and Seditious Contriving, Intending, and Machinating *Sedition and Rebellion*, and Violating *Publick Peace*, fall to the Ground?

Query 5. Fifthly, If this Part of the *Non-Conformist's Plea* be true, where is the Crime? Must I be made guilty, and punish'd for speaking the Truth? And if you were so satisfy'd, why did not you interpose, to prevent a precipitate Sentence and Verdict, and preserve an innocent Person? If it appear'd otherwise to you, why did you not by Word and Writing endeavour my Conviction, and

and shew me my Error and Mistake before the Sessions, that I might publickly have own'd, and taken the Shame, as my Three Letters with so much Importunity press'd upon you? And that I was neither Obstinate, nor Incurable, you have again and again under my Hand? And what an open Ear I had to receive Conviction from Reason and Scripture, the Mediums you propos'd to treat a *Scrupulous Conscience* with, and thereby have acquitted yourself from being a Decoy, to inveigle into the Snare, and then leave them; but wholly to reject both, and silently to suffer me to be crush'd, is worse Dealing, and less Charity, than the Guides of the Church put forth in *Queen Mary's* Days; who fail'd not of Prison-Visits, and Endeavours to convince the *Hereticks* [as they call'd them] before they were deliver'd to the Secular Powers for Destruction.

Sixthly, Whether from this Liberty that Query 6. is taken in Indictments (as in *Chancery-Bills*) to say the worst of Things which may be said against any, and assign the Matter of Fact to prove it foreign thereto; yet that the Juries finding the Matter of Fact, must render a Man guilty of the whole Indictment, both Matter and Form, seems very hard; and no other than turning Judgment into Wormwood and Hemlock, and bringing a Legal Proceeding into great Contempt?

For Instance, If a Man is charg'd in an Indictment, that he contrary to his Allegiance, and not having the Fear of God before his Eyes, but being mov'd by the Instigation of the Devil, did, such a Day, in such a Place, bring the King into the greatest Hate and Contempt amongst his Subjects, and did Maliciously and Seditiously, &c. against the Publick Peace, by Force and Arms, read a Chapter in the Bible in *English* before several People (which was Crime enough heretofore, however it is now) that the Proving and Confessing the Matter of Fact (or any of the like Nature) as foreign from the Crimes urg'd, must according to our Court-
Pro-

Proceedings, bring him in guilty of the whole Indictment, in Order to be sentenc'd accordingly.

But ought not a *Jury*, before they bring in their Verdict upon Oath, as they would acquit themselves of the horrid Sin of Perjury, to Examine and have sufficient Proof, to make good those Luxuriant Cut-Throat Forms? And whether such Matter of Fact, either by the Righteous Law of God and Man, can render a Man Culpa-ble of so Hainous a Charge, of *Malice, Seditiion, Rebel- lion*, Bringing the King into *Hatred* and *Contempt*, Break- ing the *Publick Peace* by Force and Arms, before they make him guilty thereof, and cause him to be punish'd for the same?

Thus, *Sir*, You have a naked Account of my Case, and if you please, or any other of the Church Guides, to examine the respective Circumstances of it, or apply that Sovereign Medium of *Good Scripture* and *Good Reason* to Convince me, you, or they will satisfy the World, that ye are honest Guides of the Church, and reduce many to your Communion, as well as

Your Humble Servant,

Thomas De Laune.

F I N I S.

