

and Interests of our Church and Constitution ; and since, he there deservedly commends the High Sheriff of that County, on the Account of his steady Loyalty and Zeal to serve her Majesty and the Government, for which he hath been so remarkably distinguished.

In the Sermon preached at St. Paul's, he doth indeed excite Christians to *put on the whole Armour of God, as wrestling, not only against Flesh and Blood, but against Principalities, against Powers, against the Rulers of the Darknes of this World, against spiritual Wickedness in high Places.* But he hath learned from the same St. Paul, That the Arms of Resistance taken up by the Subjects against the higher Powers, are no Part of the spiritual Armour ; and the Principalities and Powers by him mentioned, being plainly distinguished from Flesh and Blood, cannot, he thinks, be so far misinterpreted, as to be understood of earthly Potentates and Rulers.

And as to so much of the said fourth Article, whereby it is charged, that he the said *Henry Sacheverell* doth wickedly wrest and pervert divers Texts and Passages of Holy Scripture, that his said malicious and seditious Suggestions may make the stronger Impression upon the Minds of her Majesty's Subjects ; the said *Henry Sacheverell* says, That having no malicious or seditious Suggestions to imprint, he could not intend to wrest any Passages of the Holy Scripture to that wicked Purpose. Hard is the Lot of the Ministers of the Gospel, if when they cite the Word of God in their general Exhortations to Piety and Virtue, or in their Reproofs of Mens Transgressions, or where they are lamenting the Difficulties and Conflicts with which the Church of Christ, whilst Militant here on Earth, must always struggle, the several Texts and Passages by them cited, shall be said to have been by them meant of particular Persons and Things, and shall be construed in the most Criminal Sense, and be made by such Construction one Ground of an Impeachment for High Crimes and Misdemeanors.

And as to all other Matters and Things in the said Articles contained, and not herein before particularly answered unto, the said *Henry Sacheverell* saith, he is not Guilty of them, or any of them, in Manner and Form as the same are charged upon him in and by the said Articles ; and humbly submits himself to your Lordships Judgment.

HENRY SACHEVERELL.

The Commons Replication to the Answer of Doctor Henry Sacheverell.

THE Commons have considered the Answer of *Henry Sacheverell*, Doctor in Divinity, to the Articles of Impeachment exhibited against him by the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeses in Parliament assembled ; and observe, that there are many Things in it not warranted by the Course of Proceedings upon Impeachments, foreign to the Charge of the Commons, unbecoming a Person impeached, and plainly designed to reflect upon the Honour of the House of Commons in this Proceeding, for which they might demand your Lordships immediate Justice.

But the Commons being sensible that the Nature of the Crimes whereof he stands impeached, and the Necessity of bringing him to a speedy and exemplary Punishment, require that all Occasions of Delay should be avoided, and not doubting that

your Lordships will in due Time vindicate the Honour of the Commons, and the Justice of their Proceedings, the Commons do aver their Charge against the said *Henry Sacheverell* for High Crimes and Misdemeanors to be true, and that the said *Henry Sacheverell* is Guilty in such manner as he stands impeached, and that the Commons will be ready to prove their Charge against him at such convenient Time as shall be appointed for that Purpose.

Lord Chancellor. Gentlemen of the House of Commons, you may proceed with your Evidence.

Mr. Attorney Gen. MY Lords, by Command of Sir *J. Mountague*. THE Knights, Citizens, and Burgeses, in Parliament assembled, we appear in Behalf of all the Commons of *Great Britain*, to make good the Impeachment against the Prisoner at the Bar, Doctor *Henry Sacheverell*.

The Misdemeanors he stands accused of are specified in the Articles which have been just now read to your Lordships, and the Facts there charged, are laid to have been done with a wicked, malicious, seditious Intention, to undermine and subvert her Majesty's Government, and the Protestant Succession as by Law established ; to defame her Majesty's Administration ; to asperse the Memory of his late Majesty King *William* ; to traduce and condemn the late happy Revolution ; to contradict and arraign the Resolution of both Houses of Parliament ; to create Jealousies and Divisions among her Majesty's Subjects ; and to incite them to Sedition and Rebellion.

My Lords, if the Charge is made good (as I am apt to think it will) I may presume to say, no Words can either aggravate or alleviate the Offence.

My Lords, our Proofs in this Case will arise from Evidence which cannot be liable to the Imputation of being over-awed by the Weight of the Prosecutors, or corrupted or perverted ; for out of his own Mouth we shall charge him, and by his own Words and Sermons we shall convict him.

My Lords, I can with Truth say, That it is no small Trouble to the Commons of *Great Britain*, to have this Occasion of coming in this Manner before your Lordships : Could they have satisfied themselves that her Majesty's Honour, the Safety of her People, and the Protestant Succession as by Law established, were not highly concerned to bring this Man to speedy Justice, they could very willingly have spared your Lordships this Trouble.

But when they considered of what Import it was to the Nation, how much it concerned the very Being of our Constitution, to discountenance and put an End to such Sort of seditious Proceedings as the Doctor and some others of his Brethren have been lately practising in divers Parts of the Kingdom, they could not think otherwise than that it was a Matter fit for the Grand Inquest of the Nation to take Notice of : And finding it to be a Cause of so great Moment to the Publick, they judged it fit to be taken under their own Management, and not trust it to the Decision of any inferior Tribunal. And, my Lords, it must be agreed that your Lordships are the only proper Judges, when the whole Commons of *Great Britain* find it necessary to be the Prosecutors ; nor can Doctor *Sacheverell* have any just Cause to complain of this manner of Proceeding, when it gives him so publick an Opportunity of defending himself (if his Innocence can clear him) ; and what can he desire more, when he

lies under so heavy an Accufation, than to have your Lordships for his Judges, who have already shewn your great Indulgence to him, by allowing him (as the noble Lord from the Woolpack just now observ'd) all the Advantages a Man under his Circumstances can ask, or desire to have?

My Lords, This Prosecution took its Rise from a Complaint that was made in the House of Commons the thirteenth of *December* last, of two Books which had been lately printed and published under the Name of Doctor *Henry Sacheverell*. The Books being delivered in, several Paragraphs were read; and by divers Passages, too many for me now to enumerate to your Lordships, it did plainly appear that both Books did contain very scandalous and seditious Matter, highly reflecting upon the Queen and Her Administration.

Hereupon the Doctor was ordered to attend; which he did accordingly the next Day, and at the Bar of the *Commons House* own'd and avow'd both Books to be his; That they were Sermons he himself had preached; and that he had caused them to be printed and published.

After such a Confession, Your Lordships may imagine Her Majesty's Dutiful *Commons* did express their just Resentments of the great Wrong and Injuries that were done to her Majesty, and all that were in Authority under Her; and immediately ordered this Impeachment.

Your Lordships will perceive, by Perusal of the Sermons and Epistles Dedicatory, that the Design and Drift of the same is to possess the People with strange Notions, and terrible Apprehensions of the Danger they are in, by a general Male-Administration of the Publick Affairs both in Church and State.

That both these Sermons were preached upon Publick Occasions; and had, since the Printing thereof, been handed about with more than ordinary Application.

One of these Books is intitled [*The Communication of Sin,*] being a Sermon preached at the *Assizes* held at *Derby* in *August* last: And because the Doctor thought he had not said enough against the Queen and Her Government in the Sermon, he affixes a Dedication to it, wherein he affirms, That the Principles of our Church and Constitution are shamefully betrayed and run down: That both are persecuted, on the one Side by rude and presumptuous Insults, and base undermining Treachery on the other; and that this Persecution is carried on by associated Malignants.

The other Sermon was preached at *St. Paul's London*, on the Fifth of *November*, which is a Day set apart for a general Day of Thanksgiving, for two very great Deliverances vouchsafed to this Nation, by the Discovery of the Gun-Powder Plot, and the Arrival of his late Majesty King *William*, to redeem us from Popish Tyranny and Arbitrary Power.

My Lords, When ye come to hear this Sermon read, I am confident, that it must appear very strange to find, that when there were two such memorable Occasions for the Doctor to have set forth his Eloquence in a Thanksgiving Sermon, he should in great Measure pass by both the Bu- sinesses of the Day, and entertain his Audience with a long Harangue of the deplorable Condition the Church was in; not so much from Papists, (the avowed Enemies of the Church) as from her pretended Friends, as he calls them, the false Sons of the Church, who were crept into her Bowels, and shewn themselves to be perfidious Brethren, by de-

sending Toleration and Liberty of Conscience, and favouring the Dissenters.

And to shew his little Liking of the great Work which was begun to be wrought on that Day by the Arrival of His late Majesty, the chief Turn of his Discourse is to cry up Non-Resistance and Passive Obedience.

And to make it most evident, that what he said of Non-Resistance, was to cast black and odious Colours upon the Revolution; he lays down a General Position, *That it is not lawful, upon any Pretence whatsoever, to make Resistance to the Supreme Power*; which Supreme Power, by other Passages, he explains to be the Regal Power.

And being apprehensive that every one that heard him talking in that manner against Resistance, would see plainly he was censuring and condemning the Means that brought about the Revolution, and being desirous to cast as heavy Reflections as he could upon the Memory of King *William*, he asserts, *That the Prince of Orange, in his Declaration, utterly disclaimed all manner of Resistance.*

My Lords, Every Body knows, that knows any thing of the Revolution, That the Prince of *Orange* came over hither with an armed Force; and that in several Paragraphs of his Declaration, (the Doctor speaks of) *His late Majesty invites and requires all Peers of the Realm, both Spiritual and Temporal Lords, all Gentlemen, Citizens, and other Commoners, to come in and assist him, in order to the executing that Design he had then undertook, against all that should endeavour to oppose him.*

Therefore it must be accounted very ridiculous for the Doctor to advance such a Position, if he had no further Meaning in it, than to give an Account of the Prince of *Orange's* Design in coming over here into *England*.

And this will make it necessary for your Lordships to consider what is the true Meaning of this Assertion: Is it not plainly to make the Prince of *Orange* say one thing, and at the same time do directly another? And can this be done with any other Design, than to asperse the Memory of the late King *William*?

Then as to his Discourse concerning Passive Obedience and Non-resistance, in such Latitude as is there mention'd; what could it tend to, but to cast Reflections upon that Resistance, which was the Means which brought about the Revolution?

For was there any Occasion at that time to be so earnest to cry down Resistance, and preach up Passive Obedience?

Can any one pretend to say, there were any Symptoms of Discontent throughout the Nation, in any Parts thereof?

No: To our Comfort be it spoken, no Reign, no Age, no History, can give a better Account of the good Dispositions of the People to their Sovereign. Therefore since the Preaching these Doctrines was needless, it does favour of some wicked Design, to be talking so unseasonably of this Subject.

If what the Doctor very frequently asserts in this Sermon be true, *That all are false Sons of the Church, who assisted in bringing about the Revolution, or that joined in the Opposition that was made to the Encroachments which were begun by evil Ministers in the Reign of King James II. against our Religion and Liberties*; let the Doctor a little consider, how far his Character of a *False Brother* may be carried!

Every Body knows, that liv'd in those Days, that the Body of the Clergy of the Church of *England* made a noble Stand against the Encroachments which were then making, and appear'd as active as any of the Laity.

And was it not by their Writings, Preaching, and Example, that the Nobility and Gentry were animated to maintain and defend their Rights, Religion and Liberties? And as an undoubted Monument that this was the Sense of the whole Kingdom at the Time of the Revolution, it is enter'd in the Journal of the House of Commons, on the First of *February*, 1688.

That the unanimous Thanks of the House was given, Nemine Contradicente, to the Clergy of the Church of England, for the great Service they had done their Religion and Country, by the Opposition they had made to the Execution of the Ecclesiastical Commission, and their refusing to read the King's Declaration for a Toleration, which was then founded upon the dispensing Power.

And how did the Archbishops receive the Message that was sent them upon this Occasion, that they might communicate that Resolution to the Clergy in their respective Dioceses?

Our Journals tell us, That Mr. *Levison Gower* the next Day acquainted the House of Commons, that he had attended the two Archbishops, according to Order, with the Thanks of the House; and that Archbishop *Sarcraft*, and the then Archbishop of *York*, returned their Thanks to the Commons for themselves, and in Behalf of all their Clergy, for their favourable Vote.

Your Lordships see, the Commons were then happy enough to be thought favourable to the Clergy of the Church of *England*; and yet those very Commons were the Men who passed the *Toleration-Act*, for exempting Protestant Dissenters from the Penalties of certain Laws, as one of the most necessary Acts for the Good of the Kingdom.

And were they not encouraged to go about that Charitable Work, by the Petition of the seven Bishops, presented to King *James*; wherein they acquainted him, *That it was not for want of a due Tenderness to Dissenters, which made them refuse reading his Declaration for Toleration to Dissenters; in relation to whom, they were willing to come to such a Temper as should be thought fit, when the same came to be considered in Parliament.*

But now the same hath been considered in Parliament, and the Toleration hath been settled and established by the Legislative Authority of the Kingdom, and hath been ratify'd and approv'd of in his Reign, by Her Majesty and both Houses of Parliament; Doctor *Sacheverell* belike disapproves of it, and is pleased to tell us in a most extraordinary Manner, *That a Man must be very weak, or something worse, that thinks or pretends the Dissenters are to be gained by any other Grants and Indulgences, than giving up our whole Constitution: And he that recedes the least Tittle from it, to satisfy and ingratiate with these clamorous, insatiable, Church-devouring Malignants, knows not what Spirit they are of.*

After such an ample Declaration of his Opinion, what fatal Consequences will attend the granting Indulgences to Dissenters; Can the Doctor imagine, that his saying, in his Answer to the Articles, *That he intends not to cast the least invidious Reflection upon that Indulgence the Government has condescended to give them, will take off the hard Centures he hath pass'd upon Dissenters?*

And, my Lords, if an Archbishop, who hath

been dead almost a hundred and twenty Years, cannot be permitted to rest quiet in his Grave, but must have foul Aspersions cast upon his Memory, *as being a false Son, and a perfidious Prelate of the Church*, for interceding (as Doctor *Sacheverell* says) with Queen *Elizabeth* for the Dissenters in those Days: What must the present Archbishops and Bishops of our Church expect from Doctor *Henry Sacheverell*, if they do not thunder out their Ecclesiastical Anathema's against Dissenters as often as the Doctor shall think there is Occasion for them?

My Lords, I perceive the Doctor hopes to salve all he hath said against Toleration to Dissenters, by a nice Distinction he hath hit upon between an Indulgence and a Toleration.

Therefore he tells your Lordships, *That upon the most diligent Enquiry, he hath not been able to inform himself that a Toleration hath been granted by Law.*

Can the Doctor pretend to say, that this Word Toleration has never been made use of to express the Religious Liberty and Indulgence that is granted and allow'd to Dissenters? If we wanted Authorities to justify the Use of the Word, after the Doctor has made use of it in the same Sense over and over, in many Passages in his Sermons, as will be taken Notice of by the Gentlemen that are to make good the second Article, the Doctor might be put in Mind, that Her Majesty in Her Speech from the Throne, on the 17th of *December* 1705, hath been pleased to declare, *That she will inviolably maintain the Toleration.*

My Lords, As the Time was most unseasonable for the preaching such Doctrines as these, so the Place was very improper for a Lecture of Politicks: For your Lordships do perceive this latter Sermon, which was preached on the fifth of *November* last, was preach'd in the great Metropolis of this Kingdom, before the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens of *London*; from whose steady Loyalty to Her Majesty, and firm Affections to the Revolution, such vast Sums have been contributed for carrying on this long War against *France*, which hath proved so fatal to the *French King*, and other Enemies of this Kingdom.

And what more likely to give a fatal Wound to the publick Credit at this Time, than such Doctrine, which tends to the Overthrow of all the Acts of Parliament which have been made in Support of this Constitution?

And how strange an Attempt was it for the Doctor to preach against the Revolution and this Government, before those Citizens who owe the Restoration of their Charters, and all their Franchises and Immunities to it?

But, to do Justice to the Doctor, he in his Answer denies he hath said any thing of the Means which brought about the Revolution.

And, if your Lordships can believe him, he says, *he has endeavour'd to vindicate the Revolution from the black and odious Colours the Enemies of the Revolution would throw both upon that and his late Majesty.*

To what End and Purpose then are these Doctrines preach'd with so much Vehemence at this Time, unless it be to reflect backwards upon what was done at the Time of the Revolution?

There is certainly no Occasion to preach Non-resistance to her Majesty's loyal and dutiful Subjects, who have never shewn the least Inclination to give Disturbances to this present Government.

Was there ever known a Time, in which there was so universal an Agreement in all Ranks and Degrees

Degrees amongst us? Does not every one almost strive to shew their Zeal and Affection for Her Majesty and Her Government? If there be any that are less quiet than their Neighbours, we shall find them amongst the Friends of Doctor *Sacheverell*, who are professedly no Friends to the Revolution. Nothing is more certain, than that all that are not satisfied with what was done at the Time of the Revolution, must be Enemies to the present Establishment: And 'tis from this Source, all these Declamations against Men of Character and Station, both in Church and State, do proceed.

But I would have the Doctor consider, that we have Laws to punish Spreaders of false News, and horrible Stories, of the great Men and great Officers of the Kingdom; and 'tis to put a Stop to these malicious Practices now on Foot, that this Delinquent is now brought to this Bar.

When we shall have read our several Proofs, which will justify every Particular charged on the Doctor in the Articles of Impeachment, the Commons will not doubt of your Lordships Judgment against this Defendant.

Mr. *Lechmere*. MY Lords, I am commanded to assist in stating to your Lordships the Grounds of the Charge of the Commons, and the Nature and Tendency of the Crimes now before you, in Judgment.

Your Lordships have had open'd to you an Impeachment of the Commons of *Great Britain*: The Subjects of both Nations had an equal Concern in that which is the Ground of it: They are happily united in this Prosecution; and the common Interest of your Lordships, and us all, is inseparable in its Event.

I need say no more to your Lordships of the greatness of this Cause; not for the Person of the Offender, but for the high Importance of those Matters which he has presumed to draw in Question.

The Commons, on their Part, have been exceeding careful, in every Step of this Proceeding, that it should receive a Deliberation suitable to the *Weight of the Cause*, and the *Dignity of the Commons*; and they observe it to your Lordships, with great Satisfaction, That by your ready Concurrence, no Difficulties have arisen to delay or discourage their Impeachment. They ascribe this to a Desire in your Lordships, equally with themselves, to cultivate a good Correspondence on so important an Occasion, and to that due Regard your Lordships shew to the Course of Impeachments, *the ancient Right*, and *great Security* of the Commons.

In framing their Charge, the Commons have thought fit, by a Preamble to their Articles, to lay before you the Grounds of their Accusation, in Terms the most cogent and expressive; to the End your Lordships might have early and perfect Notice of the Points on which the Commons intended to proceed; that your Lordships, and the whole Kingdom, might know the unanimous and hearty Zeal of the Commons, to assert the Justice of the late happy Revolution, and the Foundations of Her Majesty's Government and Administration; and that the *Judgment* of the Commons, on this weighty Occasion, might stand *fully on the Records of Parliament*, and be *transmitted to all Posterity*.

Your Lordships will observe, in reading their Evidence, many Things excepted to by the Commons, precedent to the Ground of their first Arti-

cle; but you will soon perceive, that all Parts of the Design of the Prisoner center in that. They could not therefore have acquitted themselves, if they had not made that their Foundation: Being firmly convinced, they never can have the Honour and Justice of that glorious Work too much at Heart; nor be too jealous of those, who under any Pretences, *though never so specious*, shall attempt to lessen it. And when they consider the certain Dependance that the Justice of the late Revolution it self must have upon the Steps that led to it, they can have no doubt but your Lordships will think him equally Criminal, who condemns the Means by which it was effected.

My Lords, *The necessary Means*, (which is the Phrase used by the Commons in their first Article) are Words made choice of by them *with the greatest Caution*. Those Means are described (in the Preamble to their Charge) to be, That glorious Enterprize, which his late Majesty undertook with an arm'd Force, to deliver this Kingdom from Popery and arbitrary Power; the Concurrence of many Subjects of the Realm, who came over with him in that Enterprize, and of many others of all Ranks and Orders, who appeared in Arms in many Parts of the Kingdom, in Aid of that Enterprize.

These were the *Means* that brought about the Revolution, and which the Act that passed soon after, declaring the Rights and Liberties of the Subject, and settling the Succession of the Crown, intends, when his late Majesty is therein called *the glorious Instrument of delivering the Kingdom*; and which the Commons, in the last Part of their first Article, express by the Word *Resistance*.

But the Commons, who will never be unmindful of the *Allegiance* of the Subjects to the *Crown* of this Realm, judg'd it highly incumbent upon them, out of regard to the Safety of Her Majesty's Person and Government, and the antient and legal Constitution of this Kingdom, to call that Resistance the *necessary Means*; thereby plainly founding that Power, of Right and Resistance, which was exercised by the People at the Time of the happy Revolution, and which the Duties of Self-preservation and Religion called them to, upon the Necessity of the Case; and at the same time effectually securing Her Majesty's Government, and the due Allegiance of all Her Subjects.

Your Lordships will find, That the Prisoner, in his Sermon preached at *St. Paul's*, has asserted a Doctrine in direct Defiance and Contradiction of that Resistance used to bring about the Revolution; when he affirms the utter Illegality of Resistance, on any Pretence whatsoever, to be a Fundamental of our Constitution: And, as your Lordships will hear it fully made out from the Proofs, by those Gentlemen to whom that Part is assigned, he has also plainly declared himself, that even that Resistance used at the Time of the late happy Revolution, is not to be excepted out of his fundamental Rule.

My Lords, when a Preacher of the Gospel, and a Minister of the Church of *England*, even under this happy Establishment, shall thus publicly condemn the Foundations on which it stands, in Defiance of her Majesty and the great Council of the Nation then sitting in Parliament; it becomes an indispensable Duty upon us, who appear in the Name and on the Behalf of all the Commons of *Great Britain*, not only to demand your Lordships Justice on such a Criminal, but clearly and openly to assert our Foundations.

I crave Leave to remind your Lordships of the Condition of Things in both Kingdoms, immediately preceding the late Revolution: The Case is stated and recorded, between the late King *James* and the Subjects of both Kingdoms, in the several Declarations of the Rights of both Nations made by them at that Time.

I shall forbear to aggravate the Miscarriages of that unhappy Prince, further than by saying, That it is declared in the Preamble to the Bill passed in *England*, *That by the Assistance of evil Counsellors, Judges and Ministers, employ'd by him, he did endeavour to subvert and extirpate the Protestant Religion, the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom, in the several Instances there enumerated.* And in that passed in the Kingdom of *Scotland*, it stands declared, *That, by the Advice of evil Counsellors, he did invade the fundamental Constitution of that Kingdom, and alter'd it from a Legal limited Monarchy, to an arbitrary despotick Power.*

Your Lordships, on this Occasion, will again consider the antient legal Constitution of the Government of this Kingdom; from which it will evidently appear to your Lordships, That the Subjects of this Realm had not only a Power and Right in themselves to make that Resistance, but lay under an indispenfible Obligation to do it.

The Nature of our Constitution is that of a limited Monarchy, wherein the supreme Power is communicated and divided between Queen, Lords, and Commons, tho' the executive Power and Administration be wholly in the Crown. The Terms of such a Constitution do not only suppose, but express an original Contract, between the Crown and the People; by which that supreme Power was [by mutual Consent, and not by Accident] limited and lodged in more Hands than one: And the uniform Preservation of such a Constitution for so many Ages, without any fundamental Change, demonstrates to your Lordships the Continuance of the same Contract.

The Consequences of such a Frame of Government are obvious: That the Laws are the Rule to both, the common Measure of the Power of the Crown, and of the Obedience of the Subject; and if the executive Part endeavours the Subversion, and total Destruction of the Government, the original Contract is thereby broke, and the Right of Allegiance ceases: That part of the Government thus fundamentally injured, hath a Right to save or recover that Constitution, in which it had an original Interest.

Nay, the Nature of such an original Contract of Government proves, That there is not only a Power in the People, who have inherited its Freedom, to assert their own Title to it, but they are bound in Duty to transmit the same Constitution to their Posterity also.

'Tis mis-spending your Lordship's Time to illustrate this: 'Tis an eternal Truth, essential to the Government itself, and not to be defaced, or destroyed, by any Force or Device.

That the Rights of the Crown of *England* are legal Rights, and its Power stated and bounded by the Laws of the Kingdom; That the executive Power and Administration itself is under the strictest Guard, for the Security of the People; and that the Subjects have an Inheritance in their antient fundamental Constitutions, and the Laws of the Land, appears from every Branch of this Government. 'Tis the Tenor of all Antiquity; our Histories and Records afford innumerable Proofs of it: And when your Lordships look back on the

History of *Magna Charta* alone, you can't doubt of the Sense of our Ancestors, that they were Masters of Franchises that were truly their own, and which no earthly Power had Right to extort from them. Many others, of incontestable Authority, are those valuable Relicks, which our Popish Ancestors have left us, as Proofs of the Freedom of our Constitution, of the constant Claims they made, both in and out of Parliament, to their Inheritance in their Laws, against the Encroachment of arbitrary Power; and when the *last Extremity* call'd them to it, they never fail'd to vindicate them by the Arms of Resistance.

"Such was the Genius of a People, whose Government was built on that noble Foundation, not to be bound by Laws, to which they did not consent; that, muffled up in Darknefs and Superstition, as our Ancestors were, yet that Notion seem'd engraven on their Minds, and the Impressions so strong, that nothing could impair them."

Upon the Reformation of Religion, when all foreign Power was abolished, and the Supremacy of the Crown was restor'd to its Height by many Acts of Parliament, your Lordships will always find Declarations at the same Time made of the Rights of the People; particularly that of the 25th of *H. VIII.* where 'tis said, *That the Realm of England is free from any Man's Laws, but such as have been devised, made and ordained within the same, for the Wealth of it; or such other, as the People of the Realm have taken at their free Will and Consent, and by long Use have bound themselves to, as the antient established Laws of the Realm, and none otherwise.*

Your Lordships will, I doubt not, consider those Laws made at that Time, to be fresh and remarkable Declarations, and Ratifications of the original Contract.

This excellent Constitution of our Government has been, thro' many Struggles, preserv'd from that Time to this, and the true Spirit of the *English* Nation still kept alive, down to the Times of the late happy Revolution; at which Time the Danger being imminent, not only to the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom, but to the Protestant Religion, **THE ANTIEN T VIRTUE OF THE ENGLISH NATION EXERTED ITSELF, AND SHONE OUT IN ITS FULL LUSTRE, IN THAT GLORIOUS WORK.**

The many Laws pass'd since, more particularly those for the Settlement of the Crown and Succession, are so many repeated Declarations of their late Majesties, and her Majesty now on the Throne, together with the representative Body of the Nation, in Confirmation of their antient Constitution. Nay, my Lords, we have higher Testimonies to appeal to; the many glorious Successes with which God Almighty has blessed the Arms of her most Sacred Majesty, employ'd in Defence of the Arms of Resistance, are so many Testimonies from Heaven in our Vindication.

Your Lordships take notice on what Grounds the Doctor continues to assert the same Position in his Answer. But is it not most Evident, that the general Exhortations to be met with in the Homilies of the Church of *England*, and such like Declarations in the Statutes of the Kingdom, are meant only as Rules for the Civil Obedience of the Subject to the legal Administration of the supreme Power in ordinary Cases? And it is equally absurd, to construe any Words in a Positive Law to authorize the Destruction of the whole, as to expect, that

that King, Lords, and Commons should, in express Terms of Law, declare such an ultimate Resort as the Right of Resistance, at a Time when the Case supposes that the Force of all Law is ceased.

But the Commons think he hath, by his Answer, highly aggravated his Crime, by charging so pernicious a Tenet, as that of absolute unlimited Non-Resistance, to be a fundamental Part of our Government, and by asserting this as the Doctrine of the Church of *England*.

It is a great Reproach to the Excellency of our Constitution, to impute such Principles to it as inevitably infer its Destruction; and an equal Dishonour to the Crown of this Realm, the great Glory of which is to be set over and govern a Nation of free-born Subjects, the meanest of which has an Inheritance in the Government and the Laws equal with the greatest.

They likewise esteem it an high Reflection on Religion itself, and the Church of *England*, to charge its purest Doctrines with such Constructions, by which all Irreligion and Oppression would be authorized.

The Commons must for ever consider themselves under the strongest Obligations of Gratitude to our great Deliverer, to assert the Honour and Justice of that Resistance by which he rescued an oppressed People from inevitable Destruction; and think they should not deserve the Name of Subjects of *Great Britain*, or the least Blessing of so good a Government, if at this Time before your Lordships, and for ever hereafter, they did not assert, in the most strenuous Manner, the Honour and Justice of that Resistance which brought about the late happy Revolution. And upon this Foundation it is, that they doubt not but your Lordships, will, in a Parliamentary Way, fasten a Brand of indelible Infamy on that calaving Tenet by which it is condemned.

I shall take up less of your Lordships Time on the following Articles.

The Commons esteem the Toleration of Protestant Dissenters to be one of the earliest and happiest Effects of the late Revolution, wisely calculated for the Support and strengthening the Protestant Interest, the great End of the Revolution itself.

They remember, with the highest Gratitude to her Majesty, her Royal Resolution declared from the Throne, to preserve it inviolably; and they observe to your Lordships, that it appears to them, from a Report on their own Journals of a Conference between both Houses, on the Bill against *Occasional Conformity*, (not meant to enlarge the Liberties of Protestant Dissenters) That the Persecution of Protestants is, in the Preamble to that Bill, declared to be contrary to the Christian Religion, and the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, and that the Act of Toleration ought to be kept inviolably; and the Commons find no Exception then taken by your Lordships to that Declaration; but on the contrary, many Expressions from both Houses, highly extolling the Policy and good Effects of that Law.

Your Lordships will perceive, from the Evidence of the Commons, many plain Declarations of the Prisoner in Maintenance of this Article; but we offer it to your Lordships, as a further Evidence, that he most shamefully arraigns the Memory of a Prelate, eminent for his Zeal to the Protestant Religion, for his compassionate Intercessions with *Q. Elizabeth*, in Favour of Dissenting Protestants; a Reflection plainly meant by him to cast an Odium on the Act of Toleration, and on the present Fathers of the Church, so eminent for their Charity

and Moderation; and from the Applauses he gives to the Severities shown by that Queen, he illustrates the Calumny thrown by him on her present Majesty, and her Approbation of the Toleration: Your Lordships will duly consider the Malignity of Expressions meant to condemn so good a Law, now standing in its full Force, and to encourage the Unchristian Principles of Persecution.

The latter Part of the second Article is founded on the legal Supremacy of the Government in Matters Ecclesiastical, by which all Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, by the ancient undoubted Laws of the Kingdom, is made subject to the Civil Power.

The Prisoner, in Terms very unbecoming, has struck at this essential Part of our Constitution, in those Words; wherein, after having persuaded the superiour Pastors of the Church to thunder out their Anathema's against Protestant Dissenters, *He defies any earthly Power to reverse such Sentences.*

My Lords, the restoring the legal Supremacy of the Crown, was the Effect of the Reformation of Religion in this Kingdom; and the Abuse of that Power, to the apparent Danger and Destruction of the Church of *England*, in the Instance of the late illegal Ecclesiastical Commission, remains condemned by the Bill of Rights.

But the Commons crave Leave to observe, that the independent Power or Jurisdiction of the Church, or of Ecclesiastical Judges, which is the Doctrine advanced by the Prisoner, is no less dangerous. It stands in utter Defiance and Contradiction of *Magna Charta*, and the Laws of the Land; 'tis destructive of the legal Supremacy of the Crown and Legislature; a Violation of the Oath of Supremacy; contrary to the Principles of the Reformation, and the Doctrine and Interest of the Church of *England*, of which he is a Member.

The Commons are strengthened in their Concern for the legal Supremacy, when they call to Mind her Majesty's Letter to his Grace of *Canterbury*, of the 25th of *February* 1705, for proroguing the Convocation; wherein her Majesty is pleased to declare her constant Care and Endeavours to preserve the Constitution of the Church of *England* as by Law established, and her Resolution to preserve the Supremacy, as being a fundamental Part of it: And upon these Considerations, they have an absolute Assurance of an equal Regard on your Lordships Part, to a Matter of so great Importance.

Your Lordships will observe the third Article to be included within the general Charge of the fourth: But, the Commons being sensible, with how distinguished a Malice the Substance of this Charge is levelled by the Prisoner against the Honour of her Majesty and the two Houses of Parliament, they thought it their Duty to her Majesty to lay this before your Lordships in a distinct Article, for your particular Consideration and Judgment.

When your Lordships reflect on the late heavy Censure, which the Queen and both Houses so justly laid on the Authors of the like groundless Slander, you will think that the Prisoner has revived and avowed the same, from an inveterate Pride to signalize his Enmity to her Majesty and both Houses, and in the most publick Manner to insult the Honour of the Queen and Legislature, at the same time that he was endeavouring to subvert their Foundation.

The Commons will ever shew the utmost Jealousy for the Safety and Honour of her Majesty's Person, and must always esteem it their peculiar Concern to vindicate every Attempt that shall be made against

it; and assure your Lordships, they can't be forgetful of that signal Regard her Sacred Majesty shewed to the Church of *England*, at the Time of the late Revolution; of that constant uniform Zeal she has expressed for it from that Day to this; that perpetual Monument of her Royal Bounty to the Clergy of the Church of *England*, to the Diminution of her own Revenue; nor of her Royal Care for the perpetual Establishment of its Discipline and Worship, in making it a fundamental and essential Part of the Union of the two Kingdoms: These Things they esteem an absolute Security, that her Royal Protection and Affection for the Church of *England* can never fail.

The Commons doubt not of your Lordships particular Notice of the Parallel mentioned in this Article, by which your Lordships will collect the Inveteracy of the Design from the Odiousness of the Comparison.

In their fourth Article the Commons have laid before your Lordships many Charges; which, tho' of different Considerations, yet all conduce to the main Charge of the Commons, as tending to undermine her Majesty's Government, and to raise Sedition and Rebellion.

Your Lordships will find, from many and pregnant Proofs supporting this Article, That her Majesty's Administration, whereby she has justly gained the Affections of all her true Subjects, is represented by the Prisoner as deserving the utmost Odium and Contempt of her People.

That the Civil and Religious Rights of her Subjects, which her Majesty has protected with the Tenderness of a most indulgent Mother, are betrayed by those to whom she has committed the Care of them, and that they are now in a Condition more Calamitous than at that Time, when Superstition and Tyranny were ready to have swallow'd them up.

Your Lordships will find him labouring to persuade the People, that the Condition of Peace and Prosperity, which the good Government of her Majesty has secured to her Kingdom, is a State of utter Distraction and Confusion, wherein all Irreligion and Disorder is not only unpunished, but encouraged.

Nor will your Lordships wonder to find a Person, who has thus set himself to weaken the Title of her Majesty to the Throne, representing her Administration like that of one who has no Title at all.

And from this ruinous and almost irretrievable Posture of Affairs, your Lordships will find him considering himself as a peculiar Messenger, appointed and called out to open the Eyes of the deluded People, and to undeceive a Nation thus abused. And this, my Lords, he has done, not in the Words of Meekness and Peace; not by exhorting them to the Exercise of the submissive Doctrines of Passive Obedience and Non-Resistance; but he assures them, that he does not come to preach Peace, but to sound a Trumpet; he endeavours to excite such true Sons of the Church as are of his Persuasion, to recover, defend, and maintain, with their Lives and Fortunes, their invaded Rights, and such Doctrines as he has thought fit to deliver to them.

My Lords, I take Liberty to acquaint your Lordships, that the Commons conceive, that the Laws and Statutes of the Realm, and the Order and Peace of Government, necessarily injoin it as a Duty upon all private Subjects, to represent their Sense of the Nation's Grievances in a Course of Law and

Justice, and not otherwise; and whenever the Oppressions become National or Publick, They claim it as the peculiar Right of their own Body, to pursue the evil Instruments of them, till publick Vengeance be done; and at the same time the Commons assure your Lordships, that they will account it their indispensable Duty to her Majesty and their Country, to assert the Justice and Wisdom of her Administration, against the Enemies of both.

I have thus stated to your Lordships the Nature of this Cause; wherein, I persuade myself, you perceive many Points of the highest Moment to the Peace and Welfare of the Kingdom.

The Tendency of the Crimes, of which the Prisoner stands accused, lies open and apparent: But I yet beg your Patience, to draw the Scene a little closer.

Your Lordships will consider the necessary Consequence of a Position, meant and expounded so as to persuade the World, that the glorious Work of the Revolution was the Fruit of Rebellion, and the Work of Traitors. Does it not declare the late Reign to be one continued Usurpation? And under what better Circumstances does it bring the present?

Is the Act of Toleration condemned with any other Tendency than to weaken so great a Support of the Revolution itself? And I intreat your Lordships to consider the certain fatal Effects of an universal Dissatisfaction of the People, in Things that concern them nearest, the Safety of the Church of *England*, and the Protestant Interest, and the Security of themselves and their Posterity.

It's true, my Lords, that, considered at a Distance, there seems a Repugnancy in this Gentleman's System. How comes it to pass, that absolute Non-Resistance and the Spirit of Rebellion stand so well together, and are made so suitable, in the same Discourse?

But, if your Lordships should discern, in any Part of his Sermon, any dark Hints, or disguised Opinions, of a *Sole Hereditary Right of Succession* to the Crown, that will shew your Lordships the true Consistency of the whole; your Lordships will find, that in his Opinion, the Duty of the absolute Non-Resistance is owing to him only that has the Divine Commission to govern; and from thence your Lordships cannot fail of knowing against what Queen, what Government, what Establishment, he encourages the taking up the Arms of Resistance.

I have thus endeavoured to discharge the Trust reposed in me by the Commons, and am not un-sensible how far short I have fallen; but, my Lords, I assure myself that the Cause cannot suffer by it, its own Strength and Vigour will support it at this Time, and so long, I hope, as the Nation endures.

Your Lordships see plainly, that the Duty of the Commons, which they will always discharge, called upon them very loudly to make Inquisition on so remarkable an Offender as the Prisoner at the Bar.

Your Lordships see they had not acquitted themselves aright, if they had intrusted the Prosecution of this great Cause in any other Hands but their own, or suffered these Points to have been handled in any Place but in full Parliament; or before any other Judicature but that of your Lordships: And it is with the greatest Chearfulness and Security, that they submit the Cause of the Queen, of the whole Nation, of the Protestant Religion, and Protestant Succession, to the Weight and Wisdom of your Lordships Judgment.

Mr. Attorney General. I did acquaint your Lordships that there were two Sermons delivered into the House of Commons, which I desire may be now delivered in, and read to your Lordships. We must desire Mr. Jodrell to give an Account where he had those Books in his Hands.

Then Mr. Jodrell was sworn.

Mr. Jodrell. These two Books were delivered in at the Table of the House of Commons, by one of the Members.

Mr. Att. Gen. Were they shewn to Dr. Sacheverell when he attended the House?

Mr. Jodrell. They were shewn to him at the Bar of the House.

Mr. Att. Gen. Did he own them to be his Books, or what did he own about them?

Mr. Jodrell. That which is the Sermon preached the fifth of November he owned to be his, and that he directed it to be printed.

Then that Book was delivered in.

Mr. Att. Gen. There is another Sermon which was preached at the Assizes at Derby, that was also shewn him at the Bar, and he owned it.

Lord Chancellor. What say you as to the Preface of the other Sermon?

Mr. Jodrell. He owned the Dedication of it to be agreeable with the Dedication of that Impression which he ordered to be printed.

Mr. Att. Gen. We pray the Dedication may be shewn to him; if he denies it, we are ready to prove it by the Printer.

Sir Simon Harcourt. My Lords, the Doctor did own the Sermon, and the Dedication of both the Sermons, before the House of Commons; and he will not give your Lordships the Trouble of hearing any Proof of them. He doth own them.

Mr. Att. Gen. Then we desire they may be read.

Clerk reads the Dedication of the Derby Sermon, and the Dedication and Sermon at St. Paul's.

The DEDICATION of a SERMON preached at the Assizes held at Derby, August 15, 1709, by Henry Sacheverell, D. D. Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxon, and Chaplain of St. Saviour's, Southwark.

To the Right Worshipful

GEORGE SACHEVERELL, Esq;

High Sheriff of the County of Derby;

AND TO

The Honourable GENTLEMEN of the GRAND JURY,

Gilbert Thacker, Esq;	William Horton, Esq;
Robert Wilmot, Esq;	George Savill, Esq;
John Fitz-Herbert, Esq;	William Brown, Esq;
John Beresford, Esq;	Paul Balledon, Esq;
Henry Vernon, Esq;	James Cetham, Esq;
William Cook, Esq;	William Wolley, Esq;
William Cavendish, Esq;	George Turner, Gent.
Francis Pole, Esq;	

GENTLEMEN,

THE Peculiar Honour You were pleased to confer upon me after the Delivery of this plain Discourse, was so Signal, that nothing less than this Publick Acknowledgment can acquit Me of Ingratitude.

Now, when the Principles and Interests, of our Church, and Constitution, are so shamefully Betray'd, and Run down, it can be no little Comfort to all those who wish their Welfare and Security, to see, that notwithstanding the Secret Malice, and Open Violence they are Persecuted with, there are still to be found such Worthy Patrons of both, who dare Own and Defend them as well against the Rude and Presumptuous Insults of the One Side, as the Base, Undermining Treachery of the Other; and who Scorn to Sit silently by, and partake in the Sins of these Associated Malignants.

Though the Truth seems to be so much Forsaken at present, yet, God be thanked, they shall yet find, to our Honour, that we have still amongst Us these who have Courage to speak it, as well as those who have Lives and Fortunes to Maintain it: And tho' the Age is sunk into the Lowest Dregs of Corruption that it cannot endure Sound Doctrine, there are not wanting Some to Preach it, and Others to Support it, at the Expence of Both. May the Influence of your Good Examples, which as much Animates our Friends, as it Terrifies our Enemies, be as diffusively Prevailing, as 'tis nobly Conspicuous; and the Blessing of that Church attend you, which you so Eminently adorn and sustain!

And, as I am obliged by the Relation I have the Honour to bear your Family, may a double Portion of the Divine Favour rest on You, (Mr. High Sheriff) whose Commands I was very ready to execute in this Office, since you thought neither the Advancement of your Years, so generously expended for the Good of your Country, nor the great Trouble attending this Post, sufficient to exempt you from shewing that steady Loyalty and Zeal to serve Her Majesty and the Government, for which you have been so remarkably Distinguished.

I am, with all Regard,

GENTLEMEN,

Your very Humble Servant,

Henry Sacheverell.

The PERILS of FALSE BRETHREN,
both in Church and State:

Set forth in a

SERMON Preached before the Right Honourable the LORD MAYOR, Aldermen, and Citizens of London, at the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, on the Fifth of November 1709. By Henry Sacheverell, D. D. Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxon, and Chaplain of St. Saviour's Southwark.

To

To the Right Honourable

Sir SAMUEL GERRARD, Bart.

Lord Mayor of the City of London.

My LORD,

BY Your Lordship's Command, this Discourse ventures to appear in Publick, in Contempt of all those Scandalous Misrepresentations the Malicious Adversaries of our Church have traduced it with, and that Impartial Sentence it had the Honour to receive from some of those Acute and Wise Judges, who Condemned it, without Sight or Hearing. But it is no New Thing with some Men to Censure at Random what lies out of their Sphere; Examining a Cause may prove Dangerous, for fear of their own Conviction of its Merits. When Men are resolved to leap into a Gulph, the best Way is to shut their Eyes, for fear they should see their Danger, and Repent of their Folly. When they are thus abandoned and given up to Ruin, the Charitable Hand, that would hold out an unwelcome Light to prevent it, must expect to be treated with that ungrateful Insolence and Reproach, which usually attends the Generous Freedom of those who Dare speak Seasonable, and Necessary Truths. That Patient's Case doubtless is very Desperate, that sets himself against his Cure; and when Men are so stupidly hardened in their Errours as to resist the most glaring Evidence, there's no Room for Argument, or Gospel. Moises, and the Prophets, may with Christ, and his Apostles, be Banished our Synagogues, when Truth must be Oppressed by Number, and Noise, and Rebellious Appeals to the People, as the only Judges of Right, and Wrong, and the dernier Resort of Justice and Dominion. Are not these the Fashionable Methods now made use of to Overbear, and Silence our Church, to Affront and Revile our Legislature, in order to Break in upon the Prerogative of the Crown? By Threatening them with Imaginary Legions, and a popular Tribunal, where their Authority, and Establishment are to be Try'd and Determined? To put a Stop to which Dangerous and Encroaching Mischief, that now with Impunity walks up and down through this Distracted Kingdom, I thought it my Duty (being Summoned to this Office by your Lordship) to Discharge it in the BEST METHOD I could, to Preserve Us from these Malicious Designs, by endeavouring, if possible, to Open the Eyes of the Deluded People in this Our Great Metropolis; being Conscious of what Prodigious Importance it is to the Welfare of the whole Nation, to have its Rich and Powerful Inhabitants set right in their Notions of Government, both in Church and State; that they may not be Flatter'd into their Ruin, but seeing the Fatal Consequences of these Damnable false Doctrines, which some Seditious Impostors have laboured to Poison them with, may Forsake and Detest them. I am confident, My Lord, that this Glorious and Renowned City can Boast of so many Excellent Examples of Unshaken Steadiness, Disinterested Probity and True Zeal, and Loyalty for Our Church, and Sovereign, that if they would act with the same Open, and Undaunted Resolution Your Lordship does, these Affrighting Phantoms must Vanish. But if Honell Gentlemen will sit still, and give up their Cause through want of Courage, or a Just Sense of the Dangerous Attempts of Our Enemies, without the Spirit of Prophecy, We may

foretel what will become of Our Constitution, when 'tis so Vigorously Attacked from Without, and so Lazily Defended from Within.

We are told by these Men, who would fain shut both our Eyes, and our Mouths, in order the more effectually to Undermine, and Destroy Us, that the Pulpit is not a Place for Politicks; and that 'tis the Business of a Clergyman to Preach Peace, and not Sound a Trumpet in Sion; so expressly contrary to the Command of God, to Cry aloud, and Spare not. My Lord, I was humbly of Opinion, that the Fifth Commandment was Genuine; the Fanaticks would do well to strike that Dangerous Precept out of the Decalogue, as the Papists have the Second, that neither might Rise in Judgment against these United Friends, and Brethren. Now as This stands the First in the Second Table, is it not of the utmost Importance, to be rightly Understood, as containing the Principal Duty that we owe to God's Vicegerents, which has been so Scandalously, and Villanously Misinterpreted of late, to the Great Dishonour of Both? Certainly Our Church thought so Formerly, when it took such Care to Guard Our Obedience, with more Homilies concerning the Peril of Rebellion, than any other Sin. And when was more Reason for Enforcing their Doctrines than now, when We see these admirable Dissuatives against Faction and Sedition, maliciously Wreisted to Countenance and Support it? If our Excellent Constitution apprehends no Hazard from these Licentious Proceedings, I am sure Those who would defend it from them, have Reason to do so, with Regard to their Own Persons: Our Pastors cannot do their Duty, without being Menaced for it, and Slandered by the vile Amanuenses of the Mob, to expose us to their Fury, as Papists, and Men Disaffected to Her Majesty's Government, whose Safety, Rights and Establishment, together with Those of the Church, We so earnestly contend for; which I solemnly here Declare (as I did before in this Discourse) to be my only Aim and Intention; and in an humble way to follow the Footsteps of your Lordship, who is so bright an Ornament, and Support of them. That this great City may flourish under your auspicious Conduct, and never want a Magistrate of your steady Principles to Guide and Govern it, is the hearty Prayer of,

My LORD,

Your LORDSHIP'S

Most Humble Servant,

HENRY SACHEVERELL.

2 COR. xi. 26.

In Perils among false Brethren.

AMONG all the most dreadful Perils that ever threatened this Church, and Kingdom, the dismal Tragedy contrived as this Day to be executed on Both, may justly claim the horrible Precedence, and consequently the highest Expressions of our Gratitude for so astonishing and miraculous a Deliverance from it.

FOL

' For whether we consider the *Black Depth* of
 ' its subtle *Contrivance*, the destructive *Extent*,
 ' and *sanguinary Consequences* of it, or its sur-
 ' prizing and unaccountable *Discovery*, we must
 ' confess, that nothing but the *All-Powerful* and
 ' Gracious *Hand of God*, interposing against the ut-
 ' ter Subversion of Our *Nation* and *Religion*, could
 ' have prevented such a *Fatal Conspiracy*: A Con-
 ' spiracy! so full of the most Unheard-of *Malice*,
 ' most *Insatiable Cruelty*, most *Diabolical Revenge*,
 ' as only could be *hatch'd* in the *Cabinet-Council* of
 ' *Hell*, and *brought forth* in a *Conclave* of *Romish*
 ' *Jesuits*! Now tho' the *History* of this unparal-
 ' lel'd *Mystery of Iniquity* was *Designed* against Us
 ' at such a *Distance* of Time, and the *Fact* so evi-
 ' dently *Acknowledg'd*, that the *Papists* themselves
 ' are so far from *Denying*, that they *Extol* it with
 ' the Highest *Panegyrics*; so that there needs nei-
 ' ther *Proof* of the one, nor *Repetition* of the other:
 ' Yet doubtless 'tis as much our *Duty*, as *Interest*,
 ' to keep up the *Annual Celebration* of this *Never-*
 ' *to-be-forgotten Festival*. For that the very *Face*
 ' and *Shadow* of our *Church* and *Constitution* is
 ' yet *Surviving*; That this *Good* and *Pious Relict*
 ' of the *Royal Family* Sits now *Happily* upon the
 ' *Throne* of Her *Great Ancestors*; That our *Hierar-*
 ' *chy* and *Nobility* was not finally *Extirpated* and
 ' cut off; That our *Country* was not made an *Accl-*
 ' *dama*, a *Field of Blood*, and a *Receptacle* of *Usurp-*
 ' *ing Robbers*; That We yet, without *Slavery*,
 ' *Superstition*, or *Idolatry*, enjoy the *Benefit* of our
 ' Excellent *Laws*, and most Holy *Profession* Un-
 ' derid'd: In a Word, That God has yet vouch-
 ' sased us *this Opportunity* of coming into his Pre-
 ' sence, to *Acknowledge* these *Inestimable Blessings*,
 ' is owing to his *Mercy* so signally shewn to Us, in
 ' Disappointing the *Barbarous Massacre* intended
 ' *This Day*. A *Day!* which ought to stand for
 ' Ever in the *English Kalender*, as an *Eternal Era*,
 ' at the *One End*, as the *Thirtieth Day* of *January*
 ' at the *Other*, for *Indelible Monuments* of the Irre-
 ' concilable *Rage*, and *Blood-Thirstiness* of both the
 ' *Papish*, and *Fanatick* Enemies of Our *Church*, and
 ' *Government!* For these are *equally* such Treache-
 ' rous *FALSE BRETHREN*, from whom we
 ' must always expect the utmost Perils, and *against*
 ' whom we can never sufficiently Arm Our selves
 ' with the greatest *Caution* and *Security*. These
 ' TWO DAYS indeed, are but *One United Proof*,
 ' and *Visible Testimonial* of the same *Dangerous*, and
 ' *Rebellious Principles*, these *Confederates in Iniquity*
 ' maintain: And as the *One* is but a *Thanksgiving*
 ' for our *Deliverance* from what the *First Projected*;
 ' so is the *Other* an *Humiliation*, for what God per-
 ' mitted the *Latter*, by *Their Help and Direction*, to
 ' put in Execution. I think therefore the *Best way*
 ' of *Acknowledging* these *Great Mercies*, and *Judg-*
 ' *ments* of God, and *Acquitting Both Solemnities* in
 ' a *Proper way*, is by so justly *Considering* Our
 ' *Circumstances* with respect to *Each Side*, as to
 ' Guard against Their *Malicious* and *Factionous De-*
 ' *signs* for the future; that we may never *Trust*
 ' *Either*, to need a *Second Deliverance* from those
 ' *Villainous Enterprizes*, they will never cease to put
 ' in Practice, whenever they see an *Opportunity* of
 ' Doing it with *Security*.

' Now as *Persecution*, and *Affliction*, were the
 ' *distinguishing Badges* of the *Messiah*, who was a
 ' *Man of Sorrows*, and *acquainted with Grievs*; so
 ' to convince his *Disciples*, that his *Kingdom* was
 ' *not of this World*, He *Bequeath'd* the same *sad*
 ' *Legacy* to Them, to *share* the *Character*, as well
 ' as *imitate* the *Example*, of their *dying Lord*, and
 ' *Master*. With *unshaken Courage*, and *Resolution*,

' to take up His *Bloody Cross*, and follow the *Great*
 ' *Leader of their Salvation*: To *March* with a
 ' *Cheerful Magnanimity* through all the *Powers* of
 ' *Darkness*, looking unto *Jesus the Author* and *Fi-*
 ' *nisher of their Faith*, who for the *Joy* that was
 ' set before Him, *Endur'd* the *Cross*, despising the
 ' *Shame*, and is set down at the *Right-hand* of the
 ' *Throne of God*. Thus was His *Church* to expect
 ' no *Better Treatment* than Her *Great Founder*
 ' and *Original*, to pass through the same *Fierly Tri-*
 ' *al*, to be made *Perfect* through *Sufferings*, to be
 ' *Militant* here, in order to be *Triumphant* here-
 ' *after*; and like Him, to be *Crown* with *Thorns*
 ' in *this World*, to Obtain a *Crown of Glory* in the
 ' *Next*. Not only to Encounter the *Open Fury*
 ' and *Violence* of Her *Profess'd* and *Inveterate* *Enc-*
 ' *mies*; but (which was the *Bitterest Part* of Her
 ' *Sufferings*) like Her *Saviour*, to be *Betray'd*, and
 ' perfidiously Given up by Her *Own False-hearted*
 ' and *Insidious Apostles*.

' As the *Historics* of the *Church* in *All Ages*
 ' are as 'twere but *One Continued Ratification* of
 ' this *Melancholy Truth*, made up of so many
 ' *Mournful Narratives* of the *Unhappy Lives*, and
 ' *Disastrous Deaths* of *Saints*, *Martyrs*, and *Confes-*
 ' *sors*, who *Bravely seal'd the Faith* with their *Blood*;
 ' so it is *Exemplified* in no *One Instance* more
 ' than in that *Primitive*, and *Heroick Champion* of
 ' *Christianity*, the *Author* of this *Epistle*. Where-
 ' in, for the *Wonder*, and *Emulation* of *Posterity*,
 ' He has recorded a *Long* and *Frightful Catalogue*
 ' of those *Astonishing Calamities* He had underwent
 ' in the *Propagation* of the *Gospel*. Such *Ample*
 ' *Satisfaction* did the *Pious Labours* of the *Con-*
 ' *vert* make for the wicked *Persecution* of the
 ' *Jew*, when, by a *Miraculous Turn* of *Providence*,
 ' the *Greatest Sinner* was changed into the *Devoutest*
 ' *Saint*, and the most *Zealous Bigot* against, into
 ' the most *Resolute Sufferer* for, *Religion*. Yet
 ' however this *Great Apostle* might have *Attain'd*
 ' so extraordinary a *Degree* of *Merit*, as to *Out-*
 ' *shine* all that *Noble Army* of *Martyrs* which *Adorn*
 ' the *Bloody Kalender* of the *Church*; nay, as He
 ' expresses it, *to come never a Whit short* of the
 ' *Greatest Apostles*, and as 'twere to *Vye Characters*
 ' with the very *Chosen* of the *Son of God*; Does it
 ' not seem a little to carry the *Air* of *Ostentation*,
 ' and *Vain-glory*, thus to claim the *Pre-eminence*
 ' and *Supremacy*, and to boast himself in that *Pom-*
 ' *pous Shew* of *Services* that He hath done for *God*
 ' and the *Church*? But We shall easily *Reconcile*
 ' the *Apostle* and the *Orator*, and find no *Imputa-*
 ' *tion* upon his *Modesty*, if we consider the *Occa-*
 ' *sion* of it. He had (as He informs Us) with
 ' much *Pains* and *Expence*, Planted *Christianity*
 ' in *Corinth*, where he had no sooner, by a *Mira-*
 ' *culous Ministry*, *Establish'd* it, but several *False*
 ' *Apostles* and *Seducers* were, in his *Absence*, *Crept*
 ' into the *Church*, to *Vitiate* and *Corrupt* his
 ' *New Profelytes*, under *Pretence* of *More Pu-*
 ' *rity* and *Holiness*, (like our *Modern Sectarists*) to
 ' raise a *Schism* amongst them, and to draw them off
 ' from the *Opinion* they had of *St. Paul*; by *Ridi-*
 ' *culing* Him for his *Person* and *Address*, as a
 ' *Little Uncdiscipling*, *Ungifted Preacher*, of a *weak*
 ' *bodily Presence*, and *Contemptible Speech*; thus
 ' *Wounding* the *Ministry* through the *Sides* of the
 ' *Minister*. Such *Slights* and *Provocations* certain-
 ' ly were a *sufficient Ground* for the *Apostle* to in-
 ' sist upon his *Character*, lest the *Gospel* should
 ' suffer by it: And with *Authority* to *Rebuke* the
 ' *Ingratitude* of the *Corinthians*, and *Vindicate* his
 ' *Dignity*, and *Transcendent Excellencies*, against the
 ' base *Lies*, and *Calumnies*, cast upon Him by such

‘ false Apostles, deceitful Workers, transforming themselves into the Apostles of Christ, like their True Father the Devil, transforming himself into an Angel of Light. With what Justice then might He here stand upon the Comparison, when thus vilely Run down, by such Wretched, Empty, Hypocritical Sophisters? To appeal to his Spiritual Gifts, and Revelations, and Sufferings, in Competition with such Impudent, Boasting, Self-conceited Pretenders, was the Lowest Act of Humility, and Good-Nature; to Condescend to Dispute with such as ought to be Answered, not with Arguments, but Anathema’s! Yet behold the Singular Modesty of this Great Apostle! He cannot enter upon his own Justification, without much Reluctance, and a long Apology to introduce it. *I am become a Fool in Glorifying* (says he) *but you have compelled Me to it. I speak as concerning Reproach, as tho’ we had been Weak: Howbeit, wherein any is Bold, I speak foolishly, I am bold also. Are they Hebrews? so am I! Are they Israelites? so am I! Are they the Seed of Abraham? so am I! Are they Ministers of Christ? I speak as a Fool, I am more. In Labours more Abundant, in Stripes above Measure, in Prisons more Frequent, in Deaths often; of the Jews five Times received I forty Stripes, save one. Thrice was I beaten with Rods, Once was I ston’d, Thrice I suffered Shipwreck, a Night and a Day have I been in the Deep. In Journeyings often, in Perils of Waters, in Perils of Robbers, in Perils by my own Countrymen, in Perils by the Heathen, in Perils in the City, in Perils in the Wilderness, in Perils in the Sea, in Perils amongst FALSE BRETHREN.* In this Rhetorical Abridgment of the Sufferings, and Dangers of his Life, there’s a very Observable Gradation; the Apostle still Rises in his Calamities, and puts this Last as the Highest Perfection of his Misery, as that which made the deepest Impression upon his Passions, and what He bore with the greatest Resentment and Difficulty. The many severe Pains, and Tortures inflicted on his body, were nothing to This; nay, the Good-Nature, and Mercy of Highwaymen, and Pagans, and even the Devouring Bosom of the Deep, were to be Prefer’d before, and sooner (it seems) to be Trusted to, than the more certainly Destructive, and Fallacious Bosom of a Treacherous, FALSE BROTHER.

‘ I shall take the Expression in its full Latitude, without confining it to the express Design of the Place; tho’ it were very obvious to draw a Parallel here, betwixt the sad Circumstances of the Church of Corinth formerly, and of the Church of England at present; wherein Her Holy Communion has been Rent, and Divided by Factions, and Schismatical Impostors; Her pure Doctrine has been Corrupted, and Desl’d; Her Primitive Worship, and Discipline Prophan’d, and Abus’d; Her Sacred Orders Deny’d and Villified; Her Priests and Professors (like St. Paul) Calumniated, Misrepresented, and Ridicul’d; Her Alters, and Sacraments Prostituted to Hypocrites, Deists, Socinians, and Atheists; and this done, I wish I could not say, without Discouragement, I am sure with Impunity, not only by our profess’d Enemies, but which is worse, by our pretended Friends, and FALSE BRETHREN. But to proceed to the Matter before us: In my Discourse upon these Words I shall endeavour,

‘ I. First, To shew in what Sense, and upon what Accounts Men may be Denominated FALSE BRETHREN.

‘ II. Secondly, I will lay before you the Great PE-

‘ RIL, and Mischief of such, both in Church and State.

‘ III. Thirdly, I will set forth the Heinous Malignity, Enormous Guilt, and Folly of this Prodigious Sin.

‘ IV. Lastly, As a Consequence from the Whole, I will undertake to Evince what mighty Reason we have at all Times, and more especially at present, to stick firmly to the Principles both of our Church and Constitution; and how much it concerns Us to Beware of all those FALSE BRETHREN, that Desert, or Betray them.

‘ And First, I will shew you in what Sense, and upon what Accounts Men may be Denominated FALSE Brethren. In order to which it will be Necessary to State the full Extent of the Nature of FALSE BROTHERHOOD.

‘ This Term *ψευδελπίς* being of a Relative Signification, must respect Men as considered under all Social Cases, or as they are placed under such Regards and Circumstances, as in Duty oblige them both to Think, Speak, and Act, with Truth, and Integrity, correspondent to their inward Principles, and outward Professions. And wherein they are found deviating wilfully from either, by an unreasonable Alteration of Judgment, by any tacit Mental Reserve, or Equivocation, upon any indirect Ends, or Designs, or guiding their Expressions and Actions contrary to these stated Rules, they are guilty of Falshood, both in Conscience and Practice, of a Breach of that Veracity, Justice, and Trust that they owe to God, themselves, and the World, and are properly what are styl’d in the Text FALSE BRETHREN. For whereas every Man that either believes, speaks, or acts Rationally, must be supposed to have some Standing-Ground, and Measure of Judgment, settled upon some Grand, Primitive Maxims of Truth, both Speculative and Practical, whether founded upon Revelation, Reason, or Honour, which are what we call any Man’s Principles either in Religion, Society, or Friendship: If these Fundamental Axioms have with true Deliberation been sifted, and weigh’d, not only as to their intrinsic Nature, and Goodness, but as to their outward Tendency, and Consequences, they must appear, tho’ not perhaps as infallible in themselves, yet with Respect to the Person so considering them, as demonstrative Truths, as the Light, and Oracles of God, and Reason, set up in his Breast; by which He is always oblig’d to Direct, and Govern his Thoughts, Resolutions, and Actions; and which if He swerves from, disowns, or betrays upon any sinister Motive whatsoever (tho’ after this nice Search they should prove Erroneous) involve the Man in a very heinous Sin, treacherously acting against his Judgment, and giving the Lye both to his Faith, his Reason and his Knowledge. This Matter being thus briefly Premis’d, it is evident, that with regard to the several Objects it is Conversant about, Men may in three Respects be term’d Guilty of FALSE BROTHERHOOD.

‘ 1. First, With Relation to God, the Church, or Religion, in which they hold Faith, or Communion.

‘ 2. Secondly, With Relation to the State, Government, or Society, of which they are Members.

‘ 3. Thirdly, With Relation to those Private Persons, with whom they have either Friendship, Correspondence, or Dealing.

‘ 1. And First, He is a FALSE BROTHER with Relation to God, Religion, or the Church, in which he holds Communion, that Believes, Main-

‘ tains,

' tains, or Propagates any False, or Heterodox Te-
 ' net, or Doctrine repugnant to the express Declara-
 ' tions of Scripture, and the Decrees, or Sense of
 ' the Church, and Antiquity thereupon. For as in
 ' the first alone are contain'd the Essential Points,
 ' and Articles of our most Holy Faith; so the
 ' Primitive Expositions, Decisions, and Practice of
 ' the antient Writers of the Pure, and uncorrupted
 ' Ages of Christianity, must certainly be acknowledg'd
 ' the best, and most Authentick Comments upon their
 ' Meaning. In Opposition to which, if any upstart
 ' Novelist, or self-conceited Enthusiast, out of Pride,
 ' as letting Himself above these Genuine Oracles of
 ' Truth; or out of Ignorance, as being unacquainted
 ' with the Learning, and Records of Antiquity; or
 ' out of Perverseness, scorning to submit his Un-
 ' derstanding to the Dictates, or better Reason of
 ' others; or out of Ambition and Vain-glory, as af-
 ' fecting to be the Head, and Leader of some New
 ' Sect, or Party; (all, or either of which have,
 ' and will be found for ever the Parents of Heresy)
 ' and should break in upon this Sacred Depositum
 ' of the Church; and should attempt Blaspheme-
 ' mously to Corrupt that inviolable Fountain of
 ' Truth, with erroneous Conjectures, and vain Phi-
 ' losophical Systems; to Prophane and Degrade the
 ' Holy Mysteries of Religion, by absurd Interpreta-
 ' tions, and impudent Reasonings; should we stick
 ' to call such a Rebel to God, and Traitor to his
 ' Church, a FALSE BROTHER? If a Man should
 ' dare not only to Revive, but to justify any Exe-
 ' crable Exploded Heresies, as those of Arrius,
 ' and Nestorius, denying the Hypostatical Union, or
 ' the Eternity of the Son of God; or should affirm
 ' that He was God in Man, or that the Godhead was
 ' only Locally in his Manhood, as God was in the
 ' Cloud; or that should presume to Evacuate the
 ' great Sanction of the Gospel, the Eternity of Hell-
 ' Torments; or Expound any of the Articles of
 ' Our Faith, in such a Loose and Vagrant way, as
 ' may suit 'em as well to a Mahomitan's as a Chri-
 ' stian's Creed; and to lay open all those Sacred
 ' Boundaries of the Church, to let in all Sectarists,
 ' and Schismatics, of whatsoever Wild, Romantic,
 ' or Enthusiastick Notions, so as to make the House
 ' of God, not only a Den of Thieves, but a Recep-
 ' tacle of Legions of Devils: Should we cover such
 ' a False Zephestle under the Sacred Umbrage of a
 ' True Church-man? In short, whosoever presumes
 ' to Recede the least Tittle from the express Word
 ' of God, or to explain the great Credenda of our
 ' Faith in New-fangl'd Terms of Modern Philosophy,
 ' must publish a new Gospel, Un-god his Saviour,
 ' and Destroy his Revelation; and by unsettling the
 ' Universal, Receiv'd Doctrine of the Church, give
 ' up Christianity into Scepticism, and Atheism; and
 ' to speak the best of his Character, is FALSE both
 ' to his God, and his Religion, and shall be called
 ' hereafter, The least in the Kingdom of Heaven,
 ' how Great soever he may be in the Kingdoms
 ' here below. And as a Man may thus Betray the
 ' Doctrine of his Church, so he is no less FALSE to
 ' its Interest, that gives up any Point, of her Dis-
 ' cipline, and Worship. These are the Exterior
 ' Fences to Guard the Internals of Religion, without
 ' which they are left Naked, without Beauty, Or-
 ' der, or Defence. Should any Man, out of Igno-
 ' rance, or Prejudice, to the antient Rights, and
 ' Essential Constitution, of the Catholick Church,
 ' Affirm, That the Divine Apostolical Institution of
 ' Episcopacy, is a Novel Doctrine, not sufficiently
 ' Warranted by Scripture, and that 'tis indifferent
 ' whether the Church is Govern'd by Bishops, or Pres-

' byters; Is not such an one an Apostate from his
 ' own Orders? Let the Christian World be Judge,
 ' who best deserve the Name of Churchmen, those
 ' that strictly Defend, and Maintain the Catholick
 ' Doctrines, upon which the Church, as a Society,
 ' is Founded, or those who would Barter them for
 ' a Mungrel-Union of all Sects? Those who Zea-
 ' lously support her Mission, which only can sup-
 ' port her, or those who would destroy it, to take in
 ' Schismatical Presbyters without Episcopal Ordina-
 ' tion, which would Un-Church the very Church,
 ' and Annihilate her Constitution? Is this the Spirit
 ' and Doctrine of our Holy Mother? To assert
 ' Separation from Her Communion, to be no Schism;
 ' or if it was, that Schism is no Damnable Sin;
 ' that Occasional Conformity is no Hypocrisy, but ra-
 ' ther for the Benefit of the Church; that any one
 ' may be an Occasional Conformist with Schismatics,
 ' and yet not guilty of Schism; that a Christian may
 ' serve God in any Way or Congregation of Worship,
 ' as well by Extemporary Prayers, as by a Prescrib'd
 ' Form, and Liturgy; that Conformity to the Church,
 ' and Ecclesiastical Authority, are no Parts of Mora-
 ' lity, and a Good Life, which are only necessary to
 ' Salvation: That the Orders and Ceremonies of the
 ' Church, are only Carnal, Arbitrary Obediences, to
 ' be Dispens'd with as Men please, both by Clergy
 ' and Laity; that the Censures and Excommunic-
 ' tions of the Church, are mere Bruta Fulmina;
 ' Canonical Obedience, and Absolution, Spiritual Ty-
 ' ranny, and Usurpation; and in a Word, that the
 ' whole Body of the Worship, and Discipline of the
 ' Church of England, is nothing else but Priestcraft,
 ' and Popery in Masquerade. If upon all Occasions
 ' to comply with the Dissenters both in Publick
 ' and Private Affairs, as Persons of Tender Con-
 ' sciences and Piety, to promote their Interests in
 ' Elections, to sneak to 'em for Places and Prefer-
 ' ment, to Defend Toleration, and Liberty of Con-
 ' science, and under the Pretence of Moderation,
 ' to excuse Their Separation, and lay the Fault upon
 ' the True Sons of the Church, for carrying Matters
 ' too high; if to Court the Fanaticks in Private,
 ' and to hear 'em with Patience, if not Approbation,
 ' Rail at and Blaspheme the Church, and upon Occa-
 ' sion to Justify the King's Murder; If to Flatter
 ' both the Dead and the Living in their Vices, and
 ' to tell the World, that if they have Wit and
 ' Money enough, they need no Repentance, and
 ' that only Fools and Beggars can be Damn'd; If
 ' these, I say, are the Modish, and Fashionable
 ' Criterions of a True Church-man, God deliver Us
 ' all from such FALSE BRETHERN.

' There is another Sort of them who are for a
 ' Neutrality in Religion, who really are of none, but
 ' are a secret Sort of Reserv'd Atheists, who always
 ' pretend to be of the Church, join in the Herd, and
 ' will sometimes frequent our Publick Communion,
 ' as long as the Government appears on our Side;
 ' but if any thing is to be got by it, can with as
 ' safe a Conscience slide privately into a Conventicle,
 ' and look as demure as the shyest Saint amongst 'em.
 ' They are equally of all, and of no Communion, they
 ' are the Gallio's that care for none of these Things;
 ' They tell us they are for the Religion Establish'd by
 ' Law, but no longer than 'tis so; they can see nei-
 ' ther Sin nor Danger in that Ecclesiastical Bugbear,
 ' as they call Schism, yet talk very loud about Union,
 ' Comprehension and Moderation; by all which cant-
 ' ing Expressions, they mean nothing but getting
 ' Money and Preferment, by holding in with Persons
 ' of all Parties and Characters, halting betwixt the
 ' Diversity of Opinions, and Reconciling God and

Belial for Gain. To these we may add those who either out of *Fear*, or *Complaisance*, can tamely, and without *Vindication*, hear their *God and Religion* Blasphem'd and Abus'd. But there is another sort of FALSE BRETHREN, who set up for a greater *Perfection of Piety* than their Neighbours, who, like their Originals, the *Pharisees* in the Gospel, are always pleading their *Merits* before *God*, and the *World*, with an *Ostentation of Sanctity*, in Comparison with their *Profane Brethren*, with a *Stand off*, for *I am Holier than Thou!* These are the *Saints* that under the Pretence of *Conscience*, shall commit the most *abominable Impieties*, and justify *Murder*, *Sacrilege* and *Rebellion*, by Texts of Scripture. There are yet another sort of FALSE BRETHREN, of a quite *opposite* Character to these, who wish well to the *Church of England*, and really believe her *Constitution in Doctrine, Discipline and Worship*, the best and purest in the *Christian World*; and when either their *Tongues, Hands, or Purfes* are wanting in her Defence, are ready to sacrifice their *Persons, and Estates* in her *Vindication*. These indeed are *noble Qualifications*, and 'tis Pity so good a Character should want any thing to *Complete* it. And to turn the Words of our *Blessed Saviour* to the *rich Man*, yet one thing thou lackest, thy *Zeal* is to be shewn in, as well as for, the *Communion of the Church*, in obeying her *Precepts*, as well as defending her *Rights*. In all these Cases there is a *Serious and Deliberate Act of Treachery* against *Conscience* and *Conviction*, a base *Forfeiture* of that *Spiritual Allegiance* we owe to *God*, and our *Church*, as a *sacred Body, and Fraternity*, that ought to preserve *inviolable Unity*, professing *one Faith, one Baptism, one God, and Saviour* of us all.

2. But *Secondly*, Men may be *Denominated* FALSE BRETHREN, with Relation to the *State, Government, or Society* of which they are *Members*. The *Constitutions* of most *Governments* differing according to their several *Frames, and Laws*, upon which they are built and *Founded*, it is impossible to lay down any *one Universal Rule*, as the *Scheme and Measure of Obedience*, that may *square* to every one of them. Only this *Maxim* in general, I presume, may be *Establish'd* for the *Safety, Tranquility, and Support* of all *Governments*, that no *Innovation* whatsoever should be allow'd in the *Fundamental Constitution* of any *State*, without a very pressing, nay, unavoidable *Necessity* for it; and whosoever singly or in a *private Capacity* should attempt it, is guilty of the *Highest Misdemeanor*, and is an *Enemy* to that *Politick Body* of which he is a *Member*. To apply this *Maxim* to our *Government*, in which the *Truth* of it will very evidently appear. Our *Constitution* both in *Church and State*, has been so admirably contriv'd, with that *Wisdom, Weight and Sagacity*, and the *Temper and Genius* of each so exactly *Suited*, and *Modell'd* to the *mutual Support, and Assistance* of one another, that 'tis hard to say whether the *Doctrines* of the *Church of England* contribute *more* to *Authorise and Inforce* our *Civil Laws*, or our *Laws* to *Maintain and Defend* the *Doctrines* of our *Church*. The *Natures* of both are so nicely *Correspondent*, and so happily *Intermixt*, that 'tis almost impossible to offer a *Violation* to the *one*, without *Breaking in* upon the *Body* of the *other*. So that in all those Cases before-mention'd, whosoever presumes to *Innovate, Alter, or Misrepresent* any *Point* in the *Articles of the Faith* of our *Church*, ought to be *Arraign'd* as a *Traytor* to our *State*; *Hetero-*

doxy in the *Doctrines* of the *one*, naturally producing, and almost necessarily inferring *Rebellion, and High Treason*, in the *other*; and consequently a *Crime* that concerns the *Civil Magistrate*, as much to *Punish, and Restrain*, as the *Ecclesiastical*. However this *Affertion* at first *View* may look like an *High-flown Paradox*, the *Proof* of it will fully appear in a few *Instances*. The *Grand Security* of our *Government*, and the very *Pillar* upon which it stands, is founded upon the *steady Belief* of the *Subjects* *Obligation* to an *Absolute, and Unconditional Obedience* to the *Supreme Power*, in all Things *lawful*, and the utter *Illegality* of *Resistance* upon any *Pretence* whatsoever. But this *Fundamental Doctrine*, notwithstanding its *Divine Sanction* in the *Express Command* of *God* in *Scripture*, and without which, it is impossible any *Government* of any *Kind, or Denomination* in the *World* should *subsist* with *Safety*, and which has been so long the *Honourable and Distinguishing Characteristick* of our *Church*, is now, it seems, quite *Exploded, and Ridiculed* out of *Countenance*, as an *Unfashionable, Superannuated*, nay (which is more wonderful) as a *Dangerous Tenet*, utterly *Inconsistent* with the *Right, Liberty and Property*, of the *PEOPLE*; who, as our *New Preachers, and New Politicians* teach us, (I suppose by a *New and Unheard-of Gospel*, as well as *Laws*) have, in *Contradiction* to both, the *Power* Invested in *Them*, the *Fountain and Original* of it, to *Cancel* their *Alligiance* at *Pleasure*, and call their *Sovereign* to account for *High Treason* against his *supreme Subjects* forsooth; nay to *Deliver and Murder* Him for a *Criminal*, as they did the *Royal Martyr* by a *judiciary Sentence*. And, what is most incredible, presume to make their *Court* to their *Prince*, by maintaining such *Antimonarchical Schemes*. But, *God be Thanked!* neither the *Constitution* of our *Church or State*, is so far *Alter'd*, but that by the *Laws of Both*, (still in *Force*, and which I hope, for ever will be) these *Damnable Positions*, let them come either from *Rome or Geneva*, from the *Pulpit*, or the *Press*, are condemned for *Rebellion, and High Treason*. Our *Adversaries* think they effectually stop our *Mouths*, and have *Us* sure and unanswerable on this *Point*, when they urge the *Revolution of this Day* in their *Defence*. But certainly *They* are the *Greatest Enemies* of *That*, and his *late Majesty*, and the most *Ungrateful* for the *Deliverance*, who endeavour to cast such *Black and Odious Colours* upon *Both*. How often must they be told, that the *King Himself* solemnly *Disclaim'd* the least *Imputation of Resistance* in his *Declaration*; and that the *Parliament* declar'd, That they set the *Crown* on his *Head*, upon no other *Title*, but that of the *Vacancy of the Throne*? And did they not *Unanimously* condemn to the *Flames* (as it justly *Deserv'd*) that *Infamous Libel*, that would have *pleaded* the *Title of Conquest*, by which *Resistance* was suppos'd? So *tender* were they of the *Regal Rights*, and so *averse* to *infringe* the least *Tittle* of our *Constitution!* We see how ready these *Incendiaries* are to take the least *Umbrage*, to charge their own *curst Tenets* on

* His Highness Declares, in Opposition to those who give out, That we do intend to CONQUER and ENSLAVE these NATIONS, that we have thought fit to add a few Words to our Declaration; "It is not to be imagined, that either those who have invited Us, or those who are already come to assist Us, can join in a WICKED ATTEMPT OF CONQUEST, to make void their own Lawful Titles to their Honours, Estates, and Interests." See the Prince of Orange's Declaration. Dr. Kenner's History of the Four Last Reigns, p. 493.

the Church of England, to Derive their Guilt upon it, and Quit Scores with it for Their Iniquity! Thus do they endeavour to draw Comparisons, and to Justify the Horrid Actions and Principles of Forty One, which have been of late Years, to the Scandal of Our Church, and Nation, so publicly defended, not only by the Agents and Writers of the Republican Faction, but by some that have the Confidence to style themselves Sons, and Presbyters of the Church of England; who in open Defiance of the most peremptory Declarations of God in Scripture, (never to be evaded by any Shifts or Misrepresentations) and the Universal Doctrine, and Expositions of the Catholick Church upon it in all Ages, with the Express Testimony, and Concurrence of Our Church, from its Reformation down to the present Times, Corroborated with the Sense of Our Legislature, so unexceptionably confirm'd in Our Laws, Dare, in Despite and Contempt of all this Evidence, manifestly defend the Resistance of the Supreme Power, under a New-fangled Notion of Self-Defence; the only Instance they shew of Shame, that they dare not YET maintain Rebellion by its proper Name. Yet, if those silly Pretences, and weak Excuses for it alledg'd, carry any Strength, or Reason in them at all, they will equally serve to justify All the Rebellions that ever were or can be committed in the World. Now as the Republican Copy after the Papists in most of their Doctrines and Practices, I would fain know in this where the Difference lies, betwixt the Power Granted to (as 'tis suppos'd Originally Invested, but from what Commission God knows, in) the People, to Judge and Dethrone their Sovereigns, for any Cause they think fit; or a no less Usurped Power of the Pope, to solve the People from their Allegiance, and dispose of Sceptres, and Diadems to his Favourites, whenever he thinks it his Interest to pluck them from his Enemies Heads. Comparisons are generally Odious; but a Learned Bishop of our Kingdom, whose Aversion to Popery, I hope, is not doubted, I mean the * Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Sarum, has been bold Judiciously to determine, even on the Papists Side in this Case, That if such a Depositing Power is to be intrusted in Mortals Hands, less Inconveniencies will ensue in placing it in One, than in Many; tho' God forbid it ever should be Lodg'd in any other than that of God himself, the Original of all Power, from whom it proceeds, and to whom it must Return; the King of Kings, Lord of Lords, and ONLY Ruler of Princes. So that these Romantick wild Notions will carry Us into something worse (if 'tis possible) than Popery itself; more Fatal to the Rights and Interests of the Crown, and the Welfare and Tranquility of Our Constitution, which can never be Safe under such precarious Dependancies, and Despotick Imaginations. A Prince indeed in another Sense, will be the Breath of his Subjects Nostrils, to be blown in, or out, at their Caprice, and Pleasure, and a worse Vassal than even the meanest of his Guards. Such Villainous and Seditious Principles as these, Demand a Confutation from that Government they

so insolently Threaten and Arraign, and which are only proper to be answer'd by that Sword they would make our Princes bear in Vain, by the Solong-call'd-for Censure of an Ecclesiastical Synod, and the Correction of a Provoked and Affronted Legislature; to whose strict Justice, and undeserved Mercy, I commit both them and Their Authors. Only give me Leave to dismiss 'em with a Remark of the pious and learned Bishop Andrews, upon some of their FALSE BRETHREN in his Time. † "What (says that Good Prelate) is now become of those Words of God, Touch not mine Anointed? Are we not fallen into Strange Times, that Men dare thus print and publish, yea, even preach and proclaim their Sins; even those sinful and shameless Positions, to the Eyes and Ears of the whole World? Whereby God's Anointed are Endanger'd, Mens Souls are Poison'd, Christian Religion is Blasphem'd as a Murderer of her own Kings; God in his Charge is openly Contradicted, and Men made Believe, they shall go to Heaven in breaking God's Commandments." What could have been spoken with a more Prophetical Spirit, of these filthy Dreamers, these Presumptuous and Self-will'd Men, Despisers of Dominion, and Government, who are not afraid to speak Evil of Dignities, who wrest the Word of God to their Own, and their deluded People's Perdition, and think to Consecrate even the worst of Sins, with what is almost Analogous to the Blasphemy against the Holy Ghost! These FALSE BRETHREN in Our Government, do not Singly, and in Private spread their Poison, but (what is lamentable to be spoken) are suffer'd to combine into Bodies and Semineries, wherein Atheism, Deism, Tritheism, Socinianism, with all the Hellish Principles of Fanaticism, Regicide, and Anarchy, are openly Profess'd and Taught, to Corrupt and Debauch the Youth of the Nation, in all Parts of it, down to Posterity, to the Present Reproach, and Future Extirpation of Our Laws and Religion. Certainly the Toleration was never intended to Indulge and Cherish such Monsters, and Vipers in our Bosom, that scatter Their Pestilence at Noon-day, and will Rend, Distract, and Confound, the firmest and Best-settled Constitution in the World. In short, as the English Government can never be Secure on any other Principles, but strictly Those of the Church of England, so I will be bold to say, where any Part of it is Trusted in Persons of any Other Notions, They must be False to Themselves, if They are True to their Trusts; or if they are True to their Opinions and Interests, must Betray that Government they are Enemies to upon Principle. Indeed, We must do 'em that Justice, to confess, that since the Sectarists have found out a Way (which their Forefathers, God knows, as wicked as they were, would have abhor'd) to swallow not only Oaths, but Sacraments, to Qualify themselves to get into Places and Preferments; these Sanctify'd Hypocrites can put on a Shew of Loyalty, and seem tolerably Easy in the Government, if they can Engross the Honours and Profits of it: But let her Majesty reach out her Little Finger to touch their Loins, and these sworn Adversaries to Passive Obedience, and the Royal Family, shall fret themselves, and Curse the Queen, and their God, and shall look upwards. And so much for Our Political FALSE BRETHREN, till I come to speak with them again by and by. I proceed,

* Less Disorder may be apprehended from the Pretensions of the Roman Bishops, than from these Maxims, that put the Power of Judging and Controlling the Magistrate in the PEOPLE's Hands, which opens a Door to Endless Confusions, and indeed, sets every private Person upon the Throne, and introduceth an Anarchy, which will never admit of Order and Remedy; where-as, Those who have but One PRETENDER over Them, could more easily deal with Him, and more Vigorously RESIST Him. [Vindication of the Church of Scotland. Printed at Glasgow 1673. p. 68, 6.

† Sermon 3. on the Conspiracy of the GOVVERIES, preach'd before the King at Holdenhurst, Aug. 5. 1610. p. 803.

3. In the Third Place, to a more *Inferior Species* of them, that *Act in a lower Sphere*, namely, *Those who in their Private Capacities, are FALSE either in their Friendship, Correspondence, or Dealing*: But these *Sins of Unfaithfulness*, as the *Psalmist* calls them, being of so *Copious*, and *Extensive* a Nature, and respecting the *Private Concerns of Human Life*, I shall only trouble you with enumerating some of the *General Instances* of them: Such as are, *Betraying Our Friend in his Secrets, Deserting him in his Misfortunes, in not Defending his Reputation, when falsely Accus'd, in an Obsequious Compliance with Him in any Indirect, or Dishonourable Measures, in a Nauseous Flattery of his Follies, or Vices, in permitting him in any Error, without Admonition, and in giving him wrong Advice, and not leading him out of it.* Such are also, with regard to *Our Neighbour*, the *Concealing, or Misrepresenting any Truth that he is Concern'd to know, Playing upon his Faith with doubtful and ambiguous Insinuations, with Double Equivocations, and Dissimulatory Expressions, an Actual Breach of Word, Promise, or Profession, Clandestine Undermining, by Circumvention, Fraud, or Craft, Back-biting, and secretly Slandering, Propagating Scandal, and Bearing False Witness, and Partaking several Ways in his Sins*; which are all the *Characteristicks of an Insidious, Treacherous, and False-hearted Knave*. But these *Vices* being of a *Private Consideration*, I hasten to the next *General Head* propos'd, Namely,

II. Secondly, *To lay before you the Great Peril, and Mischiefs of these FALSE BRETHREN in Church and State*; which I shall endeavour to do, by Proving that *They Weaken, Undermine, and Betray in themselves, and Encourage, and put it in the Power of Our Profess'd Enemies, to Overturn, and Destroy the Constitution and Establishment of Both.*

1. And First, as to the *Church*. But here it is very *Necessary* to Premise, That by the *Church of England*, We are to understand the *True Genuine Notion* of it, as it stands *Contra-distinguish'd* in its *Establish'd Doctrine, Discipline, and Worship*, from all *Other Churches, and Schismatics*, who would *Obtrude upon Us a Wild, Negative Idea of a NATIONAL CHURCH*, so as to *Incorporate themselves into the Body, as True Members of it*; Whereas 'tis evident that this *Lattitudinarian, Heterogeneous Mixture* of all Persons of what *Different Faith* soever, *Uniting in Protestantism*, (which is but *One Single Note of the Church of England*) would render it the most *Absurd, Contradictory, and Self-Inconsistent Body* in the World. This *Spurious, and Villainous Notion*, which will take in *Jews, Quakers, Mahometans, and any Thing as well as Christians*, as ridiculously incongruous as 'tis, may be first *Obliu'd*, as one of those *Prime, Popular Engines*, *Our FALSE BRETHREN* have made Use of to *Undermine the very Essential Constitution of Our Church*; which as it stands *Guarded with its Own sacred Fences, with Her only True Sons in Her Bosom, may defy all the Malice of the Devil, and Her Enemies, to prevail against Her*. But such is Her *hard Fortune, Her Worst Adversaries* must be let into Her *Bowels, under the holy Umbrage of Sons, who neither believe Her Faith, Own Her Mission, submit to Her Discipline, or comply with Her Liturgy*. And to admit this *Religious Tro-*

jan Horse, big with Arms and Ruin, into Our Holy City, the Strait Gate must be laid quite Open, Her Walls, and Inclosures pull'd down, and an High Road made in upon Her Communion, and this pure Spouse of Christ prostituted to more Adulterers than the Scarlet Whore in the Revelations. Her Articles must be Taught the Confusion of all Senses, Nations, and Languages, to render Her a Babel, and Desolation. This was indeed the Ready Way to *Fill the House of God, but with what? With Pagan Beasts, instead of Christian Sacrifices, with such Unbellow'd, Loathsome, and detestable Guests, as would have driven out the Holy Spirit of God with Indignation.* This Pious Design of making *Our House of Prayer a Den of Thieves, of reforming Our Church into a Chaos*, is well known, to have been *Attempted several Times in This Kingdom, and lately within our Memory, When all Things seem'd to Favour it, but that Good Providence, which so happily interpos'd, against the Ruin of Our Church, and Blast'd the Long projected Scheme of these Ecclesiastical Achitophels.* A Scheme so *Monstrous, so Romantic, and absurd, that 'tis hard to say, whether it had more of Villainy, or Folly in it, and which even the Scurrils of all Sorts (who will not be satisfied with any Thing less than Sovereignty) Exploded, and Laugh'd at, as Ridiculous, and Impracticable.* It was doubtless a *Wise Way to Exemplify Our Brotherly Love, and Charity for the Souls of Men, to put both Them, and Ourselves into a Gulph of Perdition, by throwing up the Essentials of Our Faith, and the Uniformity of our Worship.* But since this *Model of an Universal Liberty, and Coalition* fail'd, and these *FALSE BRETHREN* could not carry the *Conventicle into the Church*, they are now resolv'd to bring the *Church into the Conventicle, which will more plausibly, and sily Effect Her Ruin.* What could not be gain'd by *Comprehension, and Toleration, must be brought about by Moderation, and Occasional Conformity*; that is, what they could not do by *Open Violence, they will not fail by secret Treachery to Accomplish.* If the *Church can't be pull'd down, it may be blown up*; and no Matter with these Men *How 'tis Destroy'd, so that it is Destroy'd.* Now let Us, I beseech You in the Name of God, fairly consider what must be the *Consequence of this Scandalous Fluctuation, and Trimming betwixt the Church and Dissenters, both in Conscience, and Prudence.* Does not this *Innovating in, Giving up, or Receding from, any One Point, or Article in our Faith, Violate, and Affect the whole Frame, and Body of it? Can we either Add to, or Diminish from, the least jot of our Religion? Are we to take its Constitution as our Saviour, and his Apostles deliver'd it down to Us; or have we Authority to Curtail, Mangle, or Alter it, to Suit it to the Pride, Humours, Caprice, and Quacksick Stomachs, of Obstinate, Moody, Wayward, and Self-conceited Hypocrites, and Enthusiasts? Will not such a Base, and Time-serving Compliance give the Enemies of our Church an Occasion of Blaspheming Her as Weak, and Inconstant? Will it not argue the Illegality of Her Ordinances, and Laws, or that they were too Rigid, and wanted an Abatement? Will not this Harden, Encourage, nay Justify the Dissenters in their Opinion of their Separation, when they see such large Allowances, and Concessions made in its Favour? What Dishonourable, and Unworthy Opinions must they entertain of the Priests of that Church, who*

can Sacrifice their most Solemn Declarations, and Oaths to Complaisance, and Preferment? What would be the End of All this, but to Establish Heresy, and Erastianism upon the Ruins of our Faith, and Discipline? Would not this Spiritual Legerdemain, this Fallacious Tricking, and Double-dealing, eradicate all the Principles of Truth, and Honesty, or Piety out of Men's Minds, make 'em Unconcerned, whether there is Any, or No Religion, Run 'em into an Universal Scepticism, and Infidelity, and make 'em All Atheists, or Papists? For when they had Turn'd about, and about, and were grown Giddy with Change, they would either Give up Themselves to the Disbelief of all Things, or Rest their weary'd Judgments in the Authority of that Church alone, that can Delude 'em with the Specious Pretences of an Infallible Guide. Thus our FALSE BRETHREN, as the Jews did our Blessed Saviour, crucify his Church betwixt Thieves; and as they committed that Execrable Villainy under a Pretended Fear lest the ROMANS should come and take away their Place, and Nation, which by that very Fact They brought upon Themselves: So these Men, out of a Fictitious Fear lest the Modern ROMANS should come, and Destroy Our Church, are Working that Ruin they pretend to avoid, and under a False Zeal of Keeping out Popery, are Themselves infallibly Bringing in That very POPERY into Our Kingdom, with which they so Falsly and ungratefully endeavour to Attain the Church of England, the Greatest Bulwark, and only Safe-guard against Popery in the whole World! Tho' it were highly to be wish'd that those Excellent Laws made for Her Defence and Security, were at present put strictly into Execution; for the Roman-Catholick Agents, and Missionaries that swarm about this Great City, as it were in Defiance and Contempt of them, were never more Busy in making Profelytes to their Superstition, and Idolatry, and Perverting and Debauching Her Majesty's Subjects in every Corner of our Streets.

2. Thus we see how Dangerous these FALSE BRETHREN are to our Church, which is so Great and Considerable a Branch of our Civil Constitution, that the Support of Our Government depends upon its Welfare, and what Affects That must strike at the Foundation of Our State; Innovations in Either tending to the Subversion of their Laws, and the Unsettling the Establishment, and consequently to Anarchy, and Confusion. But to draw this Argument more home to the Point; I will endeavour to prove, that our FALSE BRETHREN are as Destructive of our Civil, as Ecclesiastical Rights. For first, it cannot be deny'd, that tho' They do submit to the Government, their Obedience is Forc'd, and Constrain'd, and therefore so Treacherous, and Uncertain, as never to be Trusted, because proceeding upon no Principle, but meer Interest and Ambition; and whenever That changes, their Allegiance must follow it; and therefore (to use their Own Expression) are as much Occasional Loyalists to the State, as They are Occasional Conformists to the Church; that is, They will Betray either, whenever it is in their Power, and They think it for their Advantage. FALSHOOD always implies Treachery; and whether That is a Qualification for any One to be Trusted, especially with the Guardianship of our Church, or Crown, let our Governors consider. And certainly nothing but the most Settish Infatuation, can so

far blind both our Eyes, and our Judgments, as to make us believe, that the same Causes should not produce the same Effects, and that the same Latitudinarian, and Republican Notions should not bring forth the same Rebellious and Pernicious Consequences. They are pleas'd now to soften their Lewd Principles, and cover their Dangerous Tenets with the Name of Speculative Opinions; but what Fatal Practices they have created, and whether these Seditious Thoughts will not again Exemplify themselves in the same Bloody Actions, We shall be Convin'd, to our Sorrow, if We don't Apprehend. That the Old Leaven of their Forefathers is still Working in their Present Generation, and that this Traditional Poison still remains in this Brood of Vipers, to Sting Us to Death, is sufficiently Visible, from the Dangerous Encroachments They now make upon our Government, and the Treasonable Reflections They have Publish'd on Her Majesty, God blefs Her! Whose Hereditary Right to the Throne, They have had the Impudence to Deny, and Cancel, to make Her a Creature of their own Power; and that by the same Principles They plac'd a Crown upon Her, They tell Us, They (that is, the Mob) may re-assume it at their Pleasure. Nay, now They have advanc'd themselves from the Religious Liberty Our Gracious Sovereign has Indulg'd them, to Claim a Civil Right, as they Term it, and to Justle the Church out of Her Establishment, by Hoisting their Toleration into its Place; and to convince Us what alone will satisfy 'em, insolently Demand the Repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts, as an Ecclesiastical Usurpation, which indeed under Her Majesty (whom God long preserve for its Comfort and Support!) is the only Security the Church has to Depend upon. And which they have so far Eluded by their Abominable Hypocrisy, as to have Undermin'd Her Foundation, and Endanger the Government, by filling it with its Profess'd Enemies. These Charges are so Flagrant, and Undeniable, that a Man must be very Weak, or something worse, that thinks, or pretends, that Dissenters are to be Gain'd, or won over by any other Grants, and Indulgences, than giving up our Whole Constitution: And He that recedes the least Tittle from it, to satisfy, or Ingratiate with these Clamorous, Insatiable and Church Devouring Malignants, knows not what Spirit They are of, or He ought to shew who is a True Member of Our Church. Have They not ever since their first Unhappy Plantation in this Kingdom, by the Intercession of that False Son of the Church, Bishop Grindall, always Improv'd, and Rise upon their Demands in the Permission of the Government? Inasmuch that Queen Elizabeth, that was Deluded by that Perfidious Prelate to the Toleration of the Genevian Discipline, found it such an Headstrong, and Encroaching Monster, that in Eight Years, She foresaw it would Endanger the Monarchy, as well as the Hierarchy: And like a Queen of True Resolution, and Pious Zeal for Both, pronounc'd, That such were the Restless Spirits of that FACTIOUS People, that no Quiet was to be Expected from them, till they were utterly Suppress'd: Which like a Prudent Princess, She did by Wholesome Severities, that the Crown for many Years sat Easy, and Flourishing on Her Head. And had Her Successor, King James, but follow'd Her Wise Politicks, his Son had never fallen a Martyr to their Fury, nor any of his Unhappy Offspring suffer'd those Disastrous Calamities,

' *mities*, which made the *Royal Family* one conti-
 ' *nu'd Sacrifice* to their *Malice*. And what better
 ' could have been expected from *Miscreants*, *Begot*
 ' in *Rebellion*, *Born in Sedition*, and *Nurs'd up* in
 ' *Faction*? I would not here be misunderstood, as
 ' if I intended to cast the least *Invidious Reflection*
 ' upon that *Indulgence* the Government has conde-
 ' scended to give 'em, which I am sure all those that
 ' wish well to our Church are very ready to Grant
 ' to *Consciences truly Scrupulous*; let Them Enjoy
 ' it in the full Limits the *Law* has Prescrib'd. But
 ' let them also *move* within their *Proper Sphere*, and
 ' not grow *Eccentrick*, and like *Comets* that *Burst*
 ' their *Orb*, Threaten the *Ruin and Downfall* of
 ' Our Church, and State. Indeed they tell us they
 ' have *Relinquish'd* the *Principles*, as well as the *Sins*
 ' of their *Fore-Fathers*: If so, why do they not
 ' *Renounce* their *Schism*, and come *Sincerely* into
 ' Our Church? Why do they *Pelt* Her with more
 ' *Blasphemous Libels*, and *Scurrilous Lampoons*, than
 ' were ever Publish'd in *Oliver's Usurpation*? Have
 ' they not lately *Villainously* Divided us with
 ' *Knavish Distinctions* of *High and Low-Church*
 ' Men; Are not the *Best Characters* they can give
 ' Us, those of *Papists*, *Jacobites*, and *Conspirators*?
 ' And what do they mean by all this *Insidious Cant*, but
 ' by *False Insinuations*, and raising *Groundless Jac-*
 ' *ulousies*, and *Fears*, to *Imbroil* the *Publick*, and to
 ' bring it into that *Confusion*, they are *Suggesting*
 ' upon Us? Whether these Men are not *Contriving*,
 ' and *Plotting* our utter *Ruin*, and whether all those
 ' FALSE BRETHREN, that fall in with these
 ' *Measures*, and *Designs*, do not contribute basely
 ' to it, I leave every *Impartial Man* that wishes
 ' the *Welfare* of Our *Constitution* to Determine;
 ' And if we find this true in *Fact*, what Reason
 ' have we to think, but that the *National Sins* are
 ' *Ripen'd up* to a full *Maturity*, to call down Ven-
 ' geance from *Providence* on a Church and King-
 ' dom, thus *Debauch'd* in its *Principles*, and *Cor-*
 ' *rupted* in its *Manners*, and instead of the *True*
 ' *Faith*, *Discipline*, and *Worship*, given over to all
 ' *Licentiousness*, both in *Opinion*, and *Practice*, to
 ' all *Sensuality*, *Hypocrisy*, *Lechery*, and *Atheism*?
 ' And now are we under no *Danger* in these *Deplora-*
 ' *ble Circumstances*? Must we *Lull* Ourselves un-
 ' der this *sad Repose*, and in such a *Stupid, Lethar-*
 ' *gick Security*, *Embrace* our *Ruin*? When *Elisbe*
 ' the *Great Prophet of God*, was *Surrounded* with
 ' an *Host of Enemies*, that sought for his *Life*, his
 ' *Blind Servant* beheld not the *Peril* his *Master* was
 ' in, till his *Eyes* were open'd by *Miracle*, and he
 ' found himself in the *midst of Horses and Chariots*
 ' of *Fire*. I pray God We may be out of *Danger*!
 ' but we may remember the *King's Person* was *Voted*
 ' to be so, at the *same Time* that his *Murderers*
 ' were *Conspiring* his *Death*. What I have thus
 ' freely spoken, I hope is as much without Of-
 ' fence, as it proceeds from a good *Intention*, and
 ' a *Tender Concern* for Her *Majesty's Person*, and
 ' *Government*, and an hearty *Zeal* for the *Honour*
 ' and *Safety* of our *Excellent Church*, and *Consti-*
 ' *tution*. I intreat Your *Patience*,

' III. Briefly to set forth the *Heinous Malignity*,
 ' *Enormous Guilt*, and *Folly* of this *Prodigious Sin*
 ' of FALSE BROTHERHOOD.

' 1. And First, With *Regard* to *God and Religi-*
 ' *on*. It is a most *Perfidious Apostacy* from, and *Re-*
 ' *proach* upon *Both*. It is no less than *Renouncing*
 ' Our *Allegiance* to our *Allmighty Sovereign*, an *Open*
 ' *Denial*, and *Prostitution* of Our most *Holy Faith*,
 ' and *Church*, upon which *Crime* God has *Entail'd*
 ' so many *Dreadful Threats*, and *Anathemas*'s. It

' is *Betraying* Our most *Solemn Oaths*, proving
 ' *False* to Our *Sacred Trust*, and *Commission*, *Admi-*
 ' *nistring* to, and *Indulging* Men in the most *Mortal*
 ' *Sins*, *Endangering* both our *Own*, and the *Salva-*
 ' *tion* of that *Dear Flock*, for which *Christ Dy'd*,
 ' by *Exposing* it to the *Corruptions* of *Heresy* and
 ' *Schism*, the *Impostures* of *False Apostles*, and the
 ' *Deceit*, and *Malice* of *Wolves in Sheep's Cloath-*
 ' *ing*. It is *Deriving* the highest *Blasphemy*, and
 ' *Dis honour* upon the *Holy Spirit of God*, thus to
 ' *Prevaricate* with his *Immutable Oracles of Truth*,
 ' in *Wresting* 'em to maintain the most *Diabolical*
 ' *Falshoods*, and *Errors*, and making *Veracity itself*
 ' the *Author* and *Patronizer* of *Lyes*. It is *For-*
 ' *saking* Our *Baptismal Covenant*, *Basely Deserting*
 ' the *Glorious Colours* we are *Listed under*, turning
 ' *Refugees* from our *Saviour*, and *Adherents* to his
 ' most *Abjur'd Enemies*. In a *Word*, to accomplish
 ' any *wretched Secular Design*, to *Gratify* their
 ' *Pride*, or *Ambition*, to *Feed* their *Lust*, or *Ava-*
 ' *rice*, to *wreak* their *Spleen*, or *Revenge*, out of
 ' *Envy*, or *Disappointment*, for a *Little*, *Paultry*
 ' *Honour*, *Money*, or *Preferment*: These FALSE
 ' BRETHREN will *Renounce* their *Creed*, and
 ' *Read the Decalogue backward*, be the very *Re-*
 ' *verse* of Our *Blessed Saviour* (whom like their *Pri-*
 ' *mitive Pattern*, they first *sell*, and then *betray*)
 ' *Fall down and Worship* the very *Devil himself* for
 ' the *Riches and Honours* of this *World*.

' 2. Secondly, In *Regard* to the *World*. What a
 ' vast *Scandal*, and *Offence* must it give to all *Per-*
 ' *sons of Piety*, and *Integrity*, to see *Men of Cha-*
 ' *racter*, and *Stations*, thus *Shift* and *Prevaricate*
 ' with their *Principles*, and *Starting* from their *Re-*
 ' *ligion* upon any *Occasion of Difficulty*, or *Trial*,
 ' and like the *Disciples*, *flying* from, and *forsaking*
 ' our *Saviour*, when his *Life* Lay at *Stake*? To see
 ' *Mens Opinions sit as loose* about 'em as their *Gar-*
 ' *ments*, to be put on, or off, for *Convenience*?
 ' What can *Unwary Persons* conclude from such
 ' *Tergiversation*, and *Hypocrisy*, but that all *Reli-*
 ' *gion* is *State-Craft*, and *Imposture*? That all
 ' *Godliness is Gain*; and that the *Doctrines* of the
 ' *Church* lie not so much in Her *Articles*, as Her
 ' *Honours*, and *Revenues*? Without doubt, this
 ' *Modern Latitude*, and *Infamous Double-Dealing*,
 ' as it can proceed from nothing but the *ranked*
 ' *Atheism*, so it must *Propagate* it wheresoever it
 ' goes; and 'tis not to be *Questioned*, but that the
 ' *Wonderful Increase*, and *Impudent Appearance* of
 ' all *Seets* and *Heresies* in this *Kingdom* at present,
 ' beyond what was ever known in *Former Ages*, is
 ' chiefly to be attributed to it. But this *Crime* is as
 ' *Pernicious* to *Human Society*, as *Religion*; for it
 ' *Destroys* all *Common Honesty*, *Faith*, and *Credit*
 ' in the *World*, and in the *Place* of it sets up an
 ' *Universal Trade* of *Cousenage*, *Sharping*, *Dissimu-*
 ' *lation*, and downright *Knavery*. For, what *De-*
 ' *pendance* can there be upon a *Man of no Princi-*
 ' *ples*? What *Trust* in *Equivocations*, *Evasions*, and
 ' *Lyes*? Nor indeed could any one be suppos'd so
 ' *Sottish*, as to place the least *Confidence* in these
 ' *Men*, did they not *Beat* their *Hook*, and *Cover*
 ' their *Treachery* with the *Sacred* and *Plausible Pre-*
 ' *tences* of *FRIENDSHIP*, whereby they are ca-
 ' pable of doing *much more Mischief*, than a *bare-*
 ' *fac'd* and *profess'd Enemy*. In what *moving* and
 ' *Lively Colours* does the *Holy Psalmist* paint out the
 ' *Crafty Insidiousness* of such *wilely Volpones*? *Wick-*
 ' *edness* (says he) is therein, *Deceit* and *Guile* go
 ' *not out of their Streets*. For it is not an *Open Ene-*
 ' *my* that has done me this *Dis honour*, for then I
 ' could have *born* it: Neither was it *mine Adversary*,
 ' that

that did Magnify himself against me, for then peradventure I would have hid my self from him. But, it was even Thou! my Companion, my Guide, and mine own Familiar Friend. We took sweet Counsel together, and walked in the House of God as Friends. There is no Faithfulness in their Mouths, their inward Parts are very Wickedness; Their Throats are Open Sepulchres, and their Words are smoother than Oil, yet be they very Swords. Like Joab, they pretend to speak Peaceably, and smite us Mortally under the fifth Rib.

3. Thirdly, With Regard to a Man's Self, it is hard to distinguish whether our FALSE BRETHREN prove themselves Guilty of more excessive Knavery, or Folly. For whatever these Cunning, Temporizing Politicians may think, they will find, after all their Shuffling, and Compliance, that the Plain Road of Truth, Honesty, and Integrity, is both the most Prudent, as well as the safest Way they can follow, and that the Wisdom of this World is as much Foolishness with Men, as 'tis with God. For certainly there is no Sin that so much Disappoints its Own Ends as This does. Perhaps the Man may Obtain the Present Advantage, He has in Prospect, by relinquishing his Old Friends and Principles; but is ever such a Mercenary Convert receiv'd heartily into the Bosom of his Former Enemies? Or are They ever found so Cautious and Good-natur'd, as to Forgive, and Believe such an Apostate Cordial and Sincere, and fit to be Trusted in any Matter of Weight or Importance, who has Betray'd his Own Party for the Little, Sordid Lucre of a Place, or Preferment? And is again ready to be Retrograde, whenever the Wind shall Change and Veer about? Such a FALSE BROTHER may serve the Present Turn of his Adversaries, who may seem, whilst they want the TOOL, to Flatter and Caress him; but let such a Turn-Coat rest assured, He shall meet with Hypocrisy for Hypocrisy; and since he is got upon the Stage, shall act his Part, and be His'd off when He has done? Such a Wise Game do our Projectors Play, they Barter, and Betray their Friends, only to sell themselves Slaves into the Hands of their Enemies, who shall Treat them with more Insolence, Disdain, and Tyranny, than Honest Men do with Scorn and Contempt, if they don't go the whole Lengths of their Party, stick at Nothing, tho' never so Impious, and Absurd, and run from one Extream to a quite contrary. Thus Little, thus Base, thus Odious, thus Contemptible, thus Servile, nay thus Execrable is the Traytor, and Double-Dealer, in the Sight, not only of all Honest Men, but the most Profess'd Knaves, and Hypocrites? Who cannot but have a Tacit Regard, and Veneration for a Man of Steadiness and Probity, that upon all Occasions is True to Himself, and his Cause, is above the Threats, as well as Flatteries of this World, still Trusting in his God, and his own Integrity, and Justice, Despising his Interest, or Success, and is under all Circumstances like that God, and Religion He Believes and Serves, without Variableness, or Shadow of Change, but is the same, to day, to morrow, and for ever? Farther, these FALSE BRETHREN cannot be more Odious to God and Man, than they are to Themselves, who are always a Self-contradiction, full of Confusion and Perplexity, perpetually Haunting themselves, the Worst of Demons, maintaining an irreconcilable War betwixt the Outward and Inward Man, Conformists in Profession, Half-Conformists in Practice, and Non-Conformists in Judgment. Such as Mixture of Inconsistency and

Nonsense, that any one that has the least Spark of Conscience or Reason, must Renounce and Detest, But this diimal Effect has such a State of habitua! Hypocrisy, that it quite Damps, and Extinguishes Both, Quenches the Holy Spirit of God, and Crucifies his Son afresh; and as it finds a Man void of Shame, generally without a miraculous Conversion leaves him incapable of Repentance, and both Damns him here, and hereafter; and as He Chooseth it in This World, Appoints him in the Next, his Portion with Hypocrites and Unbelievers, with all Lyars that have their Part in the Lake which burns with Fire and Brimstone, with the Grand Father of Falshood, the Devil and his Angels. And so here we leave our FALSE BRETHREN, in the Company they always keep Correspondence with.

IV. Now what should be the Result of this Long Discourse, but that if We bear any True Concern for the Interest, Honour, and Safety of Our Church and Government, We ought stedfastly to Adhere to those Fundamental Principles, upon which Both are Founded, and upon which their Security, under God, alone, depends; and consequently that it highly Behoves Us, Cautiously to watch against, to Mark, and Avoid All those that thus Treacherously Desert them. And indeed it would be both for Our Advantage, as well as Their Credit, if such Men would throw off the Mask, entirely Quit Our Church, of which they are no True Members, and not fraudulently Eat her Bread, and lay wait for Her Ruin, Purloin Her Revenues, and ungratefully lift up their Heels against Her. For then We should be One Fold under One Shepherd, all those Invidious Distinctions that now Distract, and Confound Us Lost, and We should be Terrible like an Army of Banner-bearers to our Enemies, who would never break in upon such an Uniform, and Well-compacted Body. This indeed would be a True Peace, and Solid Union, when we should All with one Mind, and one Mouth, Glorify God, and not with a Confus'd Diversity of Contradictious Opinions, and inconsistent Fergon of Worship, which the God of Peace, Purity and Order cannot but Abhor. As it is a Maxim in Politicks, that All Governments are best supported by the same Methods, and Counsels upon which they are Founded; so it will appear undeniably True in its Application to our Constitution, which can be Maintain'd by no Other Principles, but Those on which it is Built, and like their Basis, the Gospel, if there's any Violation, or Breach made in any Branch of it, it shakes and endangers the whole Frame and Body. These Things, however Little they may be Represented by Our Adversaries, will be found of the most Considerable Consequence. Let Us therefore, as We are unhappily Sharers of St. Paul's Misfortune, to have our Church in Perils among FALSE BRETHREN, follow his Example and Conduet in a Parallel-Cafe. He tells us in his Epistle to the Galatians, c. ii. That he was Obstructed, and Pester'd in his Preaching the Gospel, by FALSE BRETHREN, unawares brought in, who came privily to spy out his Liberty, which he had in Christ Jesus, that they might bring him into Bondage. To whom he gave place by Subjection, not for an Hour, that the Truth of the Gospel might continue with the Church. Doubtless this brave, and bold Resolution did the Apostle take by the peculiar Command, and Inspiration of the Holy Ghost; and yet if our Dissenters had Lived in those Times, they would have branded him

as an *Intemperate, Hot, Furious Zealot*, that wanted to be Sweeten'd, by the Gentle Spirit of *Charity, and Moderation, forsooth! Schism and Faction*, are Things of *Impudent and Incroaching Natures*; they *Thrive upon Concessions, take Permission for Power*, and advance a *Toleration* immediately into an *Establishment*; and are therefore to be treated like *Growing Miscchiefs, or Infectious Plagues*, kept at a *Distance*, lest their *Deadly Contagion* spread. Let us therefore have *no Fellowship with these Works of Darknes, but rather reprove them*. Let our *Superior Pastors* do their *Duty in Thundering out their Ecclesiastical Anathema's*, and let any *Power on Earth Dare Reverse a Sentence Ratify'd in Heaven*. Let them *Discountenance all these Seditious, Luke-warm, Almost-Christians, and Promote Men of Probity, Conscience, and Courage*. I say *Conscience, and Courage*, for the *One without the Other* is like *Faith without Works, Dead, and Insignificant*. A *Christian, and a Coward*, are such *Contradictions*, as were never found in the *Church Militant*; Men of *Timorous and Dastardly Spirits*, who are *asham'd to Ozen, or afraid to defend their Principles*, lest they should *lose, or suffer by it*, will prove very *Poor Disciples of the Cross!* Such *Men* (as an *Ingenious Prelate* Wittily expresses it) are only *Honest by Chance*. Let us *Despise the sneaking, shuffling Compliances* of such as *Consult their Safety, and not their Innocence, and dare to be True in the worst of Times*, with this *All-sustaining Cordial Comfort*, that whatever *Enemies We gain, or Friends We lose*, We carry *One within Us, that can Confront, Vanquish, and Counter-Ballance All*. *Woe unto them that have a Fearful Heart, and to the Faint Hands, and to the Sinner that goeth two manner of ways!* says the *Wise Man, Eccclus. ii. 12*. And agreeable to Him the *Apostle in very Sarcastic Expressions, Jude 11, 12, 13*. *Woe unto them that have gone in the Way of Cain, and ran greedily after the Error of Balaam for Reward, and Perish'd in the Gain-saying of Corah! These are Spots in your Feasts of Charity, Clouds without Water, carry'd about of Winds, Trees whose Fruits are wither'd, without Fruit, Twice Dead, pluck'd up by the Roots: Raging Waves of the Sea, foaming out their Own Shame; Wandring Stars, to whom is reserv'd the Blackness of Darknes for ever*. Let Us therefore, being well assur'd how much *Our Cause Deserves*, and how much at present it *Requires Our bravest Resolutions*, hold *fast our Integrity, and Religion, without Wavering, and earnestly contend for the Faith, which was once deliver'd unto the Saints. My Brethren, be strong in the Lord, and in the Power of his Might. Put on the whole Armour of God, that Ye may be able to stand against the Wiles of the Devil. For we Wrestle not only against Flesh and Blood, but against Principalities, against Powers, against the Rulers of the Darknes of this World, against Spiritual Wickednesses in High Places. Wherefore take unto you the whole Armour of God, that ye may be able to withstand in the Evil Day, and having done All, to stand*, Eph. vi. 10. &c. Not doubting, but that if We shew the same *Courage, and Indefatigable Zeal, and Labour, to Defend, as Our Adversaries to Reproach, Divide, and Ruin our Church, neither their united Malice, nor Power, nor all the Plots, and Machinations of Rome, nor the very Gates of Hell, itself, shall ever be able to Prevail against Her*. And let us *Trust in that Gracious Providence, which so Miraculously deliver'd*

Her on this Day, that tho' She lies *Bleeding of the Wounds she has receiv'd in the House of Her Friends*, Lam. ii. 2, 4. tho' *the ways of Zion may Mourn for a Time, and Her Gates be Desolate, her Priests Sigh, and she in Bitterness, because Her Adversaries are Chief, and Her Enemies at present Prosper; tho' among all her Lovers she has few to comfort Her, and many of her Friends have dealt Treacherously with Her, and are become her Enemies*, Zech. xiii. 6. *Tho' there are few to Guide Her among all the Sons whom she hath brought forth; neither are there many that take Her by the hand, of all the Sons that she hath brought up*, Isa. li. 18. *Tho' her Enemies cry, Down with her, Down with her, even to the Ground; Yet there is a God that can, and will Raise Her up, if We Forsake Her not*. Let us not therefore ungratefully contribute to Her *Destruction*; but let us *continue Stedfast, Immoveable, always abounding in the Work of the Lord, forasmuch as We know that our Labour will not be in vain in the Lord*, 1 Cor. xv. 58. *Now the God of all Grace, who hath called Us into his Eternal Glory by Christ Jesus, after that ye have suffer'd a while, make you Perfect, Stablish, Strengthen, Settle You*. 1 Pet. v. 10, 11. *To Him be Glory, and Dominion, for ever and ever. Amen.*

" Let Us conclude all in that Excellent Collect of Our Church;

O Lord, We beseech thee, let thy continual Pity Cleanse, and Defend thy Church; and because it cannot continue in Safety, without thy Succour, Preserve it evermore by thy Help, and Goodness, through Jesus Christ, Our Lord.

After which the Lords Adjourned to the House of LORDS.

Tuesday, Feb. 28. The Second Day.

THE Lords coming down into Westminster-Hall, and being seated in the manner before-mentioned, Proclamation was made by the Serjeant at Arms as follows:

Our Sovereign Lady the Queen doth strictly Charge and Command all manner of Persons to keep Silence, upon Pain of Imprisonment.

Then another Proclamation was made: *Henry Sacheverell, Doctor in Divinity, come forth, save thee and thy Bail, else thou forfeitest thy Recognizance.*

The Doctor appearing at the Bar accordingly, with his Counsel as before.

Lord Chancellor. Gentlemen of the House of Commons, you may proceed in your Evidence.

Sir Joseph Jekyll. MY Lords, Yesterday your Lordships heard the Articles against Doctor Sacheverell, his Answer, and the Commons Replication, read; and the Charge being open'd, your Lordships likewise heard the Doctor's Sermon preached at *St. Paul's*, and the Dedication of his *Derby Sermon*; so that the Case is now fully before your Lordships.

That Part which is assigned to me, and some other Gentlemen, is to maintain the First Article of the Commons Charge. The Method I shall take will be, first, to shew the Importance of this Article;

Article; Secondly, To clear up and vindicate the Justice of the *Revolution*; and, Thirdly, To state the Evidence or Proof of this Article, which charges the Doctor with traducing and condemning the *Revolution*.

My Lords, I must premise, that the Commons cannot but think it hard, that in this Assembly of the *British* Nation, they should now after more than Twenty Years Enjoyment of the Benefits arising by the *Revolution*, they can't but think it hard, I say, that in this Place, and at this Time, they should be forced to plead in Vindication of the Justice of that *Revolution*. But since we must give up our Right to the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom, or (which is all one) be precarious in the Enjoyment of them, and hold them only during Pleasure, if this Doctrine of unlimited Non-resistance prevails, the Commons have been content to undertake this Prosecution; and they who share in the Legislature with your Lordships, have put themselves into the Condition of Suiters for Justice against this Offender, in whom your Lordships will find the Reverse of a true *British* Subject: For such an one is dutiful and submissive to his Prince, and true to the Liberty of his Country; but in this Criminal your Lordships will find virulent Faction, and slavish Submission.

As to the Importance of this Article, your Lordships were rightly told Yesterday, that the whole Charge centers in this Article. If the Justice of the *Revolution* be establish'd, the Toleration will be rejoiced in by some, and be acquiesced in by all; the Resolutions of the Two Houses of Parliament will have a just Regard shewn to them; Her Majesty's Administration will be no longer defamed, nor will that unhappy Distinction of Parties be capable of being heightened amongst us. But if the Justice of the *Revolution* (which is our Foundation) be question'd, every Thing that is built on it is in some Degree shaken, and Occasion is given for Disputes and Factions, never to be ended but by a total Subversion of our Constitution.

My Lords, As it is self-evident that the Honour of Her Majesty's Government stands upon the Justice of the *Revolution*, so doth the Peace and Tranquility of it depend upon that also. The Commons may appeal to your Lordships, and the whole Nation, in this Matter: From what Quarter is it, that all that Opposition and Obstruction to the Administration of the late King, and Her present Majesty have come? Has it not been from those who have question'd the Lawfulness of the Resistance made use of in the *Revolution*? Whose Pursuit after Power is indefatigable, and to obtain which they would make a willing Sacrifice of the Common Liberty; whilst others who have a contrary Principle, and are convinced of the Justice of that Proceeding, have acted a quite contrary Part. Have they not contributed every thing in their Power to strengthen the Government in her present Majesty's Hands, as well as the late King's; and that with a Zeal and Constancy thro' several Changes, which nothing but a Principle could inspire? How much is owing to this Zeal in promoting the Settlement of the Protestant Succession, and how little to the contrary Principle, every one that remembers the State of Things at the End of the late King's Reign can tell. Upon the present Question therefore, my Lords, depend our present Happiness, and future Hopes. Hath not this Principle of unlimited Non-resistance been revived by the professed and undisguised Friends of the Pretender? Hath it not been prosecuted with an unusual

Warmth, since his Attempt upon Her Majesty's Crown? Can the Pretender have any Hopes, but from the keeping alive such Notions? Or can the Queen's Title receive any Advantage from them? Or can it be seasonable to preach this Doctrine in the Reign of the best of Princes, which can be of no Use to any but the worst?

In clearing up and vindicating the Justice of the *Revolution*, which was the Second Thing proposed, it is far from the Intent of the Commons to state the Limits and Bounds of the Subject's Submission to the Sovereign. That which the Law hath been wisely silent in, the Commons desire to be silent in too; nor will they put any Case of a justifiable Resistance, but that of the *Revolution* only; and they persuade themselves that the doing Right to that Resistance, will be so far from promoting popular Licence or Confusion, that it will have a contrary Effect, and be a Means of settling Mens Minds in the Love of, and Veneration for the Laws; to rescue and secure which, was the only Aim and Intention of those concerned in that Resistance.

To make out the Justice of the *Revolution*, it may be laid down, That as the Law is the only Measure of the Prince's Authority, and the Peoples Subjection, so the Law derives its Being and Efficacy from common Consent: And to place it on any other Foundation than common Consent, is to take away the Obligation this Notion of common Consent puts both Prince and People under to observe the Laws. And upon this solid and rational Foundation, the Lawyers, in all Ages, have placed that Obligation, as appears by all our Law-Books. But instead of this, of later Times, Patriarchal and other Fantastical Schemes have been framed, to rest the Authority of the Law upon; and so Questions of Divinity have been blended with Questions of Law; when it is plain, that Religion hath nothing to do to extend the Authority of the Prince, or the Submission of the Subject, but only to secure the legal Authority of the one, and enforce the due Submission of the other, from the Consideration of higher Rewards, and heavier Punishments. And if this Distinction were attended to, it might serve to bury the useless Labours (to say no worse of them) of several Divines, and others, on these Subjects, in utter Oblivion.

My Lords, Nothing is plainer than that the People have a Right to the Laws and the Constitution. This Right the Nation hath asserted, and recover'd out of the Hands of those who had dispossessed them of it at several Times. There are of this two famous Instances in the Knowledge of the present Age; I mean that of the Restoration, and that of the *Revolution*; in both these great Events were the regal Power, and the Rights of the People recover'd. And it is hard to say, in which the People have the greatest Interest; for the Commons are sensible, that there is not one legal Power belonging to the Crown, but they have an Interest in it; and I doubt not, but they will always be as careful to support the Rights of the Crown, as their own Privileges.

My Lords, That the Constitution was wholly lost before, and recover'd by the Restoration, is known to all; and before the *Revolution*, it is known how Popery and absolute Power had invaded the Constitution. The regal Supremacy, of such absolute Necessity to preserve the Peace of the Kingdom, was disclaimed, and the Papal Supremacy, by a solemn Embassy to *Rome*, owned and acknowledged, and no Footsteps left of the regal

Supremacy but that which was worse than nought, an illegal High-Commission Court: And at that Time the popular Rights, in almost all the Species of them, were invaded, That great Privilege of the People, on which all others depend, that of giving their Consent to the making new, or repealing old Laws, was invaded; and a dispensing Power, such as rendered all our Laws precarious, and at the Will of the Prince, was exercised. These, and a great many other Acts of absolute Power, are mentioned in that Act of Parliament, called *The Bill of Rights*. It would be to mispend your Lordships Time, to mention all the Instances there given: For, my Lords, the whole Tenor of the Administration then in Being, was agreed by all to be a total Departure from the Constitution; the Nation was at that Time united in that Opinion, all but the Criminal Part of it. And as the Nation joined in the Judgment of their Disease, so they did in the Remedy. They saw there was no Remedy left, but the last; and when that Remedy took Place, the whole Frame of the Government was restor'd intire and unhurt. This shewed the excellent Temper the Nation was in at that Time, that after such Provocations from an Abuse of the regal Power, and such a Convulsion, no one Part of the Constitution was alter'd, or suffer'd the least Damage; but on the contrary, the whole received new Life and Vigour.

My Lords, As that Doctrine of unlimited Non-resistance was implicitly renounced by the whole Nation in the Revolution, so divers Acts of Parliament afterwards pass'd, expressing that Renunciation. I beg leave to read a few Passages out of the Laws that were then made. In the First of King *William* and Queen *Mary*, was the Act for Abrogating the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance, and appointing other Oaths. By that Act, the Declaration injoin'd to be taken by several Acts in the Time of King *Charles II.* to this Purpose, *That it is not lawful, on any Pretence whatsoever, to take up Arms against the King*, was taken away. Then in the second Session of that Parliament, was the Act for declaring the Rights and Liberties of the Subject: In that Act Notice is taken, that the late King *James* did endeavour to subvert and extirpate the Protestant Religion, and the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom; and the particular Instances of Male-Administration are set forth: Then it declares, that that unhappy Prince had abdicated the Government, and the Throne was thereby vacant; and that it had pleased Almighty God to make the Prince of *Orange* the Glorious Instrument of delivering the Kingdom from Popery and Arbitrary Power. And if the Instrument, who brought about that Deliverance, be stiled Glorious, surely the Means used by him is (in Consequence) approved and applauded; and his late Majesty is mention'd as the same Glorious Instrument, in the Act for paying the *States General* the Charges of his Expedition. And surely this is an Approbation of the Means used by him, when that Act charges the People with Six hundred thousand Pounds for those Means, *viz.* the Force he brought along with him. But if it should be thought these Words are too general, and do not particularly approve the Resistance at the Revolution; there came a memorable Occasion, when the Parliament had that Particular under their Consideration; and that was, when they were considering whether they should meddle with so tender a Thing, as the taking away the Benefit of the Law from a great many of the Subjects of the Kingdom; which was done by an

Act in the same second Session of that Parliament, intituled, *An Act for preventing vexatious Suits, against such as acted in order to the bringing in their Majesties, or for their Service*. There they take notice, that at the Time of his Majesty's glorious Enterprize, for delivering this Kingdom from Popery and arbitrary Power, and in Aid and Pursuance of the same, divers Lords, Gentlemen, and other good People well affected to their Country, did act as Lieutenants, Deputy-Lieutenants, Justices of the Peace, or other Officers, Civil or Military, tho' not sufficiently authorized thereunto; and did apprehend and put in Custody several criminous and suspected Persons; and did seise and use divers Horses, Arms, and other Things; and did enter into the Houses and Possessions of several Persons, and did Quarter, and cause to be Quartered, Soldiers and others there; which Proceedings, in Times of Peace and common Safety, would not have been warrantable: Yet that Act declares they were necessary, in regard of the Exigence of publick Affairs, and ought to be justified; and provides an Indemnity for those who acted in that Resistance, from the Actions that might be brought by their Fellow-Subjects.

My Lords, I shall conclude this Head with taking notice of the Form of Prayer, appointed by Royal Authority; for the Fifth of *November*, now doubly memorable: There is in that Form not only Thanks offered to Almighty God for the Revolution, but for the Success given to those Means that were used to bring about that wonderful Deliverance: What else is the Meaning of thanking God, for giving his late Majesty a safe Arrival here, and making all Opposition fall before him, till he became our King and Governour?

But, my Lords, notwithstanding the Justice of those Steps that were taken to bring about the Revolution, notwithstanding the Temper and Prudence that was shewn in the Settlement of it, and the Sanction since given to it, not only by the Royal, but the whole Legislative Authority, Dr. *Sacheverell* hath condemned the Resistance, (which was the Principal, if not the only Means) by which that Deliverance was wrought; which was the last Thing I proposed to shew to your Lordships.

My Lords, This Article is divided into three Branches: First, The general Charge, that he suggests and maintains, that the necessary Means used to bring about the Revolution, were odious and unjustifiable. The second and third Branches are Particulars of that General; *viz.* That his late Majesty disclaimed the least Imputation of Resistance; and that to impute Resistance to the Revolution, is to cast black and odious Colours upon his late Majesty and the said Revolution.

To maintain this Article, I will not repeat the particular Words of the Sermon, in order to the Application of them; that is a Province which is assigned to another Gentleman, who will speak after me: But I shall offer to your Lordships what I apprehend to be the clear Sense and Meaning of those Passages in the Sermon, which maintain this Article. In the eleventh Page of the *Quarto* Edition, he lays down a general Position, of the utter Illegality of Resistance, upon any Pretence whatsoever. He says, there are some who deny this Position, who are new Preachers, and new Politicians, who teach divers Antimonarchical and pernicious Doctrines. He goes on, and says, They do not only deny this Position, but urge the Revolution in Defence of their Denial; that is, by producing that as an Instance of a justifiable Resistance.

Then he exclaims against these Men, as endeavouring to cast black and odious Colours on the late King and the Revolution; whereas he says, the King disclaimed the least Imputation of Resistance by his Declaration; and the Parliament disowned it, because they declare they only fill'd a vacant Throne, without taking Notice how it became so; and they burnt a Book which alledged Conquest, because it had that Ingredient of Resistance in it.

This Extract out of the Sermon makes out the first Article, which is, his condemning the Resistance, which the Commons call the necessary Means used to bring about the Revolution. For, first, that general Position of his condemns Resistance in any Case whatsoever. Secondly, he introduces some as denying this Position, and fastens a vile and odious Character upon them. Thirdly, he makes those that deny this Doctrine object to it an Authority or President of a lawful Resistance, *viz.* that at the Revolution; but, my Lords, this he does only to give up the Lawfulness of that Resistance, and condemn that as well as any other. For, Fourthly, he answers this Objection, by denying there was any Resistance in that Case, a Fact as clear as the Sun at Noon-day, and which all the Nation saw and rejoiced at. He brings the late King and the Parliament to witness against any Resistance in the Revolution; and yet he has shewn by two Quotations out of the Prince of Orange's Declaration, one in his Answer, and the other in the printed Sermon, that his late Majesty was so far from disclaiming Resistance, that he avowed it, and invited the Subjects of this Kingdom to join in that Resistance; for in his Answer, he cites that Passage in his Declaration; wherein his Majesty takes Notice, that he carried a Force with him, sufficient, by the Blessing of God, to defend him from the Violence of Evil Counsellors; and that he designed that Expedition to oblige King James to call a Free Parliament: And by his Quotation of another Passage in the Prince of Orange's Declaration, it appears his late Majesty was, by divers Subjects of King James's, invited to and assisted in that Expedition; which being an Expedition by Force, to oblige that King to call a Free Parliament, doth it not carry in it a plain and manifest avowing of Resistance? My Lords, as to what he says in Relation to the Parliament's disowning any Resistance at the Revolution, by asserting, that they set the Crown on the King's Head on no other Title than that of the Vacancy of the Throne, that appears to be directly otherwise from the several Passages in divers Acts of Parliament which I have before-mentioned: To which I only add, that in the Conference between the two Houses, previous to the settling the Crown on the King's Head, the Word *Abdicated* was insisted upon and carried; for that it included in it the Male-Administration of King James, which the Word *Deserted* (desired to be used instead of it) did not: And this appears by the Journal. He therefore knowing that there was Resistance at the Revolution, and that the late King and the Parliament avowed that Resistance; and he pretending to defend it only by denying those Facts, hath (by a necessary Implication) asserted, That that Resistance was not an Exception to his general Rule, but stands condemned by it.

My Lords, I shall not enter upon the Consideration of the Doctor's Answer to this Article, because I don't know whether his Counsel will think fit to abide by it; nor would I meddle with any Thing that is proper for the Reply.

The Sum of the whole Proof is this: The

Doctor lays down a Doctrine, condemning Resistance in all Cases whatsoever: He makes those who deny this Doctrine, Asserters of Antimonarchical Principles: He takes Notice of the Revolution, only to give it up: He admits, that if there were Resistance in that Case, that it was as unlawful as any other Resistance. He asserts that to be true, which every one knows to be false: He says, the late King disclaimed the least Imputation of Resistance; the Parliament disowned it; and they who say there was any Resistance in it, cast black and odious Colours on the late King and the Revolution; and consequently, he condemns the Resistance used to bring about the Revolution, which is the Matter of the first Article.

This, my Lords, is what the Commons rely upon, to maintain and make out the first Article of their Charge against the Criminal at the Bar; and they refer the Consideration of it to your Lordships Wisdom and Justice.

Mr. Sol. Gen. **M**Y Lords, It falls to my Share, Sir Rob. Eyre. **M**Y Lords, to state to your Lordships the several Passages in the Sermon preached at St. Paul's, which the Commons rely upon as a Proof of the first Article; and to shew the particular Weakness and Insufficiency of the Answer given to this Charge.

The Charge is, That the Gentleman at the Bar doth suggest and maintain, That the necessary Means used to bring about the late happy Revolution, were odious and unjustifiable; That his late Majesty, in his Declaration, disclaim'd the least Imputation of Resistance; and, That to impute Resistance to the Revolution, is to cast black and odious Colours upon his late Majesty and the said Revolution.

The Passages upon which the first Article is founded, are in the eleventh and twelfth Pages of this Sermon; where Dr. Sacheverell having first asserted, "That the grand Security of our Govern-
ment, and the very Pillar upon which it stands,
" is founded upon the steady Belief of the Sub-
" jects Obligation to an absolute and unconditional
" Obedience to the supreme Power in all Things
" lawful, and the utter Illegality of Resistance
" upon any Pretence whatsoever, *which*, He says,
" has been lately exploded and ridiculed, *goes on*
in these Words:

" Our Adversaries think they effectually stop our
" Mouths, and have us sure and unanswerable on
" this Point, when they urge the Revolution of this
" Day in their Defence; but certainly they are the
" greatest Enemies of that, and his late Majesty,
" and the most ungrateful for the Deliverance, who
" endeavour to cast such black and odious Colours
" upon both. How often must they be told, that
" the King himself solemnly disclaim'd the least
" Imputation of Resistance, in his Declaration?
" And that the Parliament declared, that they set
" the Crown on his Head upon no other Title but
" that of the Vacancy of the Throne? And did
" they not unanimously condemn to the Flames
" that infamous Libel, that would have pleaded
" the Title of Conquest, by which Resistance
" was suppos'd?

These Words the Commons apprehend to be a full Proof of the Assertions charg'd in the first Article, for Resistance was the necessary Means used to bring about the Revolution.

And the Doctor expressly affirms in this Place, that the King disclaim'd the least Imputation of Resistance; he asserts it as a thing notorious, which

no Body could be a Stranger to : He says, the King disclaim'd it solemnly ; he disclaim'd it in his Declaration.

And he as plainly affirms, That to impute Resistance to the Revolution, is to cast black and odious Colours upon his late Majesty and the Revolution ; for he first lays down the utter Illegality of Resistance upon any Pretence whatsoever, as a fundamental Doctrine ; and then acquaints his Auditor, that his Adversaries thought they could effectually stop his Mouth, and had him sure and unanswerable *on this Point*, when they urged the Revolution in their Defence ; but that they were the greatest Enemies to the King and to the Revolution, who endeavour'd to cast such *black and odious Colours upon both*.

Now *this Point*, which he says his Adversaries thought they had him sure and unanswerably upon, is plainly the Point of Resistance, which he had asserted to be illegal upon any Pretence whatsoever ; and others, he says, had denied, and had urg'd the Revolution in their Defence.

And the urging of the Revolution in that Case, as an Instance of the Legality of Resistance, in Opposition to his general Doctrine, is what he calls casting black and odious Colours upon the King and the Revolution ; for his Argument runs thus. All Resistance is utterly illegal ; the King disclaimed the least Imputation of Resistance ; the Parliament set the Crown upon his Head upon no other Title than that of the Vacancy of the Throne ; and burnt a Book because it asserted a Title by which Resistance was supposed ; and therefore to impute Resistance to the Revolution, is to cast *black and odious Colours* upon his late Majesty and the Revolution.

This, my Lords, is the Force of his Reasoning, and the plain and obvious Sense of this Part of the Paragraph ; and therefore fully makes out the Charge of his asserting and maintaining, that to impute Resistance to the Revolution, is to cast black and odious Colours upon his late Majesty and the said Revolution.

I come now to consider the Answer he makes to this Article, which he divides into three Parts.

“ And first, he denies that he doth suggest and maintain, that the necessary Means used to bring about the happy Revolution were odious and unjustifiable ; and says, that he doth not affirm in any Part of that Sermon any thing concerning the necessary Means used to bring about the happy Revolution ; the said *Henry Sacheverell* is so far from reflecting on his late Majesty or the happy Revolution, that he endeavours in that Sermon to clear the Revolution, and his late Majesty, from the black and odious Colours which their greatest Enemies had cast upon both.

Now the material Part of the Answer to this Branch of the Article is, “ That he denies his maintaining that the necessary Means used to bring about the Revolution were odious and unjustifiable, and his affirming any thing concerning those necessary Means. But this is no more than saying that he has affirmed nothing by the Words *Necessary Means* ; and 'tis very true, that the Words *Necessary Means* are not used in any Part of the Sermon.

But no Body will say, that 'tis requisite to charge the Assertion in the very Words.

And therefore if Resistance was necessary, and the Means used, in that extraordinary Case of the Revolution, he has asserted the Means to be odious and unjustifiable, tho' he has done it in other Terms, and by Words more particular and express.

“ And as to that Part of the Article whereby he is charged with suggesting and maintaining, “ That his late Majesty in his Declaration disclaimed the least Imputation of Resistance :

“ He acknowledges himself to have made this Suggestion ; but says, that he made it not in Dishonour, but in Vindication of his Majesty ; the Resistance he represents the King to have disclaimed, being such a Resistance as tended to the Conquest of this Realm ; for which he refers to that Part of the Declaration which is printed at the Bottom of the eleventh Page in the Sermon ; and upon this Ground he observes, that there are these other Passages in the Declaration — “ We have thought fit to go over to *England*, and to carry over with us a Force sufficient, by the Blessing of God, to defend ourselves from the Violence of evil Counsellors.— We think fit to declare, that this our Expedition is intended for no other Design than to have a free and lawful Parliament assembled.

Now in this Part of his Answer Doctor *Sacheverell* admits, that he made the Suggestion charged upon him, in the same Words that are used in the Article ; but defends himself by alledging, that the Commons have mistaken his Meaning.— He meant only, that the King disclaimed a Resistance which tended to Conquest.

But 'tis clear and plain, that the Words have no such limited or restrained Sense, and that the Meaning he would now put upon them is a mere Shift and Evasion ; for the Proposition is general, The King disclaim'd the least Imputation of Resistance : And the Use he makes of it shews, that his Meaning was as general as his Words ; for he is replying upon those who urge the Revolution in Answer to his general Position, That Resistance is utterly illegal upon any Pretence whatsoever ; and how does he answer the Case of the Revolution, or is it possible to be answered, but by saying, that there was no Resistance at all in the Revolution ; the King, who was principally concerned in it, disclaim'd the least Imputation of Resistance ?

The Question is stated upon Resistance in general ; Whether Resistance in any Case, or upon any Occasion, be lawful ?

And therefore, if the Lawfulness of Resistance in any Case be allowed, 'tis impossible that his general Assertion should stand ; and 'tis equally impossible to get clear of the Objection, without denying the Resistance.

Doctor *Sacheverell* was aware of this, and therefore denies that there was any Resistance at all in the Revolution, and says, That the least Imputation of it was solemnly disclaim'd and disavow'd.

For had he said, in express Terms, that the King disclaim'd all Imputation of Resistance that tended to Conquest, this would have been no Answer to the Objection : For if there was any Resistance, tho' not the particular Resistance which the King disclaim'd ; and if that Resistance which was us'd be agreed to be lawful, his fundamental Doctrine must certainly be shaken. And therefore if your Lordships suppose him to make any Use at all of this Assertion, his Words plainly spoke his Meaning, and represent the King to have disclaim'd all Resistance whatsoever.

But he excuses the making of this Suggestion, by declaring, “ That he made it not in Dishonour, “ but in Vindication of his Majesty ; and therefore “ whether he was mistaken or not in expressing “ himself, as if the late King had disclaimed all

“ Imputation

“ Imputation of Resistance, when he meant there-
 “ by, that the late King disclaim’d the Imputation
 “ of a Design of Conquest, he humbly conceives
 “ such a Suggestion, plainly design’d for the Ho-
 “ nour of the late King, cannot in any reasonable
 “ Construction be thought a Reflection upon his
 “ said late Majesty, or deem’d any high Crime or
 “ Misdemeanor.

My Lords, had these Words been spoken in Vindication of his late Majesty, or great and glorious Deliverer, the Commons, who have so much at Heart the Honour of the late King, and the Justice of the Revolution, had never charg’d them upon this Gentleman as a Crime.

But they carry with them the highest Reflection upon the Honour and Justice of his Majesty; for they suppose that he denied the Lawfulness of Resistance when he was actually engaged in it, and disclaimed the least Imputation of Resistance when he brought over an Army on purpose to maintain that Resistance, to which all the People of *England* were invited and encouraged by his Declaration.

And this Assertion, of the King’s disclaiming all Resistance, could never be meant in Vindication of his Majesty from any Imputation of a Design of Conquest; for there was no Occasion for vindicating the King upon this Point, the Subject-Matter of the Discourse did not lead him to it; for the Business of the Sermon, or of this particular Paragraph is not to vindicate the Honour of the King from any such Aspersions, or to maintain the Liberties of *England*, by asserting, That the Constitution of Government still remains, and was not broken and dissolv’d by Conquest at the Revolution: Had that been his Ground, his Mistake had been more excusable; for then it had been proper to have urg’d that there was no Step taken towards the Revolution, which look’d like a Design of Conquest; and that the armed Force which was us’d in it, and had the Appearance of such a Design, was not intended to conquer; for the King, who commanded it, disclaim’d all Imputation of Resistance that tended to Conquest. Upon such a Question these things had been very properly urg’d, and there might have been some Indulgence to a general Expression, that in any Propriety of Speech could have received such a Meaning.

But when the Question is not, Whether the Revolution was brought about by Conquest, or what would be the Consequence of such an Assertion, either in regard to the Honour of the King, or the Condition of the People, there can be no Colour for saying that he meant by this general Expression, which carries no such Meaning in it self, that the King disclaimed Conquest, or a Resistance which tended to Conquest only.

Especially, my Lords, when the Subject-Matter of his Discourse naturally led him to assert this Proposition in the common and ordinary Sense which the Words import: For he is asserting the Doctrine of absolute Non-Resistance; and shewing, that the Lawfulness of the Revolution was no Argument against it; and why? Because the King disclaim’d the least Imputation of Resistance; there was no such wicked Ingredient as Resistance in it; no other Answer would have serv’d him; and therefore it can never be suppos’d that he meant to clear the King from any Design of Conquest, or intended to say any thing in Vindication of his Majesty upon that Head.

And, in Truth, it is an apparent Scandal upon the Memory of the late King, to say there was any Occasion to clear him from this Imputation; his Actions spoke the Justice and Sincerity of his In-

tentions; his Business was not to conquer and enslave us, but to deliver us from Popery and Slavery, the most dreadful Calamities that could befall us, and to settle and establish our Constitution both in Church and State. This was the Ground of the glorious Enterprize he undertook, and the general Aim and Design of all his Labours through the whole Course of his Reign.

’Tis therefore plain, that what Doctor *Sacheverell* says in his Answer, in Excuse of his Assertion, relating to the King’s disclaiming all Imputation of Resistance, was rather made to the Dishonour, than in Vindication of his Majesty; for there was no Colour to suggest that he needed any such Vindication or Defence.

And that the King did not disclaim all Imputation of Resistance, is evident, even from that Part of his Declaration which is cited in the Answer, whereby “ He declares to the People (to
 “ encourage them to join with him) that he had
 “ brought over a sufficient Force to defend him-
 “ self from the Violence of evil Counsellors.—
 “ And that this Expedition was designed to have
 “ a free and lawful Parliament assembled, which
 “ was a plain Force upon the executive Power that
 “ was directed by those evil Counsellors, who, by
 “ subverting the Liberties of Corporations, and
 “ practising upon the Freedom of Elections, never
 “ intended that any such free or lawful Parliament
 “ should be assembled.

This is plain Resistance in the Sense that Doctor *Sacheverell* takes the Word; and is so far from a Justification, that there is no Colour to say, that his Majesty disclaimed the least Imputation of Resistance.

As to the last Branch of the Article, whereby he is charged that he suggests and maintains, “ That
 “ to impute Resistance to the Revolution, is to
 “ cast black and odious Colours upon his late Ma-
 “ jesty and the said Revolution; he denies that he
 “ suggests or maintains any such Position.

But this Negative is fully answer’d by what has been offer’d to your Lordships upon the first Head of this Article, his asserting, That the necessary Means us’d to bring about the Revolution were odious and unjustifiable; for if Resistance be utterly illegal upon any Pretence whatsoever, and there was Resistance in the Revolution, it necessarily follows, that to impute Resistance to the Revolution, is to cast black and odious Colours upon it. And this is expressly asserted by his stating the Case of the Revolution, in which there was Resistance, as an Objection to his general Doctrine of Non-Resistance upon any Pretence whatsoever; and then answering this Objection, by saying, That the urging of the Revolution, as an Instance of the Legality of Resistance, was casting black and odious Colours upon his late Majesty and the late Revolution: For there could be no black or odious Colours cast, but from the shaking that fundamental Doctrine of absolute Non-Resistance; the Belief of which he asserts to be the Pillar upon which the Government of *England* stands.

And therefore the imputing of Resistance to the Revolution, must, according to the Principles he lays down, cast black and odious Colours upon the Revolution, and upon the great and glorious Instrument of it, his late Majesty, by whom it was happily brought about.

And Doctor *Sacheverell* himself, by the subsequent Part of his Answer, seems to think that this Assertion is fairly and plainly inferred from the Tenor of his Discourse.

For he is pleas'd to excuse it, by saying, " That he intended to apply it not to such Persons who impute Resistance to the Revolution, of whom he affirms nothing; but to those new Preachers, and new Politicians, who teach in Contradiction both to the Gospel and the Laws, that the People have the Power invested in them, the Fountain and Original of it, to cancel their Allegiance at their Pleasure, and call their Sovereign to Account for High Treason against his Subjects, and who urge the Revolution in Defence of such Principles; and that, unless those who impute Resistance to the Revolution be the same with these new Preachers and new Politicians, he affirms nothing concerning them.

But, my Lords, this Part of his Answer is far from excusing or extenuating his Crime; for if a Proposition be true, it will lose nothing of its Weight and Force, though the vilest Man upon Earth should make use of it; and it can be no Argument against a true Principle, that it has been made use of to ill Purposes, and to maintain Positions which are not warranted by it. 'Tis rather an Aggravation of his Crime, and a high Reflection upon the Commons, and the Justice of this Proceeding, to suppose that any such wicked Consequences as he mentions, can possibly be infer'd from defending the Resistance at the Revolution: And the Question is, Whether Doctor *Sacheverell* himself asserts, that to impute Resistance to the Revolution, be to cast black and odious Colours upon it; and not, OF WHOM he affirms the casting such black and odious Colours?

I go on to the last Part of his Answer to this Article, where he says, " That upon the strictest Search into his said Sermon preach'd at *St. Paul's*, he doth not find that he hath given the least colourable Pretence for the Accusation exhibited against him in this first Article, but barely by his asserting the utter Illegality of Resistance to the supreme Power upon any Pretence whatsoever; for which he conceives he has the Authority of the Church of *England*, which has taught and inculcated this Doctrine in her Homilies—And he doth further insist, That this Assertion is agreeable to, and warranted by the Common Law of *England*, and divers Acts of Parliament now remaining in full Force.

Now it must be agreed, that there is no colourable Pretence to charge him with suggesting and maintaining, that the Resistance used at the Revolution was odious and unjustifiable, if the Doctrine of the utter Illegality of Resistance upon any Pretence whatsoever be true; for upon this Principle his Censure is just, and it must necessarily follow, that the Resistance used in bringing about the Revolution is not to be maintain'd.

And therefore the Commons should think themselves ungrateful for the Deliverance, if they did not vindicate the Honour of the late King, and of those illustrious Persons, who, upon his Invitation, defended the Constitution at that time by Resistance, and declare that this Resistance was lawful, honourable and just.

They had Reason to hope, that after so many Years had passed in a happy Enjoyment of all the Advantages of a Free-born People, and at a Time when the Subjects of this Kingdom are in the full Possession of their Rights and Liberties under her Majesty's gracious Protection, and the wisest and happiest Administration that *England* ever saw, that no Body could have been so wicked as to cast an Odium upon the necessary Means whereby these

Blessings were obtain'd, and are continued to us. But since, notwithstanding our blessed Deliverance from Popery and Arbitrary Power, and the Benefits we enjoy by restoring the Constitution both in Church and State; and above all, by her Majesty's happy Administration, which has improved the Lustre of the Crown to the Honour of the Nation, and the common Benefit of every particular Subject; yet there are Men of restless and turbulent Spirits, Enemies to the Revolution, who are continually urging the Resistance then used as a fundamental Error, fatal to every thing that has been built upon it: This, my Lords, strikes so directly at the present Establishment, that the Commons think it their indispensable Duty to demand your Lordships Judgment upon this important Subject.

And they think it the more necessary at this time, because 'tis plain and obvious to every one's Observation, that since the late Attempt made by the Pretender, this Principle of the utter Illegality of Resistance upon any Pretence whatsoever, has been espoused and maintained with more than ordinary Warmth and Zeal; and the Commons apprehend, that it can have no other Aim or Tendency than to blacken the Revolution, and thereby to shake the Foundation of our present happy Settlement.

Your Lordships will therefore, in your great Wisdom, consider the Consequences of this Assertion, in regard to her Majesty, the Protestant Succession, and the future Happiness of this Kingdom.

The Commons must always resent, with the utmost Detestation and Abhorrence, every Position that may shake the Authority of that Act of Parliament, whereby the Crown is settled upon her Majesty, and whereby the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, do, in the Name of all the People of *England*, most humbly and faithfully submit themselves, their Heirs and Posterities, to her Majesty, which this general Principle of absolute Non-resistance must certainly shake.

For, if the Resistance at the Revolution was illegal, the Revolution settled in Usurpation, and this Act can have no greater Force and Authority than an Act pass'd under a Usurper.

And the Commons take leave to observe, that the Authority of this Parliamentary Settlement is a Matter of the greatest Consequence to maintain, in a Case where the hereditary Right to the Crown is contested; for her Majesty's most bitter and implacable Enemies, the Friends of the Pretender, (who all assert the utter Illegality of the Resistance used at the Revolution) can advance his Title to the Crown, and call him King, upon no other Ground than the Pretence of an hereditary Right.

The Commons therefore, out of the most profound Duty and Allegiance which they owe, and shall ever pay to her Majesty, and to maintain the Security of her Government, and guard her Throne against every Insinuation that may promote or favour the Interest of the Pretender, think themselves obliged to take Notice of this Assertion, as tending to weaken the Authority of this Act of Parliament, whereby her Majesty's Title is declared.

Your Lordships will likewise consider of what Consequence the Dishonouring of the Revolution may be to Posterity, and the future Happiness of this Kingdom in a Protestant Succession to the Crown. For by the same Act, all Persons who shall hold Communion with the See of *Rome*, or shall marry Papists, are declared incapable to Inherit, Possess, or enjoy the Crown. And 'tis enacted, That the Crown and Government shall from time to time descend to, and be enjoyed by such Persons, being

Protestants, that should have inherited and enjoyed the same, in case such Popish Prince were naturally dead.

And the immediate Protestant Succession in the illustrious House of *Hanover*, is likewise settled by an Act of the same Reign.

This shews of what Importance it is, to the present and future Happiness of this Kingdom, to clear his late Majesty and the Revolution from those black and odious Colours which this Gentleman has cast upon both.

But, my Lords, he makes it part of his Defence, that his Assertion is agreeable to the Common Law of *England*, and divers Acts of Parliament now remaining in Force.

The Gentleman that spoke before me, has shewn how far that Assertion is a direct Contradiction to several Acts of Parliament; and therefore I shall only say, that it can never be supposed that the Laws were made to set up a despotick Power to destroy themselves, and to warrant the Subversion of a Constitution of Government which they were designed to establish and defend.

This would be a strange, absurd, and contradictory Imagination, and was thought so at the Revolution by the wisest Men of that Time, by the best Friends to the Monarchy, and Men the most eminent for their Sufferings in the Cause of the Church.

And it appears, by the several Instances mention'd in the Act declaring the Rights and Liberties of the Subject, and settling the Succession of the Crown, that at the Time of the Revolution there was a total Subversion of the Constitution of Government both in Church and State, which is a Case that the Laws of *England* could never suppose, provide for, or have in View.

And the same Answer may with equal Reason be applied to the general Doctrine of the Church, express'd in her Homilies.

This, my Lords, is what I have to offer to your Lordships in Maintenance of the first Article; I am sensible how defective I have been, but what I have said in, will be abundantly supplied by the Gentlemen who are appointed to assist in maintaining this Article.

Sir John Holland. MY Lords, the present Consideration is of the greatest Importance; no less, than whether so many of your Lordships, and the Commons of *Great Britain*, who took up Arms at the Revolution, and were then thought Patriots of your Country, were really Rebels; whether our late Deliverer was an Usurper; and whether the Protestant Succession is legal and valid.

All these Considerations depend upon the Lawfulness of the Resistance at the Revolution. That there was a Resistance, is most plain, if taking up Arms in *Yorkshire*, *Nottinghamshire*, *Cheshire*, and almost all the Counties of *England*; if the Desertion of a Prince's own Troops to an invading Prince, and turning their Arms against their Sovereign, be Resistance. But if Subjects be obliged to *Absolute and Unconditional Obedience*, the Convention of the States, the Settlement and Entail of the Crown by them, and the further Settlement in the Protestant Succession under that Settlement, must, from that Resistance, be unlawful and void.

The Criminal was aware of this just Objection to his general Doctrine, when applied to the Revolution; as appears from his endeavouring, upon second Thoughts, to conceal it by his marginal Note, to hint, that by *Resistance* he meant *Conquest*. And

no wonder he endeavour'd to colour so bold a Stroke, which he could not but expect to hear of with the utmost Resentment from the Government.

But it so falls out, my Lords, that what he trusted to for a Screen, aggravates the Heinousness of his Crime; for it shews, that he instils into his Auditors those Notions from the Pulpit, which he dares not own in Print. Nothing can be more manifest, than that he could not by *Resistance* mean *Conquest*, even from his own Expressions: For in the very next Period, he says, *And did they not, i. e. the Parliament, unanimously condemn to the Flames (as it justly deserved) that infamous Libel, that would have pleaded the Title of Conquest, by which Resistance was supposed?* So that he knew them to be distinct Notions; and indeed so they must be, because one may be without the other.

It is an unaccountable Presumption, that he could suppose so weak a Pretence could pass upon the World; but much more surprizing it is, that he could apprehend so mean a Subterfuge could prevent your Lordships Justice. But from hence the Commons observe, that he is a concealed Man, and of a dangerous Spirit: And as such we have brought him hither to reform him, and to be an Example to others.

My Lords, The Commons would not be understood, as if they were pleading for a licentious Resistance; as if Subjects were left to their Good-will and Pleasure, when they are to *Obey*, and when to *Resist*. No, my Lords, they know they are obliged by all the Ties of social Creatures, and Christians, for Wrath and Conscience-sake to submit to their Sovereign. The Commons do not abet humour-some factious Arms: They aver them to be Rebellions. But yet they maintain, that that Resistance at the Revolution, which was so necessary, was lawful and just from that Necessity.

We do agree, that the Laws concerning Obedience, both human and divine, are very express and positive; and no Wonder that the *Homilies and Fathers, dead and living*, follow the same way of expressing our Duty in general Terms. We readily grant this, but it does not follow that there can be no Exceptions from these general Rules in Conscience.

There is no Law more positive and express than that which enjoins the Observation of the Sabbath; for therein we are commanded to *do no manner of Work*. But yet we know, that Necessity makes an allowed Exception to that general Law. And the Reason why that Necessity is allowed as a just Exception to that positive Law, will guide us to know, what Laws will admit of Exceptions from Necessity, and what not. The Reason our divine Law-giver assigns is, because *the Sabbath was made for Man, and not Man for the Sabbath*; from whence plainly follows this Corollary; That where there is a positive Law, and that Law respects not some principal End for which Man was made, there Necessity may make a justifiable Exception, how express soever that Law is.

Now, my Lords, whether Government was made for Man, or Man for Government, will easily appear from this short Observation, that Man was made in a State of Perfection; and the Rectitude of that State supposes the Absence of all those Crimes, which are the Objects of Government, and which Government is to reform. And therefore Government could not be one End of Man's Creation; and these general Rules of Obedience may, upon a real Necessity, admit a lawful Exception; and such a necessary Exception we assert the Revolution to be.

'Tis with this View of Necessity, only absolute Necessity of preserving our Laws, Liberties and Religion; 'tis with this Limitation that we desire to be understood, when any of us speak of Resistance in general. The Necessity of the Resistance at the Revolution was at that Time obvious to every Man. Every one, who either was not, or did not find his easy Mind, prepar'd to be a Tool to Popery and Slavery, dreaded the Instances of that Necessity. The cancelling all the Security from Laws by a dispensing Power; the erecting Commissions to deprive Subjects of their Property, not according to Law, but Humour; the making the whole Government depend upon the arbitrary Pleasure of the then Prince, cannot but be a Justification of that Necessity before God and Man.

And thus, my Lords, it was thought, at the Time this Resistance was on Foot. For then, when the Time was most proper for Admonitions of this Nature, the Clergy were so far from averring the *Unlawfulness of Resistance upon any Pretence whatsoever*, that the *true distinguishing Characteristick of a Church-of-England-Man* then was, wishing that Resistance good Luck, and rejoicing at its Success. And yet the Gentleman at the Bar makes this Exception the Instance of an unjust Resistance, by an ironical Assertion of *the late King's solemnly disclaiming the least Imputation of Resistance in his Declaration*; for ironical it must be, when every Body must believe that he himself knew the contrary; a Figure of Speech very well understood, and known to be the most biting Sarcasm.

My Lords, So much depends upon the Revolution, that the Commons are highly Jealous of the Honour of it. It is, indeed, twenty Years since the Revolution was settled; but it is within much less than twenty Years that a Pretender has attempted to invade our Country, to set this Revolution aside. That Person, even with his own good Opinion of his Right, knows, he can have no Pretence to the Crown, unless the Prisoner's Political Divinity be true, which we aver it is not. But lest this Pretender should apprehend that his Friends are much increased, when he hears that the Revolution is publicly branded in Sermons as *black and odious*; the Commons have impeached this Preacher, that he might not be guilty of this high Crime and Misdemeanor *without Discouragement*, and have brought him to your Lordships Bar for Justice, that he may not do it *with Impunity*.

Mr. *Walpole*. MY Lords, The Commons are now making good their Charge against Doctor *Henry Sacheverell* contain'd in the first Article, wherein he is accused for suggesting and maintaining, that the necessary Means used to bring about the happy Revolution, were odious and unjustifiable, and that to impute Resistance to the Revolution, is to cast *black and odious Colours* on his late Majesty and the Revolution.

By what has been already offer'd to your Lordships, I make no doubt but you are fully convinced, how injurious these Positions must be to the Peace and Quiet of the Kingdom, and how highly they deserve, and loudly call for your Lordships speedy and exemplary Justice.

The great Licentiousness of the Press, in censuring and reflecting upon all Parts of the Government, has of late given too just Cause of Offence; but when only Pamphlets and common Libels are Matters of Complaint; when none but Mercenary Scriblers, and the Hackney Pens of a discontented Party, are employ'd to vent their Malice, 'tis fit to leave them

to the common Course of the Law, and to the ordinary Proceeding of the Courts below. But, my Lords, when the Trumpet is sounded in *Sion*; when the Pulpit takes up the Cudgels; when the Cause of the Enemies of our Government is call'd the Cause of God, and of the Church; when this bitter and poisonous Pill is gilded over with the specious Name of Loyalty, and the People are taught for their Souls and Consciences Sake to swallow these pernicious Doctrines; when instead of sound Religion, Divinity, and Morality, factious and seditious Discourses are become the constant Entertainments of some Congregations; the Commons cannot but think it high time to put a Stop to this growing Evil, and for the Authority of a Parliament to interpose, and exert itself, in Defence of the Revolution, the present Government, and the Protestant Succession. All which the Commons think so materially concern'd in this Question, that if the Doctrines advanced by Doctor *Sacheverell*, are not Criminal in the highest Degree, it will follow, that the necessary Means used to bring about the Revolution were illegal, and consequently, that the present Establishment, and Protestant Succession, founded upon that Revolution, are void and of no Effect.

The Commons cannot but apprehend that the just Resentment and Indignation they have shewn upon this Occasion, will meet with the general Applause of all that are heartily and sincerely well affected to her Majesty, and her Government; but for all those, whose Principles and Practices render them most justly suspected to have other Views, they are not at all surpris'd to find them alarm'd, and under the greatest Concern, at this Trial.

I am very sensible, my Lords, of the Difficulty and Nicety that attends the speaking to this Point, and that whilst a loyal Subject and faithful Servant of the best of Queens, is speaking in Defence of the necessary and commendable Resistance used at the Revolution, his Arguments may be misconstrued, and misrepresented, as maintaining Antimonarchical Schemes.

But surely, my Lords, to plead for Resistance, that Resistance, I mean, which alone can be concern'd in this Debate, is to assert and maintain the very Being of our present Government and Constitution; and to assert Non-resistance in that boundless and unlimited Sense in which Doctor *Sacheverell* presumes to assert it, is to sap and undermine the very Foundations of our Government, to remove the natural Basis and fundamental Strength of our Constitution, and to leave it underfet with imaginary Props and Buttresses, which do, at best, but ill support a shaken Foundation: And 'tis a most surprizing Assurance in the Enemies of our Government, that whilst they are striking at the Root, and digging up the Foundations, upon which our present and future Settlement is built, that they should hope to pass upon the World as Friends to either. But so irreconcilable are the Professions and Practices of some Men, so awkwardly do they speak well of what they do not in their Hearts approve, that in Vindication of his late Majesty (for that's a Part that sometimes they think useful to Act) they declare his most glorious Enterprize to save a sinking Nation, utterly illegal: To recommend themselves to the Queen, they condemn that Revolution, without which she never had been Queen, and we a most unhappy People: To testify their Zeal and Affection for the Protestant Succession, they invalidate all the Laws that have been made for securing that Blessing to Posterity: And lastly, to manifest their

Aversion,

Aversion, and for ever to blast all Hopes of the Pretender, they advance and maintain the Hereditary Right, as the only true Right to the Crown. But what Interest these Opinions may at one time or other be produced to support, and in favour of whose Pretensions these Insinuations are easily understood to be, and in favour of what Settlement they can hardly be constru'd, I submit to your Lordships Consideration.

The utter Illegality of Resistance, upon any Pretence whatsoever, is the general Position laid down in the Sermon, which, if it be strictly, and in the most extensive Manner true, the assuming and exercising a Power of dispensing with, and suspending the Laws; the Commitment and Prosecution of the Bishops; the erecting a Court of Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes; the levying Money by Pretence of Prerogative; the raising and keeping a Standing Army without Consent of Parliament; the violating the Freedom of Elections of Members to serve in Parliament; and all the Grievances enumerated in the Bill of Rights, were all meer Pretences, and not sufficient to warrant and justify what was then done, in Defence of the true, ancient, and indubitable Rights and Liberties of the People of this Kingdom; which are now again enacted, ratified and confirmed, and enjoined to be firmly and strictly holden and observed. By what Evasions, or Distinctions, the Doctor will explain himself off upon this Head, cannot easily foresee; unless he will be so ingenuous as now to confess, what there is too much Reason to believe will be his Opinion, if ever a proper Time shall serve for declaring, That the Acts of Parliament made upon, and since the Revolution, are only the Effects of a happy Usurpation, and no Part of the true Law of the Land.

Resistance is no where enacted to be legal, but subjected, by all the Laws now in Being, to the greatest Penalties; 'tis what is not, cannot, nor ought ever to be describ'd, or affirm'd, in any positive Law, to be excusable: When, and upon what never-to-be-expected Occasions, it may be exercised, no Man can foresee, and ought never to be thought of, but when an utter Subversion of the Laws of the Realm threatens the whole Frame of a Constitution, and no Redress can otherwise be hoped for: It therefore does, and ought for ever to stand, in the Eye and Letter of the Law, as the highest Offence. But because any Man, or Party of Men, may not, out of Folly or Wantonness, commit Treason, or make their own Discontents, ill Principles, or disguised Affections to another Interest, a Pretence to resist the Supreme Power, will it follow from thence that the utmost Necessity ought not to engage a Nation in its own Defence for the Preservation of the Whole? Or, on the other Side, because the greatest and most inexplicable Emergencies did sufficiently justify and warrant the Resistance of the Revolution, will it be a Consequence that therefore, upon every slight Pretence or common Occasion, the Laws that fence against Treason will be of no Effect? No, my Lords, I hope your just Judgment in this Case will convince the World, that every *seditions, discontented, hot-headed, ungifted, unedifying Preacher*, (the Doctor will pardon me for borrowing one String of Epithets from him, and for once using a little of his own Language) who had no Hopes of distinguishing himself in the World, but by a matchless Indiscretion, may not advance, with Impunity, Doctrines destructive of the Peace and Quiet of her Majesty's Government, and the Protestant Succession,

and prepare the Minds of the People for an Alteration, by giving them ill Impressions of the present Establishment and its Administration.

The Doctrine of unlimited, unconditional passive Obedience, was first invented to support arbitrary and despotick Power, and was never promoted or countenanced by any Government that had not Designs some time or other of making use of it: What then can be the Design of preaching this Doctrine now, unask'd; unsought for, in her Majesty's Reign, where the Law is the only Rule and Measure of the Power of the Crown, and of the Obedience of the People? If then this Doctrine can neither be an Advantage or Security to her Majesty, who neither wants nor desires it, to what End and Purpose must every thinking Man conclude 'tis now set on Foot, but to unhinge the present Government, by setting aside all that has been done in Opposition to that Doctrine; and when, by these Means the way is made clear to another's Title, the People are ready instructed to submit to whatever shall be imposed upon them.

It may be expected, after I have said thus much in general, that I should proceed to shew in what Parts of the Sermon these Aspersions are contain'd: But, my Lords, that Part has been so fully and distinctly spoke to, by those learned Gentlemen who are more proper, and a great deal more able, to manage that Province, that I will not mispend your Lordships Time, by repeating what has been already so fully and justly made out; but so much I will venture to say, That if we remove the Rubbage, with which the Doctor has an excellent Talent at puzzling Common Sense, and bring together the several Sentences, that can only be relative to one another, 'tis impossible for the Art of Man to make any Inferences or Constructions, so close and strong, as the plain and genuine Sense of the whole Scope of his Sermon must, at first View, suggest to every Man's Understanding. And all that the Doctor alledges in his Defence is, that in the Revolution there was no Resistance at all; and that the King did utterly disclaim any such Imputation. But surely, my Lords, it cannot be now necessary to prove Resistance in the Revolution; I should as well expect that your Lordships would desire me, for Form's sake, to prove the Sun shines at Noon-day. If then there was most undoubtedly Resistance used to bring about the Revolution, it will follow that all the Censures, which are so freely bestowed upon Resistance in general, must attend, and will be imputed to the Revolution: And if *Resistance be utterly illegal, upon any Pretence whatsoever*; if it is a Sin, which unrepented of, by the Doctrine of the Church of England, carries *sure and certain Damnation*; if, upon *Repentance*, there is no *Remission of Sins* without a steadfast Purpose to amend the Evil we have done, and to make all possible *Restitution*, or at least to do our utmost Endeavours for that Purpose; I beg your Lordships to consider what a Duty is here pressed, upon the Peril of Damnation, upon every Man's Conscience, that knows or believes that there was Resistance in the Revolution, and is conscious to himself of being any ways assisting, or even consenting to this *damnable Sin*; and what must be the Consequence if these Doctrines, without any Reserve or Exception, are with Impunity preach'd throughout the Kingdom. All which, my Lords, I hope is sufficient to satisfy your Lordships, that Doctor *Sacheverell* is guilty of the Charge exhibited against him in the first Article; and that he is an Offender of that Nature and Malignity, that this Court only could be the proper Judges of such

High Crimes; and from your Lordships Justice, the Commons hope, That his Punishment will be adequate to the Heinousness of his Offence.

Sir *John Hawles*. MY Lords, I am commanded by the Commons of *Great Britain* to be assisting to the Gentlemen that spoke before me, for the proving the Prisoner at the Bar guilty of the Crime charged in the first Article of his Impeachment; which is, That he did suggest and maintain, in his Sermon preached at *St. Paul's*, That the necessary Means used to bring about the happy Revolution were odious and unjustifiable; and that his late Majesty in his Declaration disclaimed the least Imputation of Resistance; and that to impute Resistance to the said Revolution, is to cast black and odious Colours on his late Majesty. In making good which Article against the Doctor, I hope the Gentlemen that have spoke before me will excuse me, if I make use of another Method than what they have done; which I shall do, not mistaking the Course they have taken, nor that I think the Method I shall take is better than theirs, but only because I would not repeat what's said by them, which I am sure would come with a worse Grace from me, than it did from them; and because I am sure what was said is very well remembered by your Lordships. What I shall offer is, I think, somewhat to the Purpose, and was not mentioned by the Gentlemen before. As to the Passages taken out of the Sermon to prove the Doctor guilty of the Fact of this first Article, they have been so fully opened, and so very well applied, that I have very little to add to what has been said; I shall therefore only say, that the Clause of his Sermon, wherein he asserts, that "The grand Security of our Government, and the very Pillar on which it stands, is founded upon the steady Belief of the Subjects Obligation to an absolute and unconditional Obedience to the Supreme Power in all things lawful, and the utter Illegality of Resistance upon any Sentence whatsoever", he lays down not as a Doctrine he would teach his Congregation; but in order to draw an Argument from thence for some other Purpose; and what that is, appears plainly afterwards. For having alledg'd some Things not proper for the Occasion for which the Day upon which he preach'd was solemniz'd, he adds, "Our Adversaries think they effectually stop our Mouths, and have us sure and unanswerable on this Point, when they urge the Revolution of this Day in their Defence; but certainly they are the greatest Enemies of that, and his late Majesty, and the most ungrateful for their Deliverance, who endeavour to cast such black and odious Colours upon both. How often must they be told, that the late King himself solemnly disclaimed the least Imputation of Resistance?" By which 'tis plain, that the Position of the Subjects Obligation to an absolute and unconditional Obedience to the Supreme Power laid down, was only to shock and lay odious Colours upon the Revolution, or the Means whereby it was brought about; he knowing that the Means whereby the Revolution was brought about was by Force, and he knew it was so declared by the Act of Parliament made in the first Year of King *William* and Queen *Mary*, for preventing vexatious Suits against such as acted in order to the bringing in the late King and Queen. And tho' he would insinuate that the same was not done by Force, I must own he does not assert that either it was or was not done by Force; but he strongly insinuates it was not done by Force,

when he asserts, tho' untruly, that the late King disclaimed any Resistance upon his coming. I'll say nothing more as to that Matter; and nothing as to that other, that has been largely open'd, relating to the Subjects Obligation to an absolute and unconditional Obedience to the Supreme Power; the rather, because, if it was doubtful, the Acts of Parliament mentioned in the Preface to the Articles, whereby the Revolution has been declared to be a glorious Enterprize, and the Means whereby it was brought about justified, have determin'd that Matter; and because your Lordships, as I think, will not suffer the Doctor, or his Counsel, to say any thing against the Revolution, or the Means whereby it was brought about.

The Commons of *Great Britain* own your Lordships to be the Supreme Court of Judicature in this Government, but yet they think that Acts of Parliament, whereof your Lordships are in part the Makers, are as binding upon your Lordships, as a Court of Judicature, as they are upon any Court of *Westminster-Hall*, where Matters determin'd by Act of Parliament are never suffer'd to be disputed afterwards; but I own, what is practis'd in *Westminster-Hall* is not a Rule whereby your Lordships ought to be govern'd, and therefore I rely only upon the Reason of what I asserted; for altho' your Lordships are the Supreme Court, and from whom no Appeal lies to any other Court of Judicature, yet your Lordships, as you are Part of the Legislature, are greater than you are in your Judicial Capacity, in which you are subject to the Law; tho' in your Legislative Capacity, in Concurrence with two other Powers, you are above the Law. It is therefore incongruous, that a Court of Persons of less Power should judge otherwise than the Court of greater Power had determined; but this I submit to your Lordships, and am sure the Gentlemen of Counsel with the Doctor know their Duty so well in this Matter, that they will not give your Lordships the Trouble of an Admonition upon this Occasion. I won't add more upon this Subject, but proceed, with your Lordships Permission, to prove the Doctor Guilty of what he is charged with in this first Article, by the Doctrine by himself laid down in his Sermon, and admit for Argument-sake the same to be true; tho' this I must assert, that he carries the Doctrine somewhat farther than the Apostles did in some Respects, but in other Respects seems to restrain it more than they did. In the restraining Part he seems to confine the absolute and unconditional Obedience to Things lawful; which Restraint looks like something, but in Truth, upon Examination, is nothing; for suppose the Supreme Power commands the Subject to do something which it thinks is Lawful, but the Subject not willing to obey, pretending the thing to be Unlawful, the true Reasons being that they are chargeable, troublesome, hazardous, or the like; in this Case who is to be Judge, the Supreme Power, or the Subject? In the Reason of the thing, neither of them are proper Judges; for the Supreme Power will be byass'd, by Reason of the Command given by them at first, and will be ashamed to own what they commanded was Unlawful, and therefore will give Judgment on their own Side, to justify themselves in what they have commanded; and the Subject will be as much byass'd for the same Reason that he was at first dissatisfied with the Command. And there being no higher Power or Authority to appeal to than the Supreme Power, that must needs be the Judge, from whom there can be no Appeal. But perhaps the Doctor and I differ

differ in the Persons in whom the Supreme Power is lodg'd; for the Doctor has not mention'd that Matter, either in his Sermon, or in his Answer to the Articles; but I hope, in the Answer he is to give to what's now objected against him, he will tell us in whom that Power is lodg'd. I'll tell him in whom I think it is lodg'd; I think it is lodg'd in the Queen's Majesty, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in Parliament assembled; And I think when the Acts mentioned in the Impeachment did pass (except the Act for declaring the Rights and Liberties of the Subject) the Supreme Power was lodg'd in the late King *William* and Queen *Mary*, and the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons in Parliament assembled. But as the Doctor seems to have restrain'd his Doctrine of Non-resistance, he has as much enlarged his Doctrine of absolute Obedience; for, as I think, what hitherto written or asserted, upon the Occasion of that Matter, went no farther than Passive Obedience and Non-resistance; but the Prisoner's Doctrine extends to Active Obedience as well as Passive; because, as I think, the Words of the Apostles, from whom this Doctrine is taken, seems to restrain it only to Passive Obedience and Non-resistance; and the Reasons why the Apostles inculcated no other Obedience, as I believe, was, because that was sufficient to secure the Government under which the Apostles liv'd, which was the *Roman* Government, and which stood in Fear of no Foreign Force, and which Government was said and believ'd could not be ruin'd but by its own Subjects, which afterwards prov'd to be true. That that their Doctrine was the Doctrine of Christianity, and truly so called, I'll readily agree to the Prisoner; but I do not think that Christianity introduc'd that Doctrine into the World; for I think, as the Doctor does, that it was as antient as Government, because it was impossible that Government could subsist, unless supported by its Subjects; but how antient that Doctrine was, can't be asserted, without knowing how Government came to be introduc'd into the World. If it was Patriarchal, as some have asserted, it was as ancient as *Adam*; if it was introduc'd by Conquest, then its Date was no higher than *Nimrod*; if it was by Compact, then I can't say when it began; but this is certain, that it was as antient as the *Roman* people, which was above seven hundred Years before the coming of our Saviour; but how long before the *Roman* Name was known, I can't take upon me to say. But tho' this Doctrine was not introduced by Christianity, yet I think it may well and properly be call'd the Christian Doctrine; for tho' amongst the Heathens it was a political Law, and oblig'd (as other Laws did) for fear of Punishment; yet Christianity first press'd this Doctrine upon the Conscience of the Subject, which no other Religion did, and that was sufficient to intitle it to the Name of Christian. But the Doctor, as I said, has carry'd it farther than the Words of the Apostles did, extending it to an Active Obedience, which the Words of the Apostles do not warrant, in the Strictness of the Expressions. But yet I won't contest with the Doctor in that Matter; for if the Doctrine, as preach'd by the Apostles, was sufficient to secure the Government they liv'd under, as it was, and that Doctrine is not sufficient to secure the Government we now live under, as it is not; the Doctor might very well think, that what he now asserts, by the Equity, as we call it (that is) the Reason of the Doctrine preach'd by the Apostles, was well warrant'd.

Having thus stated the Matter of the Subjects Obedience to the Supreme Powers, in which I have agreed with the Doctrine set forth in the Sermon, I can't imagine how the Doctor can justify himself in declaring against the Revolution, as he has done; when he knows, as well as any, that the Revolution has been justified by the Supreme Power, in the Acts of Parliament mentioned: For certainly it must be granted, that the Doctrine that commands Obedience to the Supreme Power, tho' in Things contrary to Nature, even to suffer Death, which is the highest Injustice that can be done a Man, rather than make an Opposition to the supreme Power; because the Death of one, or some few private persons, is a less Evil than disturbing the whole Government; that Law must needs be understood to forbid the doing, or saying any Thing to disturb the Government, the rather, because the obeying that Law cannot be pretended to be against Nature: And the Doctor's refusing to obey that implicit Law, is the Reason for which he is now prosecuted; tho' he would have it believ'd, that the Reason he is now prosecuted, was for the Doctrine he asserted of Obedience to the Supreme Power; which he might have preach'd as long as he had pleas'd, and the Commons would have taken no Offence at it, if he had stopt there, and not have taken upon him, on that Pretence or Occasion, to have cast odious Colours upon the Revolution. If he is of the Opinion he pretends, I can't imagine how it comes to pass, that he that pays that Deference to the Supreme Power, has preach'd so directly contrary to the Determinations of the Supreme Power in this Government; he very well knowing that the Lawfulness of the Revolution, and of the Means whereby it was brought about, has already been determin'd by the aforesaid Acts of Parliament; and do it in the worst manner that he could invent. For questioning the Right to the Crown here in *England*, has procur'd the shedding of more Blood, and caus'd more Slaughter, than all the other Matters tending to Disturbances in the Government put together. If therefore the Doctrine, which the Apostles had laid down, was only to continue the Peace of the World, as thinking the Death of some few particular Persons better to be born with than a Civil War; sure it is the highest Breach of that Law, to question the first Principles of this Government.

It is not forgotten how much Blood was spilt upon the Account of the Title between the Houses of *York* and *Lancaster*, in which the Learned in the Law did differ; and the setting on Foot that Question of the Title of the present Government, which was above twenty Years ago determin'd, and that Determination acquiesc'd in from that Time till now, in all Probability, if not suppress'd, would tend to as great Mischief as that War intail'd on the Nation. But yet the Doctor, who preaches up the Subjects Submission to the Supreme Power, even to Death itself, thinks he hath not only a License, but a Command from God, to inquire into the late King and Queen's Right to the Crown; and to blow a Trumpet, to set his Fellow-Subjects to cut one another's Throats upon that Account. This surely is the absurdest Construction of a Text that ever was made; and yet this I'll say is the Case, if you'll compare the Prisoner's Practice with his Doctrine.

Methinks the Doctor ought to have consider'd what our Saviour and his Apostles did in their Time: We don't find that any of them ever question'd the Title of the Emperors under whose Government

vernment they liv'd; or ever said any Thing relating to their Titles, or that Power they exercis'd; and yet if they had thought it lawful or expedient, they had just Occasions to have done it. *St. John*, the Survivor of the Apostles, liv'd (as 'tis said) to the Time of *Trajan*; so that by that Account he liv'd under thirteen Emperors, including *Augustus* and *Trajan*; and yet neither of them had so much as a Pretence of Right to the Empire, according to the Opinion we have of that Right now. The first and last of those Emperors were the very best the *Romans* had, except perhaps *Titus Vespasian*; and yet *Augustus* came to the Empire by the worst Means of any of them, for he waded thro' a Sea of Blood, and was guilty of a great many Acts of Treachery and Cruelty: But after the World had reap'd so many Benefits by his Excellent Government, it forgot the Iniquity of the Means whereby the Empire was obtain'd. And the best Means of obtaining the Empire, by the following Emperors, till the Time of *Titus Vespasian*, were by Force, and most of them by treacherous Murders; and yet we don't find, that either our Saviour, or his Apostles, reproach'd any of those Emperors with the Injustice of the Means whereby they became so. And Methinks it would have become the Doctor to have follow'd those good Examples. But the Doctor is of another Opinion, and thinks the aforesaid Words of *Isaiab*, to Cry aloud, &c. do well warrant that his Opinion; not considering that that Prophet had that express Command from God, for reproving the Hypocrisy of the *Jews*: And if the Doctor had the like Command for Preaching as he has done, I think he has quoted a good Authority for so doing; but he must give us a better Proof of such Command than hitherto he hath done.

If he thinks the Command given to *Isaiab* extends to him; how came it to pass that the Apostles did not think that the same Command extended to them? Did not they live nearer the Time of *Isaiab*? Were not they acquainted with the Writings of *Isaiab*, as well or better than the Doctor, and so might have known the Authority given to that Prophet better than the Doctor? but yet forbore to do as the Doctor has done: And their having forbore so to do, cannot proceed from any other Reason, than that they thought those Words did not extend to the Apostles; or that they thought it was not lawful or expedient for them to question the Title of those Princes, or the Justice or Means whereby they obtain'd it.

I'll only add to this Matter, That if the Doctor had been contented with the Liberty he took of preaching up the Duty of Passive Obedience in the most extensive Manner he had thought fit, and would have stopp'd there, your Lordships would not have had the trouble, in relation to him, that you now have; but it is plain, that he preached up his absolute and unconditional Obedience, not to continue the Peace and Tranquility of this Nation, but to set the Subjects at Strife, and to raise a War in the Bowels of this Nation; and it is for this that he is now prosecuted; tho' he would fain have it believed, that the Prosecution was for preaching the peaceable Doctrine of absolute Obedience.

I can't but take Notice of the Scandal the Doctor charges upon the late King, as if when he landed here, he had disclaimed all Manner of Imputation of Resistance; than which nothing is more untrue, even by his own Confession in his Answer, and the Words of the Declaration mentioned in the Print of the Sermon, tho' no Part of the Sermon; whereby he pretends to explain himself, by saying, he

intended a Disclaimer of Resistance in order to a Conquest; than which nothing could be more absurd: For never was a Conquest made, or ever will be made, by bare Resistance; nor ever was there a weaker Thing charged upon a Prince, than to make him disclaim all Resistance, at a Time when he was actually making War: For his bringing an armed Force of that Number he did into this Kingdom, with a great Train of Artillery with him, was making War by the Law of Nations, and then and now by the Law of *Great Britain*: And he hath charged the Prince of *Orange* with an Act of the highest Treachery, in pretending Peace, when he actually made War.

The last Matter I shall take Notice of, are the Words in the nineteenth Page of the Doctor's Sermon; viz. *That old Leaven of their Forefathers is still working in the present Generation; that this traditional Poison still remains in this Brood of Vipers, to sting us to Death, is sufficiently visible, as to the dangerous Encroachment they now make upon our Government, and the treasonable Reflection they have published upon her Majesty, God bless her! whose Hereditary Right to the Throne they have had the Impudence to deny and cancel, to make her a Creature of their own Power; and that by the same Principles they placed a Crown upon her, they tell us, they (that is, the Mob) may re-assume it at their Pleasure.* Now I think it cannot be doubted who it is the Doctor means by the Word *Mob*, which is the People of *England*: For tho' the Word *Mob* is a Cant Word amongst a Sort of People call'd Gypsies, and with them signifies the Meanest, or the Scum or Dregs of the People, yet as the Doctor has used it in this Place, it can signify nothing else than the Body of the People of *England*; of whom, I think, your Lordships do not think it beneath you to be thought a Part, and the chiefest Part: For he asserts, They say, that they placed a Crown upon her Majesty; and from thence makes an Inference, that they may re-assume it at their Pleasure; which can be intended nothing else than what was done in respect of her Majesty by the Bill of Rights; wherein 'tis said, "That the
" Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in
" Parliament assembled, did declare her Majesty,
" after the Death of the late King and late Queen,
" without Heirs of her Body, was lawful and
" rightful Queen of this Realm. Now, tho' her
Majesty hath an Hereditary Right and Title to the Crown, and so she is not so much concerned in the Declaration by the said Act, as the late King and Queen, in what that Act conferred upon them, which was done only by the People of *England*, under the Denomination of Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in Parliament assembled: And if that did not confer a Title to the Crown on the late King and Queen, they, who were in their Lives Time thought to be lawful and rightful King and Queen of these Realms, by the Doctor's Reasoning, were no better than the Usurpers of another's Right. And tho' that Bill of Rights was afterwards confirmed by an Act in the second Year of their Reign, yet that will not at all mend the Matter; for if they did not obtain a Right, by the Bill of Rights, to the Crown of these Realms, they were no more King and Queen of these Realms, than they were before the said Bill of Rights. But the Truth is, that when a Government is brought out of Frame, by the extraordinary Steps of a Prince, 'tis a vain Thing to hope that it ever can be set right by regular Steps; this never was done, nor ever will be done: But those Methods which were necessary to set

set the Government in a right Frame again, have been always taken to be legal, tho' by the Nicety of Law it could not be well justified. Upon the Change of Government from *Richard* the Second to *Henry* the Fourth, the Parliament called in the Time of *Richard* the Second, and by his Authority, continued to sit in the Time of *Henry* the Fourth, and passed several Acts in the Time of *Henry* the Fourth; which was never practised before, nor warranted by any Laws that we know of; yet what was done, was allowed to be legal. To the same Purpose was that which was done in the Time of *Henry* the Seventh: For he and those of his Friends being attainted of High Treason, which, according to the Rules of Law at that Time, prevented the Descent of the Crown on him; and his Friends being mostly attainted, were incapable of Sitting in Parliament till those Attainders were reversed, which could not be done but by Act of Parliament, or the Court of *King's Bench*; and he did not care to have a Parliament, till his Friends were capable of sitting there; nor could he make Judges, till he was King; which Difficulty seemed to be insuperable: But the Judges made a Resolution according to the Exigence of the Thing, and declared that Sir *William Stanley's* placing the Crown upon the Earl of *Richmond's* Head, purged his Attainder, and he thereby became from thenceforwards King of *England*, and the King thereby enabled to constitute Judges, and the Judges to reverse the Attainder of all the King's Friends. 'Tis true, *Henry* the Seventh married the Heiress of the House of *York*, and was thereby (as we now think) King in Right of his Queen; but he never would own her Title to the Crown, nor ever suffered her to join with him in any Act of Government, nor ever declared by what Title he possess'd the Crown; but yet none of the Acts passed in his Time, nor any Thing then transacted, was afterwards question'd upon the Account of his Title to the Crown. 'Tis true, there was an Act passed in his Time, that indemnified such as should obey, or assist the King that was in Being, whether he had Right to the Crown or no: But if he had not been allowed to be King before the passing of that Act, the Acts of Parliament that passed in his Time would have been of no more Validity, than the Acts passed in the Time of *Cromwell*, or any other Usurper. Whereby 'tis plain, that the Doctor now, and the Persons who had the best Knowledge of Matters of this Kind in those Days, disagreed in Opinion. And I can't but take Notice, that the Doctor, notwithstanding his little Knowledge in the Matters he discourses of, makes the Declaration by Parliament of the Queen's Title to the Crown, to be the cancelling of her Title by Descent; and therefore he seems to advise her Majesty, to quit that Title she claims from her People, and to rely upon her Title by Inheritance. Whereas, if the Doctor had but known what our Laws allow, or if he had read any Thing of this Matter, he would have known that those Titles did by no Means disagree, but were consistent with one another; and that Princes that sometimes have claimed by several Titles, would not make their Choice of which they relied on. *Henry* the Eighth, who was Heir of the House of *York* and *Lancaster*; never declared on which Title he relied. *Queen Elizabeth*, after the Death of her Brother and Sister, claimed as Heir to *Henry* the Eighth, and was likewise Devisee of the Government of *England* by the Will of her Father, who was (by Act of Parliament) enabled to give it by his Will to whom he pleased: But notwithstanding that, she desired to

have an Act of Parliament, which she had, declaring her to be Queen of *England*, &c. Which Act of Parliament was to the same Purpose, as was the Bill of Rights in respect of her Majesty's Title to the Crown. I'll trouble your Lordships with no more; to prove the Prisoner guilty of the Crimes charged upon him by the first Article of the Impeachment; but I cannot but observe some aggravating Circumstances of the Prisoner's Crime. As first; That the Doctrine in the Impeachment was preach'd by a Divine of the Church of *England* as by Law establish'd: For a Divine of the Church of *England* is a Person of that Credit, that the People are ready to assent to what he says, without considering what the same is, or how made out. In the next place, 'Twas preach'd in the Cathedral Church of the Metropolis of this Kingdom: Had it been preach'd in some obscure Country Town, 'twould have hardly been taken Notice of. In the third place, 'Twas preach'd before the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen of the City of *London*, and so far approv'd of by them, or some of them, as to be commanded to be printed; for which Reason, what he preach'd hath done more Mischief than otherwise 'twould have done; there having been about forty thousand printed, to vilify the Revolution, on which depend the Security of the Protestant Religion both at Home and Abroad, and the Succession of the Crown in the Protestant Line, the Union of the two Kingdoms, the Queen's Bounty to the poor Clergy, and several other Benefits we enjoy by the Revolution, and amongst others, that her Majesty was and is so peaceably possess'd of the Crown. For if the Force before the Revolution, which suppress'd her Majesty's Hereditary Right to the Crown, had not been removed by the Revolution, as 'twas, that her Majesty's Title would never have been able to have exerted itself: And if ever the Doctor, or any of his Accomplices, should ever be able so to shock the Revolution, as to remove what is built upon it, I doubt that Force which the Revolution removed, will return again, and oppress the Queen's Title to the Crown, as it did before.

I can't pass by the Doctor's Answer to the Articles, without taking Notice of one Passage in the same, *viz. Hard is the Lot of the Ministers of the Gospel, if when they cite the Word of God in their general Exhortations to Piety and Virtue, the several Texts by them cited, should be said to be by them meant of particular Persons and Things.* Now I must submit to your Lordships Judgment the Unreasonableness of this Complaint; and whether the several Texts and Passages cited by him in his Sermon, can bear any other Construction than what has been made; and whether it be not the Duty of the Preacher to deliver himself so in the Pulpit, that his Meaning should not be doubtful to his Congregation. The Commons of *Great Britain* don't go about to make him assent or swear to what the Supreme Power hath determin'd, tho' the Doctor in his Sermon has thought fit to impose Matters of that Kind upon other Persons, so as to make them swear to them: No, the Commons of *Great Britain* would only have him restrain'd from publishing any Thing, and especially in the Pulpit, which reflects upon the Supreme Power; or what they have or shall determine, which even the nicest Conscience never yet boggled at. I can add more Aggravations of the Doctor's Crimes, but will forbear to do it, rather following the Example of the Commons of *Great Britain*; who have, indeed, demanded Judgment against this Person of your Lordships, but they have done it in Mercy; for they might

might have charg'd these Matters against the Doctor as High Treason, and so it has been done in Indictments against some Divines, in a Reign known to your Lordships, for Matters in their Sermons less Heinous than those for which he is impeach'd; yet the Commons have called the Matters of this Impeachment only High Crimes and Misdemeanors; and it is a Rule in our Law, that the Court in which a Prosecution is had, cannot call the Crimes greater than what the Prosecutor thought fit to charge them, and cannot adjudge a greater Punishment to the Crimes than usual; but in some Cases may lessen the Punishment for such Crimes; and whatsoever Censure your Lordships shall pass upon this Criminal, the Commons of *England* will acquiesce, and be well satisfied with the same.

Major-General Stanhope. MY Lords, The Gentlemen who spoke before me to this Article, have said so much to it, that they have left little to me, who am last in it. I shall therefore particularly apply myself to make out to your Lordships, that as the Prisoner at the Bar is guilty of the Matter charged in this first Article, so he has done it (as the Preamble of the Article sets forth) with a wicked and malicious Intention to undermine and subvert her Majesty's Government, and the Protestant Succession, as by Law establish'd; to defame her Majesty's Administration; to asperse the Memory of his late Majesty, and to traduce and condemn the late happy Revolution; as in the same Preamble to the Articles it is charged against him.

My Lords, if it be Truth, (as your Lordships have been told by most of the Gentlemen who went before me) that Non-resistance, asserted in general Terms, does destroy the Foundation of the Revolution, the present Establishment, and her Majesty's Title to the Crown, and the Settlement of the Protestant Succession; If that be true, it is as true, that the Doctor, who has advanced that Doctrine in general Terms, is guilty of that Charge of intending to subvert the Government: And then your Lordships ought to proceed against him, as an Enemy to the Government.

What has been said by the Gentlemen that spoke before me, concerning the Doctrine of Non-resistance, has been said with so much regard to Truth, to her Majesty and her Government, that I am persuaded, nothing that has been said on that Subject can justly be misconstrued. But on the contrary, to assert in general Terms the absolute Illegality of Resistance, on any Pretence whatsoever, (as this Doctor, and all the profess'd Enemies of the Government avowedly do) must be understood, by all impartial and thinking People, to overthrow her Majesty's Title and Government; since at the same Time that they screen themselves under the specious Notion of professing Absolute and Passive Obedience to the Supreme Powers, they cannot conceal their true Meaning; That the true and real Object of their darling Doctrines, such as *Jus Divinum, Non-resistance, the Undefeasible, Unalienable, Hereditary Right*, that (I say) the true Object of these Doctrines, is a Prince on the other Side the Water. They could not otherways be consistent with themselves. For in the same Breath, in the same Discourse, to preach Passive Unlimited Obedience to Magistrates, and to revile and defame the Magistrates; to preach Non-resistance on any Pretence whatsoever, and to encourage Sedition, by inveighing in the strongest Manner against the Administra-

tion; these are such Contradictions, as can no otherways be reconcil'd, no otherways than by concluding, what is very plain from their Conduct, that however they are pleased to colour and disguise their Discourses, their true End is only to disengage and alienate the Peoples Affections from their present Governors; to insinuate to them, that the Foundation of the Revolution was wrong; that the Revolution itself was an Usurpation; that whatever has been built upon that Foundation, can have no Weight; and to misrepresent those who had a Hand in it, as Rebels and Traitors.

As to the Doctrine itself of absolute Non-resistance, it should seem needless to prove by Arguments, that it is inconsistent with the Law of Reason, with the Law of Nature, and with the Practice of all Ages and Countries. Nor is it very material, what the Opinions of some particular Divines, or even the Doctrine generally preach'd in some particular Reigns, may have been concerning it. It is sufficient for us to know what the Practice of the Church of *England* has been, when it found itself oppressed. And indeed, one may appeal to the Practice of all Churches, of all States, and of all Nations in the World, how they behav'd themselves when they found their Civil and Religious Constitutions invaded and oppressed by Tyranny: I believe one may further venture to say, that there is not, at this Day, subsisting any Nation or Government in the World, whose first Original did not receive its Foundation either from Resistance or Compact: And as to our Purpose, it is equal, if the latter be admitted. For where-ever Compact is admitted, there must be admitted likewise a Right to defend the Rights accruing by such Compact. To argue the municipal Laws of a Country in this Case, is idle. Those Laws were only made for the common Course of Things; and can never be understood to have been designed to defeat the End of all Laws whatsoever; which would be the Consequence of a Nation's tamely submitting to a Violation of all their Divine and Human Rights.

That there is a Latitude left to the Subjects in such a Case, is allowed by the most strenuous Advocates of Passive Obedience: And I shall, on this Occasion, quote to your Lordships, the Sermon of a Reverend Divine, who, I am sure, is not thought to be a Favourer of Antimonarchical Principles; nor to deserve any of those pretty Epithets, which the Doctor so liberally bestows on those who differ from him in Opinion. 'Tis the *Latin* Sermon of Doctor *Atterbury*, preached to the Convocation. The Scope and Drift of that Discourse, my Lords, was to preach up absolute Obedience; yet such is the invincible Force of Truth, and such the Nature of this Argument, that the Doctor, not to betray his own Conscience, after having well thought upon it, is obliged to express himself in the following Words, which your Lordships will give me Leave to read to you out of his Sermon, which I have here in my Hand: *Quando autem, quibusq; de causis Magistratum imperia detrectare, Nosmetipsos in libertatem vindicare liceat, ne verbulo quidem indicant: nisi cum aliquid ab hominibus fortè imperatum fuerit, latis à Deo legibus contrarium. Id ubi acciderit, quid agendum sit, Petri vox illa declarat, Obedire oportet Deo magis quam Hominibus.*

The Sense of this Passage, my Lords, if I mistake not, is this: "But when, and upon what Causes it may be lawful to oppose the Power of the Prince, and assert our Liberties, the Scriptures do not say; unless in Cases when Men shall command

“ command Things contrary to the Laws of God.
 “ When that shall happen, St. Peter tells us what
 “ we must do, *We must obey God before Men.*

To apply this, my Lords, to our present Argument; I appeal to the Memory of your Lordships, whether King James did not command Things contrary to the Laws of God; whether his Commands to the Reverend Fathers of our Church were consonant to the Law of God; whether his Commands to execute a dispensing Power; whether his Commands to all such of both Houses, as he could influence to vote for a dispensing Power, contrary to their own Consciences, were agreeable to the Law of God; or, in short, whether the whole Course of his Reign was not a Series of illegal Commands, calculated to destroy our Holy Religion, and to violate all our Religious and Civil Rights. Your Lordships thought so (my Lords); the Commons thought so; and the Nation thought so; and in Consequence of this Doctrine, preach'd by St. Peter, they chose to obey God before Men.

But to return to Dr. Atterbury's Sermon, he goes on thus, my Lords: *Petenda sunt ista (si quidem peti necesse sit) à Jurisconsultis, à Theſum Politicarum tractatoribus; è legibus, è Rerumpublicarum Formis, cuiq; Genti propriis, tanquam è fonte suo, sunt haurienda.*

In English thus:

“ But in such Cases, you must advise with the
 “ Lawyers, and those learned in Politicks; and
 “ have Recourse to the Laws and Constitutions
 “ peculiar to each Country, as to the Springs and
 “ Fountains of this Knowledge.

My Lords, in Compliance to what is recommended by this Reverend Dean, I have endeavoured to follow his Advice, to consult with those learned in the Laws of Nations and Politicks. I have heard that Grotius is of as good Authority on those Subjects as any that have wrote about them; that he has ever been reckoned a Favourer of Monarchy, and held in great Repute amongst the Divines of our Church. I shall beg Leave, out of the many Passages to be found in his excellent Treatise *de Jure Belli & Pacis*, which support this Argument, to quote only one, for the saving of your Lordships Time. 'Tis in his first Book, the 4th Chapter, and 13th Section. *Si Rex partem habeat summi Imperii, partem alteram Populus, aut Senatus, Regi in partem non suam involanti vis justa opponi poterit, quia eatenus imperium non habet: quod locum habere conſeo, etiamsi dictum sit, Belli potestatem penes Regem fore; id enim de bello externo intelligendum est, cum alicui quisquis Imperii summi partem habeat, non possit non jus habere eam partem tuendi.*

The Sense of this Passage I conceive to be this,
 “ If the King had one Part of the Supreme Power,
 “ and that the other Part is in the Senate, or People,
 “ when such a King shall invade that Part that
 “ doth not belong to him, it shall be lawful to
 “ oppose a just Force to him, because his Power doth
 “ not extend so far. Which Position I hold to be
 “ true, even tho' the Power of making War should
 “ be vested only in the King; which must be understood to relate only to foreign War: For as
 “ for Home, it is impossible for any to have a Share
 “ of the Supreme Power, and not to have likewise
 “ a Right to defend that Share.

This Passage, my Lords, is exactly adapted to the Constitution of *England*; and the latter Part of it is perfectly agreeable to what I have always heard quoted as a Maxim of our Law, *That where-ever there is a Right, there is a Remedy.* That your Lordships have Rights, no Body will presume to

deny; that the Commons have Rights; no Body will deny; that every Subject of *Britain* has Rights, no Body will deny. Now to say that, when a Prince shall invade all these Rights at once; to say that the whole collective Body of the Nation has no way to vindicate those Rights; is so inconsistent, so contrary to Reason, that 'tis to be wonder'd it could ever enter into the Mind of Man.

If I did not fear to tire your Lordships, I might, from many Passages out of *Fortescue**, and Mr. *Hooker*†, evince beyond Contradiction, that the Constitution of *England* is founded upon Compact; and that the Subjects of this Kingdom have, in their several publick and private Capacities, as legal a Title to what are their Rights by Law, as a Prince to the Possession of his Crown.

Your Lordships, and most that hear me, are Witnesses, and must remember the Necessities of those Times which brought about the Revolution: That no other Remedy was left to preserve our Religion and Liberties; that Resistance was necessary, and consequently just. It was then by no good Man thought a black and odious Crime to take up Arms for the Defence of his Country. Many of your Lordships were Actors in that Resistance. The greatest Part of the Nation did either actually resist, or countenance, abet, and support those who set them the glorious Example. I hope we have all so much Gratitude to the best and greatest of Queens, as to retain for ever a grateful Memory, how great a Share her Majesty had in promoting that Revolution. When these Facts are so fresh in our Memories; What must we say to those who give the injurious Names and Epithets of *Republicans*, of *Enemies and Traytors to Church and State*, to those who were concerned in that Resistance which brought about the Revolution? Sure it might have become them to consider *who* were concern'd, and *who* had a Share in it. It is not only traducing the late King and Queen, our glorious Deliverers; it goes yet further: But I shall out of Respect forbear to mention what they not only think, but have frequently the Insolence to own.

My Lords, If it be true that this Doctrine of Non-resistance, asserted in so unlimited a Sense, as not to except the Revolution, does certainly sap the Foundation of the said Revolution, and the present Establishment which is built upon it; If it be true that to arraign as guilty of black and odious Crimes, all such as were concerned in the Resistance at the Revolution, doth involve the greatest Part of this Nation in the Guilt of Rebellion and Treason; If it necessarily follows, from the same Positions, that our Allegiance is not due to the present Government; I think we may as necessarily conclude, that this Sermon of the Doctor's before your Lordships, does tend, as is set forth in the Preamble of the Impeachment, to undermine and subvert her Majesty's Government, and the Protestant Succession, which stands on the same Foundation.

My Lords, If the Doctor had in this Sermon only preach'd up Obedience to the Supreme Power, as a Christian Duty, without meddling with Politicks, he might have been allow'd perhaps to plead for Excuse, that he was ignorant of the Consequences that might be deduced from such general Propositions; that his only Aim was Charity, Peace, and Submission to the Magistrates in Being. We must therefore pray your Lordships to compare one Part of his Sermon with the other; and your Lordships

* *Fortescue de laudibus legis Angliæ*, Cap. 10, 11, 12, 13.

† *Ec. Polity*, Pag. 86, 444, 446, 470.

will then, I am persuaded be of Opinion with us, not only that the Conclusion we have drawn from his Positions, does necessarily flow from them, but that the Doctor himself must have been conscious of it; and consequently that what he has done, must have been, as we set forth in our Charge, *with a wicked and malicious Intention.*

Had the Doctor, my Lords, in the remaining Part of his Sermon, preach'd up Peace, Quietness, and the like; and shewn how happy we are under her Majesty's Administration; and exhorted Obedience to it, he had never been called to answer a Charge at your Lordships Bar. But the Tenor of all his subsequent Discourse, is one continued Inveective against the Government. Passive Obedience is set down as an indispensable Duty: But 'tis evident, by the whole Sermon, that it is not due to Queen ANNE, or her Administration. Now what can that be, but to usher in *a Rightful Title*, (I think they call it) of one on the other Side the Water?

There is such an Affinity, my Lords, between this Sermon, and the Doctrines which are preach'd and propagat'd by a certain Set of Men, that I cannot but observe to your Lordships on this Occasion, how industrious they have been ever since the Revolution, to prepare a Way for another. They are the pure and undefiled Church of *England!* The only Men of loyal and steady Principles! They never took the Oaths to the Government; never bent their Knee to *Baal!* They have their own Archbishops, Bishops and Pastors, and constitute the only true and pure Church of *England!* We are all Schismatics, that is, all the rest of *England* are Schismatics, Hereticks and Rebels! Now pray, my Lords, What are the peculiar and distinguishing Characteristicks, the favourite and darling Tenets of these Men? What else but *Passive Obedience, Jus Divinum, an Hereditary, Indefeasible Right of Succession*, which no Necessity, no Act of Parliament, no Prescription of Time, no natural or legal Incapacity, can ever invalidate or set aside? If they are in the Right, my Lords, what are the Consequences? The Queen is not Queen; Your Lordships are not a House of Lords, for you are not duly summon'd by a legal Writ; We are no House of Commons, for the same Reason; all the Taxes which have been rais'd for this twenty Years have been arbitrary and illegal Extortions; all the Blood of so many brave Men, who have died (as they thought) in the Service of their Country, has been spilt in Defence of an Usurpation; and they were only so many Rebels and Traitors.

My Lords, If these Puritans (I think I may call them) these undefiled pure Church-Men, would confine themselves to their own Conventicles, to get Money from a few deluded Women; it may, perhaps, be consistent with the Indulgence of the mildest of Governments, to suffer them to enjoy the Benefit of that Toleration which is allow'd to Protestant Dissenters, how pernicious and destructive soever to the Publick may be their Principles. But when they shall come and vent their Treasons abroad; when they shall occasionally conform, and take the Oaths to the Government, in order the better to destroy it; when they shall abjure the pretended Prince of *Wales*, but not forget him; when they shall invade the Pulpits of the true Church of *England*; when the Pulpit of your Metropolis, instead of teaching the People to pay their Anniversary Tribute of Praise and Thanks to Almighty God for the many wonderful Successes with which he has bless'd those Arms which were taken up in Defence of the Revolution; when (I say)

that Pulpit shall be prostituted and polluted by venting Sedition against the best of Queens; it is high Time for your Lordships to animadvert upon it, for the Honour of those glorious Princes who are dead; for the Honour of her Majesty, who so happily rules over us; and for the Peace and Tranquility of all her Subjects.

My Lords, If I was not afraid of being thought too tedious to your Lordships, I would offer to you a few Words concerning that Administration which the Doctor has so maliciously defamed; for as fond as this Gentleman, and those like him, are of meddling with Politicks in the Pulpit; and, as himself expresses it, *of setting the People right in their Principles*; I do not find they ever teach what the Ends of Government truly are.

My Lords, *Tully*, who takes it from *Aristotle*, states the ultimate End of Government, and the Mark which Rulers ought to aim at, to be *Otium cum Dignitate*, or Peace with Reputation. Towards attaining this End, he enumerates the several Particulars which it requires the greatest Application and Vigilance of good Governors to promote and maintain. And the chief Branches, as he states them, are, Religion; the just and legal Powers and Rights of the Legislative, and of the Magistrates subordinate to that; a due Administration of Justice; the Publick Treasure and Credit; Military Virtue; and concludes with *Laus Publica*; which, indeed, is the Result of a good Administration of the several Branches mention'd. For Praise both at Home and Abroad will never fail to attend good Management.

Now, my Lords, if any Man will but reflect on every one of these Particulars, and instance when in any Age there has been in this Island, a more universal glorious Administration, I will allow what the Doctor says to be true.

To begin with Religion, my Lords, let any one look upon that Reverend Bench, and say when it was ever filled with greater Examples of Piety, Learning, and Christian Charity. That truly Christian Moderation, and extensive Zeal, and Charity to the Protestant Religion, will, in all human Probability, my Lords, (if ourselves, by little Animosities, do not obstruct it) will, I say, raise the Lustre and Reputation of our Church to such a Degree, that, as the Glory of our Arms justly intitles our Nation at present to hold the first Rank, so shall our Church be look'd upon as the Mother of all the Reformed Churches in *Europe*.

As to the just Rights and Powers of our Legislative, your Lordships, and all of us know, whether ever any Prince on our Throne has had a more tender Concern for them than her Majesty; or whether at any time there has been a more due and impartial Administration of Justice.

For the Treasure and Credit of the Nation, I appeal to all that hear me, whether ever such large Sums were more chearfully given, or more justly administred. Never were there greater Demands than during this necessary War, nor ever Demands more freely complied with by the People. Such is the Confidence they have in the publick Management, and so ineffectual this Doctor, and his Brethren's founding a Trumpet to Sedition.

As for our Arms and Reputation; the many unparallel'd Successes, during her Majesty's Reigr, by Sea and Land, speak sufficiently, and do sufficiently proclaim, that her Majesty has far exceeded all her Predecessors. Our *Henrys* and our *Edwards* have justly left behind them immortal Fame, for having

broke

broke and subdued in their Times, the Power of *France*. Queen *Elizabeth* will be ever Glorious for having humbled the Pride of *Spain*. Those two great Monarchies have each in their Turn aimed at the universal Monarchy of *Europe*; and each hath been near compassing it, notwithstanding that the one always opposed the other. But it was never imagined, that if they once became united, any Force in *Europe* could have disputed with them. Yet, my Lords, we have lived to see those two formidable Powers united, and threatening Destruction to all the Liberties of *Europe*. It was a Task reserved for her Majesty to encounter this united Force. She has attack'd and reduced them to sue for Peace; and we are perhaps just now at that very decisive Period of Time, when we are to reap the Fruits of a long and expensive War, by the Conclusion of a solid and lasting Peace.

Now, my Lords, at such a critical Juncture, at a Time when it behoves us more than ever to preserve that Union amongst ourselves, upon which the Union of the whole Alliance does so much depend; upon which the happy Conclusion of this War, and consequently the Safety and Honour of our Church and State does depend; What does this Pious Son of the Church? What does this Loyal Subject, this Passive Obedience Gentleman do? He is preaching to the City of *London*, from whence we are to receive the greatest Part of the Supplies granted for carrying on the War: Does he say one Word to them to promote and carry on the Publick Good? No, my Lords: He does, to the utmost of his Ability, endeavour to create in them groundless Mistrusts and Jealousies of the Administration. And I will appeal to the Conscience of every one that hears me, and desire, that laying their Hand upon their Heart, they will truly determine within themselves, whether, if those Citizens who heard this Sermon had been byassed by it, we could have expected one Penny of Money from them, to support a Government, which was represented so odious. But those honest Citizens, my Lords, heard this Trumpeter of Sedition with Indignation. Their Affection to the Government is not to be shaken. Her Majesty is Absolute in the Hearts of her Subjects; which is the best way of being absolute: And all the artificial Suggestions of these *False Brethren* (to use his own Language) will never lessen their Affections to her.

But, my Lords, how impotent and weak soever the Malice of these Men may prove; yet when such Doctrines are broached, and publickly preached, as tend to enslave a free Nation, to foment Divisions and Parties, to seduce us from our Allegiance to the best of Princes; it becomes the House of Commons, who are Guardians of the Constitution and Liberties of the People, to bring such Delinquents to Justice; and it will become your Lordships, who are Guardians of the Constitution of the People, to prevent the growing of such an Evil. This Man, my Lords, is an inconsiderable Tool of a Party; no ways worth the Trouble we have given your Lordships: But we look upon it that your Lordships Judgment in this Case, will be giving a Sanction which shall determine what Doctrines of this kind shall, or shall not be preached. We are persuaded therefore that your Lordships, in giving Judgment on this Case, will have a Regard to the Honour of the late King and Queen, so highly aspersed; to the Security of her Majesty and her Government; to the Protestant Succession; to the Preservation of the Peace at home, and Reputation abroad; where, if it shall be heard that you have Men amongst you,

insolent enough to vent such Notions, they may likewise hear that it has not been done with Impunity. For all these Reasons, we do hope that your Lordships will inflict such condign Punishment on this Offender, as may deter others from the like Insolence for the future.

Sir Peter King. MY Lords, The Gentlemen who finish'd the first Article of the Impeachment, by Command of the House of Commons, I proceed to make out the second, which relates to the Toleration, one of the principal Consequences of the Revolution. It is well known that great Severities had been formerly used against Protestant Dissenters, which were fomented by Popish Practices, in order to divide us, and thereby weaken the common Protestant Interest, and particularly that of the Church of *England*: This the whole Church of *England* plainly saw in the Reign of the late King *James*, when Popery was coming in like a Flood, and threatned an universal Ruin; and when they did universally profess their Readiness and Intention to shew all manner of Tenderness to other Protestants, when it should be in their Power to do it.

The Seven Bishops, who, to their everlasting Honour, made so noble a Stand for the Liberties of the Church and Kingdom, did, in their Petition to King *James*, declare, That their not reading the Declaration for Liberty of Conscience, was not from any want of due Tenderness to the Dissenters, in relation to whom they were willing to come to such a Temper as should be thought fit, when that Matter should be considered and settled in Parliament and Convocation.

And to the Glory of the Church of *England*, it must be remembred, that when the Revolution was afterwards effected, they were as good as their Word, and an Act pass'd, in the very first Year of their late Majesties King *William* and Queen *Mary*, intitled, *An Act for Exempting their Majesties Protestant Subjects, dissenting from the Church of England, from the Penalties of certain Laws*. This is that Act that is commonly call'd *The Act of Toleration*, and was confirm'd by another Act made in the succeeding Parliament. As this Act is agreeable in itself to the Profession of the Christian Religion, and particularly to the Doctrine of the Church of *England*; so it hath been found, by Experience so much for the Honour of the Kingdom, and for the Credit of the Church, that her Majesty has been pleas'd to declare from the Throne her Intention inviolably to maintain it; and both Houses of Parliament have done the same in the most solemn Manner.

Here the Duke of Buckingham moved the Lords to adjourn to their own House; which they did: And the Lords being returned to the Court, and Proclamation commanding Silence made:

Lord Chancellor. Gentlemen, you that are the Managers for the House of Commons may proceed in the Method you were in.

Sir Peter King. My Lords, The Act of Parliament that I was mentioning to your Lordships, is the Act relating to the Toleration, refer'd to in the Preamble to the Articles; your Lordships, and every one else, remember the Necessity there was for that Act; and having experienced the Benefit of it, her Majesty and both Houses of Parliament have concurred in a Declaration, that that Act shall be inviolably

violably observed: This being then not only a positive Law, but also a beneficial One, as well for the Benefit of the Church in particular, as the Welfare and Support of the Protestant Interest in general, it very ill became any private Person to endeavour to bring that Law, by any publick Discourse, into Contempt or Disrepute.

The Article the Doctor is charged with, in relation hereto, is, "That he suggests and maintains, "That that Toleration granted by Law is unreasonable, and the Allowance of it unwarrantable; "and asserts, that he is a false Brother, with relation to God, Religion and the Church, who defends Toleration and Liberty of Conscience; that "Queen *Elizabeth* was deluded by Archbishop "Grindall, whom he scurrilously calls a false Son "of the Church, and a perfidious Prelate, to the "Toleration of the *Genevian* Discipline; and that "it is the Duty of the superior Pastors to thunder "out their Ecclesiastical Anathema's against Persons intitled to the Benefit of the said Toleration, "and insolently dares and defies any Power on Earth "to reverse such Sentences.

My Lords, The first Part of this Article, which is the principal Part, contains a general Charge against the Doctor, for affirming and maintaining, "That the Toleration granted by Law is unreasonable, and the Allowance of it unwarrantable. The rest of the Article consists of particular Passages, taken out of his Sermon, tending to make good and prove that general Charge.

As to the general Charge contain'd in the first Part of this Article, of his maintaining the Toleration granted by Law to be unreasonable, and the Allowance of it unwarrantable: His Answer is very observable, and is, That upon the most diligent Enquiry, he has not been able to inform himself that a Toleration hath been granted by Law; but admits, that an Act did pass in the first Year of King *William* and Queen *Mary*, intitled, *An Act for exempting their Majesties Protestant Subjects, dissenting from the Church of England, from the Penalties of certain Laws.* Which Exemption, he saith, he doth not any where maintain to be unreasonable, or the Allowance of it unwarrantable; but hopes that he had prevented any such Misapprehension, by declaring in his Sermon preach'd at *St. Paul's*, that he intended not to cast the least invidious Reflection upon that Indulgence which the Government had given.

Indeed, it is almost difficult to be serious in giving a Reply to that Part of his Answer, That he cannot inform himself that a Toleration hath been granted by Law. 'Tis true, the Word Toleration is not mention'd in that Act, neither is the Word Indulgence to be found in that Law; but every Body knows that the Exemption granted by that Act is commonly called *The Toleration*, and the Act itself, *The Toleration Act*: What is the Intent of that Act, but to tolerate and allow Persons, qualified by that Act, to exercise their Religion, notwithstanding Penal Laws to the contrary. Toleration is really a Word of less Import than Indulgence, it is a bare Permission, and Allowance; and this Word has gain'd such a known and fix'd Notion and Signification in every one's Mind, that whenever it is mention'd, there is not any Doubt what is meant by it: It is now become a Word of Art, that not only in common Conversation, but even in the most publick Acts of State, the Exemption granted by the Act made in the 1st of King *William* and Queen *Mary*, is call'd *The Toleration*. Did not her Majesty, in her Speech to both Houses of Parliament from

the Throne, in the Year 1705, declare that she would always inviolably maintain *The Toleration*? Did not both Houses of Parliament, in their several Addresses to her Majesty for that most gracious Speech, express their deep Satisfaction of her Majesty's Resolution to maintain *The Toleration*? In the free Conferences between the Lords and Commons about the Bill for preventing Occasional Conformity, in the Year 1702. Is not this Act of the 1st of *William* and *Mary*, called *The Act of Toleration*, and the Exemption granted by that Act called *The Toleration*? So that it seems strange the Doctor should not know that a Toleration had been granted by Law; and it is more strange yet, when he himself, in this very Sermon, call'd the Indulgence granted by that Act, *The Toleration*.

In the 14th Page of his Sermon, where he is complaining of false Brethren in the Kingdom, who are permitted and suffered to combine into Bodies and Seminaries, wherein Atheism, Deism, Trithemism and Socinianism, and a great many other wicked Principles are taught; he concludes thus, "Certainly, (says he) *The Toleration* was never intended to indulge and cherish such Monsters and "Vipers in our Bosom". What was it possible for the Doctor to mean in that Place, by *The Toleration*, but the Indulgence, as he calls it, granted to the Dissenters by the Act of 1 *Jul.* and *Mar.*

In the 19th Page of the Sermon, speaking of the Dissenters, he says, "Now they have advanced "themselves, from the religious Liberty our gracious Sovereign has indulged them, to claim a civil Right, as they term it, and to juggle the "Church out of her Establishment, by hoisting "their *Toleration* into its Place:" What could he possibly mean here by these Words, but that Toleration, or that Indulgence, which was granted in the Time of the King and Queen to the Dissenters? So that it is plain, that when he made, and preach'd, and published this Sermon, he knew very well, that that Indulgence that was granted by the Law, made in the first Year of King *William* and Queen *Mary*, was commonly called *The Toleration*; and this Toleration, granted by that Law, is that which the Commons in their Impeachment say he maintains to be unreasonable, and the Allowance of it unwarrantable; and this is what I am now to make out and prove.

But I must do the Doctor Justice to own, that Page 20. of his Sermon preach'd at *St. Paul's*, he doth use these Words, referr'd to by him in his Answer, *viz.* "I would not here be misunderstood, "as if I intended to cast the least invidious Reflection upon that Indulgence the Government "has condescended to give them; which I am sure "all those that wish well to our Church, are very "ready to grant to Consciences truly scrupulous; "let them enjoy it in the full Limits the Law has "prescribed.

The Doctor, by putting in that Caution, seems himself to be apprehensive, his Words were otherwise in danger to be esteem'd a Reflection upon that Indulgence or Toleration that the Government had given. Having just before commended the Severities that were used in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth* against the Dissenters; which could not be spoken in Commendation of the Toleration; but would reasonably be understood to be a Condemnation of it, because it removed and took away those Severities; he then subjoins the foremention'd Passage; which dry Caution will not excuse the Doctor, if in the other Parts of his Sermon he doth visibly and plainly condemn the Toleration, and censure it as unrea-

unreasonable, and the Allowance of it unwarrantable; which that he doth, I shall endeavour to prove from other direct and formal Passages in his said Sermon.

The first Passage that I shall cite to this Purpose is in the 10th Page of the Sermon, and is in these Words; "So that, in all those Cases before-mentioned, whosoever presumes to innovate, alter, or misrepresent any Point in the Articles of the Faith of our Church, ought to be arraign'd as a Traytor to our State; Heterodoxy in the Doctrines of the one, naturally producing, and almost necessarily inferring Rebellion and High Treason in the other, and consequently a Crime that concerns the Civil Magistrate, as much to punish, and restrain, as the Ecclesiastical." The beginning of this Passage is tied up to the Cases beforementioned, *so that in all those Cases beforementioned*, which being a Term of Relation, must be expounded in Reference to what went before.

This Passage is contained in his second Head of false Brethren, of those who are false Brethren with Relation to the State, Government, or Society of which they are Members. And on Perusal thereof, I do not find any one Article of the Faith of our Church beforementioned under that Head, to which these relative Terms do refer; for all that he saith before under that Head is, "That the Constitutions of most Governments differing according to their several Frames, and Laws, upon which they are built and founded, it is impossible to lay down any one universal Rule, as the Scheme and Measure of Obedience, that may square to every one of them: Only this Maxim in general, he presumes, may be establish'd for the Safety, Tranquility, and Support of all Governments, That no Innovation whatsoever should be allowed in the Fundamental Constitution of any State, without a very pressing, nay, unavoidable Necessity for it; and whosoever singly or in a private Capacity should attempt it, is Guilty of the highest Misdemeanour, and is an Enemy to that Politick Body of which he is a Member.

Then the Doctor applies this Maxim to our Government: "Our Constitution, saith he, both in Church and State, has been so admirably contrived, with that Wisdom, Weight, and Sagacity, and the Temper and Genius of each, so exactly suited, and modell'd to the mutual Support and Assistance of one another, that 'tis hard to say, whether the Doctrines of the Church of *England* contribute more to Authorize and Enforce our Civil Laws, or our Laws to Maintain and Defend the Doctrines of our Church. The Natures of both are so nicely correspondent, and so happily intermixt, that 'tis almost impossible to offer a Violation to the one, without breaking in upon the Body of the other: So that in all those Cases beforementioned, whoever presumes to alter, innovate or misrepresent any Point in the Articles of the Faith of our Church, ought to be Arraign'd as a Traytor to our State, &c.

I read your Lordships this whole Paragraph, to shew, that the Cases said to be beforemention'd, are not contained in this Head of the Sermon, but they are plainly contained in a former Paragraph, *viz.* in his first Head of false Brethren, with relation to God, Religion, and the Church in which they hold Communion; under which Head the Doctor enters into a long Description of such Kind of false Brethren, and enumerates several Articles and Rites of the Church, the Disbelievers or Deni-

ers whereof are termed false Brethren; and amongst other of his Characters, in *p.* 8. he brands him for being false to the Interest of the Church, that gives up any Point of her Discipline and Worship; these are the exterior Fences to guard the Internals of Religion, without which they are left naked, without Beauty, Order, or Defence. Should any man out of Ignorance, or Prejudice to the ancient Rights and essential Constitution of the Catholick Church, affirm, "That the Divine Apostolical Institution of Episcopacy is a novel Doctrine, not sufficiently warranted by Scripture, and that 'tis indifferent whether the Church be Governed by Bishops or Presbyters: Is not such an one an Apostate from his own Orders? So that one of the beforementioned Cases of false Brotherhood is, the affirming that the Divine Apostolical Institution of Episcopacy is a novel Doctrine, not sufficiently warranted by Scripture, and that it is indifferent whether the Church be governed by Bishops or Presbyters. This is affirmed and held by all the Dissenters; and tho' they should be mistaken in their Opinion, yet still it is their Opinion; and they are notwithstanding tolerated, and are exempted by the Toleration Act from subscribing the 36th Article, that the Book of Consecration of Archbishops and Bishops, and of the Ordination of Priests and Deacons, set forth in the Times of *K. Edward* the Sixth, contain in it all Things necessary to their Consecration and Ordination, and hath nothing in it either superstitious or impious: Now notwithstanding this Innovation or Alteration of this Article of the Church by the Dissenters, the Law doth nevertheless tolerate and indulge them.

But the Doctor is of another Opinion, and he affirms, that whoever innovates, alters, or misrepresents this Point in the Articles of the Faith of our Church, ought to be arraign'd as a Traitor to the State, and ought to be punished, as well by the Temporal, as the Ecclesiastical Magistrate. For he goes on, and carries it yet a great deal further, by the Reason he gives for his Assertion, which is, "Heterodoxy in the Doctrines of the one, naturally producing, and almost necessarily inferring, Rebellion and High Treason in the other; and consequently a Crime that concerns the Civil Magistrate, as much to punish and restrain, as the Ecclesiastical. Here's an Assertion to the Purpose; that Heterodoxy, that is, the holding a different Opinion from any Article of the Faith of our Church, naturally produces, and almost necessarily infers Rebellion and High Treason in the State, and consequently a Crime that concerns the Civil Magistrate to punish, as well as the Ecclesiastical. He himself, in the immediate subsequent Words, doth own, That this Assertion at first View may look like an highflown Paradox; and I believe it will still appear to be so upon a Review, That whosoever is of a different, or other Opinion, in any of the Articles of the Faith of the Church, is guilty of High Treason; and the Temporal, as well as the Spiritual Magistrate, ought to punish him as a Traitor for it. The Articles of the Church are in Number thirty-nine; some of the Dissenters are by the Act of Toleration exempted from subscribing three and a Half of them, *viz.* the 24th Article, which relates to the Traditions and Ceremonies of the Church, and the Power of the Church to ordain, change, and abolish Ceremonies and Rites: The 35th Article, concerning the Book of Homilies, and reading of them in Churches: The 36th Article, concerning the Consecration of Archbishops and Bishops, and the Ordination of Priests

Priests and Deacons; and the former Part of the 20th Article, which asserts the Power of the Church to decree Rites and Ceremonies, and Authority in Controversies of Faith. Other Dissenters, who scruple the baptizing of Infants, are also exempted from subscribing that Part of the 27th Article which relates to Infant Baptism; and the Quakers are exempted from subscribing any of the Articles, and are only required to subscribe a short Declaration of the Trinity, and that the Scriptures are given by Divine Inspiration. All these several Sorts of Dissenters, notwithstanding their Heterodoxy in these Points, are exempted by the Toleration Act from the Penalties of the former Laws, and are by this Act preserved in the free Exercise of their Religion or Worship; and not only the Penalties inflicted on them by former Laws are taken away, but several Immunities and Privileges are given them, as an Exemption of their Teachers from Parish Offices, and a Penalty for disturbing their Congregations. Now when this is establish'd by a Law, and that Act of Toleration is in full Force, for the Doctor to affirm, notwithstanding all this, that Heterodoxy, or a different Opinion from any of the Articles of Faith of our Church, almost necessarily infers Rebellion and High Treason in the State, and is a Crime that Concerns the Civil Magistrate to punish, as well as the Ecclesiastical; What can be a more direct breaking in upon, and disavowing of the Toleration than this? Is not this to maintain the Toleration granted by Law to be unreasonable, and the Allowance of it unwarrantable?

Another Passage that I shall cite to prove the general Charge against the Doctor, is in the 16th and 17th Pages of the Sermon: *What could not be gained by Comprehension and Toleration, must be brought about by Moderation and Occasional Conformity; that is, what they could not do by open Violence, they will not fail by secret Treachery to accomplish. If the Church can't be pulled down, it may be blown up; and no Matter with these Men how 'tis destroyed, so that it is destroyed.* In this Place the Doctor is speaking of the great Mischiefs and Perils of his False Brethren to the Church. And to prevent any mistaken Notions of the Church, he intimates, that we are to understand the true genuine Notion of it, as it stands contradistinguished in its establish'd Doctrine, Discipline and Worship from all other Churches and Scismaticks, who would obtrude upon us a wild negative Idea of a National Church, so as to incorporate themselves into the Body as true Members of it; whereas that Latitudinarian Heterogeneous Mixture would render it the most absurd, contradictory, and self-inconsistent Body in the World: And from thence he proceeds to shew that this Design of a Comprehension miscarried, and that that long projected Scheme of the Ecclesiastical *Achitophel's* was blasted; "But says he, since this Model of universal Liberty and Coalition failed, and these false Brethren could not carry the Conventicle into the Church, they are now resolved to bring the Church into the Conventicle, which will plausibly and sily effect her Ruin". And how is that to be done? Why, "What could not be gain'd by Comprehension and Toleration, must be brought about by Moderation and Occasional Conformity; that is, what they could not do by open Violence, they will not fail by secret Treachery to accomplish; if the Church can't be pull'd down by Comprehension and Toleration, it may be blown up by Occasional Conformity and Moderation; and

"no Matter with these Men how 'tis destroy'd, so that 'tis destroy'd". Is not this calling the Toleration an open Violence to the Church? That it was an Attempt made to destroy the Church, tho' the Church itself came into, and settled this Toleration? I say, the Legislature in the Time of their late Majesties King *William* and Queen *Mary*, and particularly the Bishops, the Fathers of the Church, were very well satisfied that this Toleration granted to the Dissenters, was no way prejudicial to the Safety and Security of the Church. Now for the Doctor to come and say, the Toleration was intended to pull down the Church, and that it is an open Violence to the Church; is not this to maintain, that the Toleration is unreasonable, and the Allowance of it unwarrantable?

My Lords, These Passages which I have cited to your Lordships, do prove the general Charge of this Article: There are other Passages in the Sermon, particularly refer'd to in the Article, which likewise prove this general Charge, to which I shall next proceed. And,

The next Part of the Charge in the second Article is, That he asserts, that he is a False Brother with relation to God, Religion or the Church, who defends Toleration and Liberty of Conscience.

These Words are contained in so many express Terms in the eighth Page of his Sermon, where after he hath copiously described his false Brethren, he comes and sums up the Whole in these Words: *If upon all Occasions to comply with the Dissenters both in publick and private Affairs, as Persons of tender Conscience and Piety, to promote their Interests in Elections, to sneak to 'em for Places and Preferment, to defend Toleration, and Liberty of Conscience, and under the Pretence of Moderation to excuse their Separation, and lay the Fault upon the True Sons of the Church for carrying Matters too high; If to court the Fanaticks in private, and to bear them with Patience, if not Approbation, Rail at and blaspheme the Church, and upon Occasion to justify the King's Murder; If to Flatter both the Dead and the Living in their Vices, and to tell the World, that if they have Wit and Money enough, they need no Repentance, and that only Fools and Beggars can be Damn'd; If these, I say, are the Modish and Fashionable Criteria of a true Church-man, God deliver us from all such False Brethren!*

So that one Mark of these False Brethren, in this Part of his Sermon, is to defend Toleration and Liberty of Conscience. As to this, the Doctor gives two Answers, one by way of Inference or Presumption, and the other direct; that by way of Inference is, "That he having so plainly declared himself in Favour of the Exemption granted by Law; when he blames those who upon all Occasions defend Toleration and Liberty of Conscience, he cannot be thought to reflect on the Defenders of that legal Exemption or Indulgence, which he himself approves and defends.

Now if he had not in other Parts of his Sermon condemn'd the Toleration expressly, it might have pass'd for an Answer. But now, if the Doctor has more than once in other Parts of his Sermon directly inveigh'd against this Toleration, then his Meaning is more naturally to be understood by so many several Passages, than by one single Sentence, and with what View thrown in, the reading of the Sermon will plainly shew. And therefore the true Way to come at the true Meaning of his Words, is to take them as they stand in his Sermon, and that is what your Lordships will judge

judge by. In the next Place he gives a direct Answer to this Part of the Charge, which is, that he does not mean by this Description of a False Brother, those who only defend Toleration and Liberty of Conscience, and do no more; but he only blames those who upon all Occasions defend Toleration and Liberty of Conscience, and to excuse their Separation, lay the Fault upon the true Sons of the Church for carrying Matters so high; so that I don't reckon him, says he, as a False Brother who barely defends Toleration and Liberty of Conscience; except that at the same Time that he is defending Toleration, he lays the Fault of the Separation upon the true Sons of the Church for carrying Matters too high. Now I submit to your Lordships, upon reading of this Passage, whether it is capable of such an Interpretation. If it be look'd into, it will be found that the several particular Characters there mention'd, are all of them so many particular Marks of a False Brother; it is not necessary that two, or three, or all of them meet together in one Person to make up the Character of a False Brother; but if any one of them be found in any Person, 'tis sufficient to characterize him a False Brother: Whoever is guilty of any one of these Acts, of which defending Toleration is one, is a False Brother; and his asserting the defending of Toleration to be a Mark of a False Brother, is an evident Declaration against the Justice and Expediency of the Toleration.

The next particular Charge upon him in this Article is for asserting, "That Queen Elizabeth was deluded by Archbishop Grindall, whom he scurrilously calls a false Son of the Church, and a perfidious Prelate, to the Toleration of the Genevian Discipline". This Charge upon him is founded on those Words of his Sermon, in the 19th Page; these are his Words: *Have they not, ever since their first unhappy Plantation in this Kingdom, by the Intercession of that False Son of the Church, Bishop Grindall, always improv'd, and rise upon their Demands in the Permission of the Government? Inasmuch that Queen Elizabeth, that was deluded by that perfidious Prelate to the Toleration of the Genevian Discipline, found it such an headstrong and encroaching Monster, that in eight Years she foresaw it would endanger the Monarchy, as well as the Hierarchy; and like a Queen of true Resolution, and pious Zeal for both, pronounc'd, That such were the restless Spirits of that factious People, that no Quiet was to be expected from them, 'till they were utterly suppress'd: Which, like a prudent Princess, she did by wholesome Severities, that the Crown for many Years sat easy and flourishing on her Head.*

As to that Part of the Charge where he says, That Queen Elizabeth was deluded to the Toleration of the Genevian Discipline by Archbishop Grindall, the Doctor's Answer is, "That he humbly conceives he hath good Authority from the Histories and Monuments of those Times for such Assertion; but whether he hath, or hath not, humbly apprehends such Assertion to be no Proof of his maintaining or suggesting, That the exempting of Protestant Subjects dissenting from the Church of England, from the Penalties of certain Laws, granted by an Act made in the first Year of the Reign of King William and Queen Mary, (which Exemption he supposes to be intended by the legal Indulgence, or Toleration granted to Dissenters, mention'd in the Preamble of the Articles, and by the Toleration

" granted by Law mention'd in this second) is unreasonable, or the Allowance of it unwarrantable.

My Lords, It might not perhaps be difficult to shew that there are some Mistakes in this Fact; but whether there be or no, will not now be worth spending your Lordships Time; for I do agree with him, That the material Point is what he puts it upon, Whether this Assertion, as printed and delivered by him in his Sermon, be a Censure or Condemnation of the Toleration Act. Now whether it be so or no, will appear by taking the whole Clause together. This Passage is in the 19th and 20th Pages, and is in that Part of his Sermon where he is shewing the great Perils and Mischief of his False Brethren to the State, and that they are destructive to our Civil Rights and Liberties; and in the Pursuit of his Argument he plainly shews that the False Brethren there meant are the Dissenters, who are tolerated by this Act of Parliament. "These False Brethren, says he, have now advanced themselves from the Religious Liberty our Gracious Sovereign has indulged them, to claim a Civil Right, and to jostle the Church out of her Establishment, by hoisting their Toleration into its Place". So that 'tis plain, these False Brethren here spoken of are the Dissenters, those who have the Benefit of the Toleration Act. And then he goes on; "And to convince us what alone will satisfy them, insolently demand the Repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts, as an Ecclesiastical Usurpation, which indeed under her Majesty (whom God long preserve for its Support and Comfort) is the only Security the Church has to depend upon; and which they have so far eluded by their abominable Hypocrisy, as to have undermin'd her Foundations, and endanger'd the Government, by filling it with its profess'd Enemies. These Charges are so flagrant and undeniable, that a man must be very weak, or something worse, that thinks or pretends the Dissenters are to be gain'd or won over by any other Grants and Indulgences, than by giving up our whole Constitution: And he that recedes the least Tittle from it, to satisfy or ingratiate with these clamorous, insatiable and Church-devouring Malignants, knows not what Spirit they are of, or he ought to shew who is a true Member of our Church.

These Passages I have read to your Lordships, to shew that these False Brethren here spoken of are the Dissenters, who are now tolerated by the Law granted to them in the Time of their late Majesties King William and Queen Mary; and of these Dissenters follows this Passage; "Have they not, ever since their first unhappy Plantation in this Kingdom, by the Intercession of that False Son of the Church, Bishop Grindall, always improv'd, and rise upon their Demands in the Permission of the Government? Inasmuch, that Queen Elizabeth, that was deluded by that perfidious Prelate to the Toleration of the Genevian Discipline", *id est*, The Discipline and Polity of the Dissenters, so called because taken from Geneva, "found it such a headstrong and encroaching Monster, that in eight Years she foresaw it would endanger the Monarchy, as well as the Hierarchy; and, like a Queen of true Resolution and pious Zeal for both, pronounc'd, That such were the restless Spirits of that factious People, that no Quiet was to be expected from them, 'till they were utterly suppress'd; which, like

“ like a prudent Princess, she did by wholesome Severities, that the Crown for many Years sat easy and flourishing on her Head.

In this memorable Passage he represents Archbishop *Grindall* as a False Son of the Church, and a perfidious Prelate, for deluding the Queen into a Toleration of the *Genevian* Discipline. Whether that Fact be true, or not, is not material to our Purpose; but this is, that he charges it for a Fault on the Archbishop, and for which he calls him a False Son of the Church, and a perfidious Prelate, for inducing the Queen to give a Toleration to the Dissenters in those Days: The Fault is not, that it was a regal Toleration only, but the Fault was in the Toleration itself, in consenting to a Liberty to the Dissenters. Now what is this in Effect, but to preach to the whole World, That the Parliament are in the Wrong to grant a Toleration to the Dissenters; That the Lords and Commons, who consented to the Toleration, are not true Sons of the Church; And that the Bishops, who are for tolerating the Dissenters, are neither Fathers nor Sons of the Church, but corrupt and perfidious Prelates!

That this Character of Archbishop *Grindall* was design'd for a Censure of the present Toleration, will appear more fully by the contrary Character he gives of Queen *Elizabeth*; he commends her Resolution and pious Zeal for “ the Monarchy and Hierarchy, in declaring that no Quiet was to be expected from the restless Spirits of that factious People, ’till they were utterly suppress’d; which, like a prudent Princess, she did by wholesome Severities, that the Crown for many Years sat easy and flourishing on her Head”. Now what can the *English* of all this be, but to inflame the Government against the Dissenters? What could be said more prevalent for this Purpose, than to recommend it as a noble Resolution and pious Zeal in Queen *Elizabeth*, utterly to suppress the Dissenters? And if that Resolution be to be followed, the Legislature must repeal the Toleration Act. And what could be said more contrary to the Toleration Act, than to recommend the Severities used in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, because they were wholesome in themselves, and of happy Consequence to the Person and Government of that Renowned Queen. If there were not a Necessity for it on this Occasion, I would not mention what those wholesome Severities were, but rather cast a Veil over that Part of the Reign of that great and glorious Queen.

To give a short View of these wholesome Severities; some Hereticks were burnt, other Persons were hang'd, some had their Goods confiscated, others had their Persons imprison'd; and to mention more particularly a publick Act in Writing that cannot be falsified or misrepresented, and which is since relaxed by the Toleration Act, an Act passed in the 35th Year of Queen *Elizabeth*, Intituled, *An Act to retain the Queen's Majesty's Subjects in their due Obedience*; by which the Dissenters are, among other Penalties, to abjure the Realm in forty Days, or suffer Death without Benefit of the Clergy.

This Penalty of Abjuration of the Realm was taken from the antient Common Law of *England* in relation to Felony, by which if a Man committed any Felony, excepting Sacrilege, and fled to a Parish Church, he might within forty Days before the Coroner confess the Felony, and take an Oath to abjure the Kingdom for ever; and if he thus confess'd and took that Oath, he was thereby attainted of the Felony, and then he had forty Days from the

coming of the Coroner to provide and prepare for his Voyage; and the Coroner assigned him such a Port as he chose for his Departure out of the Kingdom; and if he did not go straitway out of the Kingdom, or being gone out, did return without License, he had Judgment to be hang'd, except he was a Clerk, and then he had his Clergy.

This Practice was what the Law call'd Abjuration; and being by several Regulations (in the Time of *Henry* the Eighth) in Effect taken away, the Revival of this Practice was thought to be a wholesome Severity, fit to be inflicted on the Protestant Dissenters of those Times: And therefore the 35th of Queen *Elizabeth* doth enact, ‘ That if any Person, obstinately refusing to repair to some Church or Chapel, or usual Place of Common-Prayers, and forbearing by the Space of a Month to hear Divine Service, should after forty Days after the End of that Session of Parliament, willingly join or be present at any Conventicle or Meeting, under Pretence of Religion, contrary to the Laws and Statutes of the Realm; that then such Person should be committed to Prison, till he should conform and come to Church: And if within three Months after Conviction he should not conform and come to Church, and make his publick Confession and Submission, being thereunto required according to the Form of the said Act; that then such Offender should abjure the Realm; and if, being thereunto required, should refuse to make such Abjuration, or after such Abjuration made, should not within the Time appointed him depart the Realm, or after such Departure should return without the Queen's License; then in every such Case, every Person so offending, should be a Felon without Benefit of Clergy’. So that the Abjuration inflicted on Protestant Dissenters by this Act, was worse than Abjuration for Felony at the Common Law; in that they had the Benefit of the Clergy, in this they had not.

This is one of the Severities of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign. Whether it be a wholesome Severity or not, human Nature will determine: However wholesome it might have been esteemed in those Days, by those who had the Power and Will to punish others, yet the Legislature have in *Terrinis* declar'd it unwholesome for these Times; and the Toleration Act doth expressly, and by Name, exempt the Protestant Dissenters from the Penalties of this Act of the 35th of Queen *Elizabeth*.

Now when the Toleration Act hath granted this Exemption, for the Doctor to come and publicly represent an Archbishop as a False Son of the Church, and a perfidious Prelate, for being for the Toleration of Dissenters in his Time; and at the same Time recommend the Resolution and pious Zeal of Queen *Elizabeth*, for declaring that she would utterly suppress them, and her great Prudence in exercising wholesome Severities against them, which were of happy Consequence to her Person and Government; What could be said more against the Toleration Act, than this is? The Toleration Act exempts the Dissenters from the Penalties and Severities inflicted in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign; the Doctor recommends them all again, as wholesome and necessary. Let any Person judge, whether this is not an express Declaration against the Toleration Act?

There is yet one Thing more charged upon the Doctor in this Part of the second Article; *viz.* That he scurrilously calls Archbishop *Grindall* a False Son of the Church, and a perfidious Prelate, for

for deluding Queen *Elizabeth* to the Toleration of the *Genevian* Discipline. Whether this, consider'd abstractedly by itself, be in Law a Crime, or not, is not necessary for me here to examine. The Doctor conceives, that no Words spoken of an Archbishop, above one hundred and twenty Years since deceased, will in Construction of Law amount to an High Crime and Misdemeanor: Whether it be so or not, in itself, I shall say nothing of at present; because I take it, that this is only taken Notice of as an Aggravation of the Crime charged upon him, and to shew his Zeal against the Toleration; that he was not contented with censuring the Toleration itself, but rakes into the Ashes of an Archbishop, that had been in his Grave one hundred and twenty Years, and blackens his Memory, because he was for the Toleration of those People who are now by Law tolerated.

My Lords, I would on this Occasion say a Word or two to the Memory of that Archbishop. The Doctor says, He was under the Displeasure of Queen *Elizabeth*; that is very true: And he pretends, the Occasion of his being under her Displeasure, was, for permitting Innovations to be obtruded upon the Church. Those Innovations were no other than what several other Bishops at the same Time likewise practis'd, and some Bishops since have done not much unlike: It was for encouraging the Meetings and Exercisings in those Days, call'd Prophefings; which were Meetings of the Clergy, to improve one another in the Knowledge of the Scriptures, and tended to make a learned and industrious Clergy. This was misrepresented to the Queen, and was the visible Cause of his Disgrace. But the true Reason of his Disgrace, as Historians say, sprung from the Hatred of the Earl of *Leicester*, who was then in great Power and Credit with the Queen, and her great Favourite. This Earl of *Leicester* cast a covetous Eye upon *Lambeth-house*, and would have had the Archbishop to have alien'd it, but he would not comply with him; which, as the Historians say, made the *Leicesterian* Party to malice him. The Earl was likewise provoked and incensed against him for another Reason, *viz.* for prosecuting one *Julio*, a Physician of the Earl's, an *Italian* Physician, for having two Wives, one of which was the Wife of another Man, with whom he lived in Adultery: For these two Offences against the Earl of *Leicester*, who bore a mighty Power at Court with the Queen at that Time, was this Storm raised against him. But, my Lords, for his Life and Doctrine, the Archbishop was one of the most pious, learned, and considerable Prelates of that Time. 'Tis very true, that he was one of those Bishops that look'd upon the Exercises used in those Times by the Clergy, called Prophefings, to be very necessary for their Improvement, and for the Benefit of the Church; and some of the best Bishops of those Times concurr'd with him in the same Opinion. He was a man of the most exemplary Life and Conversation, free from the Suspicion of a Crime. In his younger Days he was Chaplain, with *Rogers* and *Braiford*, to *Ridley* Bishop of *London*, who gave this Character of him, That he was known to be a Man of Virtue, Honesty, Discretion, Wisdom and Learning. In the Persecution under Queen *Mary*, when his Master and Fellow-Chaplains were burnt for Religion, he became an Exile on the same Account, and quitted his Ease, Preferments, and Hopes at Home, to enjoy the Liberty of his Conscience in a foreign Country, and went to *Strasburgh*: And when the famous Troubles begun at

Frankfort, about the Use of the *English* Service, where the Foundations were laid of the Divisions that have since divided and rent the Church, he was so far from disliking the *English* Method, that he went from *Strasburgh* to *Frankfort*, to encourage and persuade the Congregation there to submit to the *English* Establishment; and he himself stuck close to it all his Life-time. At his coming Home, in the Beginning of the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, he had a great Hand, and was very instrumental, in preparing the Liturgy and Book of Common-Prayer: And the first Time that the *English* Service-Book was introduced at *St. Paul's* in *London*, the Privy Council, and great Officers of State, for the greater Solemnity, came to *St. Paul's*; and *Grindall* was appointed to preach to that great Audience, upon that solemn Occasion. He was one of the first five Bishops made by Queen *Elizabeth*; and was first Bishop of *London*, afterwards Archbishop of *York*, and last of all Archbishop of *Canterbury*. And when afterwards, by the Earl of *Leicester's* Artifice, he was out of Favour, and under the Queen's Displeasure; yet he had so great an Interest in the Clergy, and their Esteem of him was so extraordinary, that even whilst he was under Disgrace at Court, and the Displeasure of the Queen, a considerable Number of the Convocation, then met, presented an elegant Petition in *Latin* to the Queen, to restore him; wherein they represent to her Majesty, 'That the Archbishop had led
' a Life free, not only from all Crime, but even
' from the Suspicion of a Crime: That he had pre-
' served his Religion from all, not only Corruption
' of Popery, but Schism; and had suffer'd Perse-
' cution for Righteousness sake, having wander'd
' Abroad in other Countries for the Cause of the
' Gospel: And therefore they most humbly be-
' sought her Majesty, not only to lift up the Arch-
' bishop broken with Grief, but to restore the
' Church to the Archbishop, and the Archbishop
' to the Church, to her Subjects, to his Brethren,
' to foreign Nations, and, in a Word, to all pious
' People'. These were the Thoughts of the Clergy of the Archbishop at that Time, even when he was under the Displeasure of the Queen; so that there was no Reason for the Doctor to asperse him as a false Son of the Church, or a perfidious Prelate; for it appears on the contrary, that he was a Man universally esteem'd for his Virtue, Piety, and Learning.

The last Charge of this Article is, that he asserts, 'That it is the Duty of Superior Pastors to thunder out their Ecclesiastical *Anathema's* against Persons intitled to the Benefit of the Toleration; and insolently dares or defies any Power on Earth to reverse such Sentences.

To which the Doctor gives this Answer; 'That the Persons intitled to the Benefit of the Toleration, are not by him mentioned or intended: But if these Expressions in his Sermon must be determin'd to any one Sort of Persons, he conceives that the Connection of his Discourse will determine them to those Schismatical and Factionous Persons, who take Permission for Power, and advance Toleration immediately into an Establishment.

Now be it so, that he means those Schismatical and Factionous Persons; the next Question, which will set this Matter in a clear Light, will be, Who those Schismatical and Factionous Persons are, who take Permission for Power, and advance Toleration immediately into an Establishment? And it is plain from the Passage itself, which is in *Page 25.*

of the Sermon, that he means the Dissenters, those which are intitled to the Benefit of the Toleration.

“ If our Dissenters, saith he, had lived in the Times of *St. Paul*, they would have branded him as an intemperate, hot, furious Zealot, that wanted to be sweeten'd by the gentle Spirit of Charity and Moderation, forsooth. Schism and Faction are Things of impudent and incroaching Natures; they thrive upon Concessions, take Permission for Power, and advance a Toleration immediately into an Establishment; and are therefore to be treated like growing Mischiefs, or infectious Plagues, kept at a Distance, lest their deadly Contagion spread. Let us therefore *have no Fellowship with these Works of Darknefs, but rather reprove them*. Let our Superiour Pastors do their Duty, in thundering out their Ecclesiastical *Anathema's*; and let any Power on Earth dare reverse a Sentence ratified in Heaven”. And indeed the Doctor doth, in the following Part of his Answer, in effect own it: For, saith he,

“ As to the last Part of the second Article, whereby the said *Henry Sacheverell* is charged with insolently daring, or defying any Power on Earth to reverse the Ecclesiastical Sentences there mentioned: He the said *Henry Sacheverell* saith, That the Sentence which he the said *Henry Sacheverell* dares any Power on Earth to reverse, is such, and such only, as is ratified in Heaven; and such Sentence he still affirms to be by any earthly Power irreversible: And hopes it will not be thought insolent in him to affirm, what he conceives would be Blasphemy in any one to deny: And doth further acknowledge himself firmly to believe, that some Sentences pronounced by the Pastors of the Church are ratified in Heaven; and that some Persons exempted from Punishment by the particular Laws of the Land, may yet by the Laws of Christ be justly liable to such Sentence; and that Schism, or a causeless Separation from a Church injoining no sinful Terms of Communion, is a Sin, which exposes the Person guilty thereof to the Censures of the Church.

The House of Commons charge the Doctor with Insolence, in daring or defying any Power on Earth to reverse the Ecclesiastical Sentences mentioned in his Sermon; and he, by Insinuation, retorts upon them the Charge of Blasphemy. This the House of Commons thought they had Reason to resent, and to call upon your Lordships for immediate Punishment of him, for treating them in this Manner; but they leave it to your Lordships, in what Manner you will think fit to do them Justice, in vindicating them against such a Charge. But as to this Passage now before you, he affirms, “ That some Sentences pronounced by the Pastors of the Church, are ratified in Heaven; That some Persons exempted from Punishment by the Laws of the Land, may yet by the Laws of Christ be liable to such Sentence: And that Schism, or a causeless Separation from a Church injoining no sinful Terms of Communion, is a Sin, which exposes the Person guilty thereof to the Censures of the Church”. Now what is this but to say, The Dissenters causelessly separate from the Church, which imposes no sinful Terms of Communion, and so are guilty of Schism? Tho' the Law of the Land doth exempt them from Punishment for this Schism, yet for this Sin they are expos'd to the Censures of the Church; those Censures, when inflicted, are ratified in Heaven: Therefore, notwith-

standing the Law of the Land hath given them this Exemption, let the Ecclesiastical Superiours know their Duty, in thundering out their *Anathema's* against them, and let any Power upon Earth dare to reverse their Sentences if they can. As to the Power of the Church in censuring or excommunicating, it is not necessary for me to say any Thing of it upon this Occasion: But the Doctor is a Minister of the Church of *England*, who hath submitted to the Queen's Supremacy, and by the Canon is bound to maintain and preach the Queen's Supremacy; her Majesty is Supreme over all Causes, and over all Persons, as well Ecclesiastical as Civil; and by an Act of Parliament made since her Majesty's happy Accession to the Crown, *viz.* the Act relating to her Majesty's Bounty for the Augmentation of the Maintenance of the poor Clergy, she is owned and recognized to be the only Supreme Head on Earth of the Church of *England*: Her Majesty hath by Law a Supreme controlling Power over all the Censures and Excommunications of the Church; this Power she exercises according to the Rules of Law, by her several Officers and Ministers of Justice. The Exercise of the Church's Censures, Jurisdiction and Power, must be according to Law; and if any Person be excommunicated against Law, the Queen's Courts may and will command the Ecclesiastical Judge to absolve such excommunicated Person, and restore him to the Communion of the Church again: This is the Supremacy of the Queen, which is the Doctrine of the Church of *England*; and by Virtue of this Supremacy, if any Judge of the Spiritual Court shall pretend to excommunicate any of the Dissenters for any Thing which by Law they are not obliged to do, or which by Law they are excused or exempted from, the Courts of Justice in *Westminster-hall* will in such Case award a Prohibition, and compel the Ecclesiastical Judge to absolve him. Suppose that notwithstanding the Toleration Act, a Dissenter should, for not coming to the Church, be sentenced in the Spiritual Court by the Judge there, or be proceeded against there, in order to an Excommunication; a Prohibition will lye to that Judge from the Queen's Courts upon the said Act, and the Courts of Common Law will prevent him from such Proceeding; and if Sentence be pass'd, will compel the Judge to annul the Excommunication, and receive the Party again. Now, for the Doctor to come and say, That though the Dissenters are tolerated by this Act of Parliament, and though they are exempted by Law from Penalties, yet let the Law of the Land be what it will, let the Ecclesiastical Pastors do their Duty, let them fulminate their Excommunications, and thunder out their *Anathema's*, and let the Civil Magistrate, the earthly Powers, dare to reverse them, if they can: I submit this to your Lordships, whether this is not directly impugning the Queen's Supremacy, as well as weakening and censuring the Toleration, which is what he is charg'd with in this Article.

My Lords, I will not take up more of your Lordships Time; there are other Gentlemen to come after me, who will abundantly supply my Defects, and offer to your Lordships some farther Considerations to make out the Charge contained in the second Article.

Lord *William Pawlet*. MY Lords, the Charge against the Doctor in this second Article, is a Crime of a very Heinous Nature: It has always been esteem'd one of the happy Consequences of the late Revolution, that her

her Majesty's Protestant Subjects, by a legal Indulgence granted to Dissenters, were united in Interest and Affection, in the Defence of her Majesty's Sacred Person and Government.

It is too well known, my Lords, how in former Times, when Popery had almost prevail'd in the Ruin of our State and Church, the Protestants of the Kingdom were, by the Artifice of Papists, set against each other, that by such Divisions Popish Tyranny might be established among us.

The Act of Parliament made in the first Year of the Reign of their late Majesties King *William* and Queen *Mary*, to exempt Protestant Dissenters from the Church of *England* from the Penalties of certain Laws, was made to defeat any such future Attempts of the Papists; the Preamble of the Act declares, that *some Ease to scrupulous Consciences, in the Exercise of Religion, may be an effectual Means to unite her Majesty's Protestant Subjects in Interest and Affection.*

We have seen, my Lords, the good Effects of the Wisdom of the Legislature in making this Act; her Majesty's Protestant Subjects are now all easy under her Administration; and how many Dissenters have we seen, who since the Toleration are become sincere Converts to the Church. And I may say, that by this Toleration the Prejudices of the Dissenters in general wear off, and their Number daily decreases.

And yet with what odious Colours, and Language unbecoming a Divine, does the Doctor paint out this Toleration, and how does he factiously endeavour to excite and stir up People against it?

'Tis, my Lords, a poor Shift which the Doctor makes in his Answer, that he knows of no Toleration granted by Law; and yet in the same Answer he owns there is an Indulgence which the Government hath condescended to give Dissenters. My Lords, the Word *Indulgence* is no more in the Act of Parliament than the Word *Toleration*; and it is well known that the Act of Parliament he alludes to is every where, not only in Courts of Justice, but even in Parliament, called *The Toleration-Act*; and is frequently so called by your Lordships in the Account of your Lordships Proceedings in Parliament, in Relation to the Bill against *Occasional Conformity*, which Account was publish'd and printed by your Lordships Order.

When the Doctor says, that he has not been able to inform himself that a Toleration hath been granted by Law, it plainly seems to import, as if the Doctor doubted of the Authority of Parliament that made that Law; it looks like the common Sophistry of Papists and Jesuits, who pretend to own the Church of *England* as by Law established; because they disown the Authority of all our Laws made since the Reformation.

My Lords, her Majesty hath always been pleas'd graciously to declare she will defend this Toleration, and this her gracious Resolution has, among the innumerable Blessings of her Reign, united all her Protestant Subjects in their Loyalty and Duty to her.

The Commons rest assured that your Lordships will always assist these gracious Purposes of her Majesty, and that as there can hardly be any Injustice given of so seditious and barefaced an Attempt against the Peace and Quiet of the Kingdom, as the Doctor hath been guilty of, so your Lordships will, by an Exemplary Punishment suitable to so high a Crime, vindicate the Authority of Parliaments, and give an effectual Discouragement for

the future, to all such turbulent and seditious Preachers.

Mr. *Cooper*. I Think, my Lords, it is unnecessary at this Time to urge all the Arguments which might be made use of, to justify the Reasonableness of the Toleration granted to Protestant Dissenters, by exempting them from the Penalties of certain Laws. It may suffice to say, that this Indulgence is required from us as Christians, and as we are Men professing Humanity and good Will towards one another.

Whoever maintains, that the Toleration is unreasonable, and the Allowance of it unwarrantable, seems necessarily to assert, that the Exemption granted to her Majesty's Subjects from the Penalties of former Laws, ought to be reassum'd; unless we are to suppose, that it can be reasonable to allow what is unwarrantable.

This Assertion therefore evidently Arraigns the Act of Toleration, a Law now in Being, a Law by which the People (throughout the whole Series of this dangerous War) have been more firmly united in Interest and Affection, than formerly; I mean, in the Days when the Penalties of those Laws were inflict'd with intemperate Zeal.

My Lords, Before I proceed to make good the Charge contained in the second Article of the Impeachment exhibited against the Prisoner by the Commons, I must beg Leave to take notice of the Introduction to his Answer: It seems he cannot, upon the most diligent Enquiry, be able to inform himself, that a Toleration has been granted by Law. I take it, the Stat. *1 W. & M.* which exempts Dissenters from the Penalties of former Laws amounts to a legal Indulgence, or Grant of Liberty of Conscience; for by that Repeal a Liberty is given, which was before restrained, so that without Impropriety it may be said, that Toleration is granted by Law. Doctor *Sacheverell* I find had rather it should be called an Exemption, for no other Reason, that I see, but because he has not said much, if any thing, of the Word *Exemption* in his Sermon, how free soever he has made with the Toleration.

Now taking it for granted (as I think with Reason I may) that Indulgence, Toleration, or Exemption from Penalties, signifies one and the same Thing, (especially as ordinarily made use of amongst us) Can any thing be more plain, than that many Passages in this infamous Libel cast black and odious Reflections upon the Toleration? They have been all read, and for fear (after what has been already said) of being too tedious, I will mention one only. The Words are these.

What could not be gained by Comprehension and Toleration, must be brought about by Moderation and Occasional Conformity; that is, what they could not do by open Violence, they will not fail by secret Treachery to accomplish. If the Church cannot be pulled down, it may be blown up; and no Matter with these Men how it is destroy'd, so it is destroy'd, &c.

Pray, my Lords, Is it reasonable to allow Toleration, or rather is not the Allowance of it unwarrantable, if it was the open and violent Means made use of to destroy the Church of *England*? And is not this a most uncharitable Censure, highly reflecting upon the Act of Toleration, and the Legislative Authority? Is not this maliciously and falsely suggested, with a wicked and seditious Purpose, to create Jealousies and Misunderstandings amongst her Majesty's People?

Comprehension and Toleration are represented as open Violence; Moderation and Occasional Conformity, as secret Treachery, by which the Church may be blown up, though it could not be pulled down by the violent Means of Comprehension and Toleration.

I should waste too much Time unnecessarily, if I should take particular Notice (after what has been already so well urged in Maintenance of the second Article) of all the Passages which seem to be equally liable to Censure.

The *Antistasis* throughout this Paragraph is so very plain, that I hope it is not one of those mentioned in the Doctor's Answer to carry a dubious Sense. The Prisoner seems to have taken care to explain himself, for fear his Meaning should have been doubtful; and therefore having said,

What could not be gained by Comprehension and Toleration, must be brought about by Moderation and Occasional Conformity; then he adds, that is, what they could not do by open Violence, they will not fail by Treachery to accomplish.

Having thus inveighed against the Toleration, with much Ill-nature and Bitterness of Spirit, he is pleased in the next Place to assert, That he is a False Brother with Relation to GOD, Religion or the Church, who defends it.

The Answer to this Branch of the second Article is long, and, as I apprehend, seems to be Evasive. First, there is a Difference again taken, between Toleration and Liberty of Conscience, and an Exemption or Indulgence; and under this Distinction, which, for the Reasons I have mention'd, is a Distinction without a Difference, the Doctor takes the Liberty to maintain and justify, that he is a False Brother who defends Toleration and Liberty of Conscience.

I must own he endeavours to evade the Charge, by saying he means those only, who at the same Time they defend Universal Toleration and Liberty of Conscience, do also excuse the Separation, and lay the Fault upon the true Sons of the Church, by carrying Matters too high.

Whatever he is pleased to say he meant, in Answer to this Part of the Article, surely no such Meaning can be collected from his Sermon. Throughout the whole Libel, I presume to say there is not one Word of Universal Toleration, or Universal Liberty of Conscience; this is another kind of Toleration, never heard of, till it was new coined, in order to extenuate his vile and uncharitable Assertions.

Here he is pleased to sum up the modish *Criteria*, as he terms them, of a true Church-Man, in a figurative and ironical Manner, and plainly asserts they are the several Characteristicks of a False Brother; amongst the rest, to defend Toleration is said to be one; and under Pretence of Moderation to excuse the Separation (*i. e.*) of the Dissenters, of whom he had next before spoken, is another; and concludes the Paragraph with this pathetick Expression, *God deliver us all from such False Brethren.*

Having thus treated those who defend Toleration, his Superior Pastors are in the next Place to be admonished of their Duty, which is to thunder out their Ecclesiastical *Anathema's* against the Persons intitled to legal Indulgence; which *Anathema's* are stiled Sentences ratified in Heaven, and such as no Power on Earth dare reverse.

Far be it from me to say, that Sentences ratified in Heaven can be reversed by the Powers of this

World. But if Doctor *Sacheverell* were a Superior Pastor, and should Anathematize, or, in plain *English*, Curse and Sentence all those who enjoy the Benefit of Toleration, to Damnation, he must excuse, if I could not believe that such a Sentence would be ratified in Heaven.

And as to any Ecclesiastical Censure not ratified in Heaven, it is downright Insolence to say, there is no Power upon Earth that can reverse it.

But since our Superior Pastors will exercise a truly Christian and noble Spirit of Charity and Moderation, and indulge scrupulous Consciences, the Doctor is pleased however to bear his Testimony against it, and is not contented with delivering over to Satan those only who enjoy the Indulgence, but they who defend Toleration must also bear them Company.

His indeed is a very comprehensive *Anathema*, and is conceiv'd in these Words; *viz. And as he chose it in this World, appoints him in the next his Portion with Hypocrites and Unbelievers, with all Liars, that have their Part in the Lake which burns with Fire and Brimstone, with the grand Father of Falshood, the Devil and his Angels. And so here we leave our False Brethren, in the Company they always kept Correspondence with.*

This, my Lords, is a most dreadful unchristian Sentence, a Sentence so barbarous, so astonishing, that I am at a Loss to imagine, how it could enter into the Mind of Man to conceive it.

Perhaps, my Lords, it may be equally dangerous to defend the Ashes of the venerable Prelate Archbishop *Grindall*; he, it seems, was a false Son of the Church, and a perfidious Prelate, because he deluded Queen *Elizabeth* to a Toleration of the *Genevian* Discipline. Here we may observe the Doctor's great Aversion to all kind of Toleration.

Methinks, for the Sake of the Reformation, better Language should have been given, and more decent Expressions should have been bestow'd upon a Man we all know bore so considerable a Part in the Establishment of it.

Here likewise we may observe the Doctor's Inclination to wholesome Severities, such as Queen *Elizabeth* made use of, which were such as I hope will never be seen more in this Kingdom. And by the Way, what a Spirit is this Man of, who can find nothing to commend in the Reign of that glorious Queen, but the blackest and worst Part of it.

I cannot agree, that these harsh Expressions, as the Answer owns they are, are the rather to be excused, because the Remains of the Archbishop were so long since deposited, especially when we consider that his Memory has been had in the highest Esteem and Veneration by all the Reformed Churches in *Christendom*, from that Time down to the Fifth Day of *November* last.

For my own Part, I think it very Immoral to cast Reflections upon the Dead, how ill soever they may have deserved from us; and the longer a Man has been so, in my Opinion, rather aggravates than lessens the Immorality.

I am free to own, he whose Morals will permit him to reflect upon the Departed, is not therefore to be impeached for it, as for an High Crime and Misdemeanor; but that is not the present Case. Archbishop *Grindall* is thus severely treated upon a Supposition he deluded the Queen to a Toleration; and all the hard Words which are falsely and unreasonably bestowed upon him, are evidently levelled at

at the present Toleration, and designed maliciously to Asperse and Traduce it, by representing it as injurious to the Character of all concern'd in it, dangerous to her Majesty, and destructive to the Constitution both in Church and State.

By these Means, my Lords, and others (if possible worse than these) one Part of the People, through groundless Fear and Jealousy, unreasonably and maliciously instilled, are to be stirred up to Arms and Violence; others, upon the Peril of Damnation, are not so much as to utter one Word in Defence of Toleration; whilst the third and last Part are to have the Doctor's wholesome Severities executed upon them.

My Lords, 'Tis too Notorious that this Incendiary, for so the Articles of the Commons of *Great Britain* have called him, has already stirred up unaccountable Feuds and Quarrels throughout the Nation; the Commons are too sensible of it, and have therefore brought the Offender before your Lordships in Justice and Judgment.

Many are the Seeds of Sedition which he has sown; and the Fruit to be expected, is Civil Discord and Confusion, unless some Remedy shall be applied to prevent it.

The Commons, for her Majesty's Safety, and for the Security of the Constitution, have thought it absolutely Necessary to bring him to answer for these High Crimes and Misdemeanors before your Lordships Tribunal; conceiving his Offences to be of so exorbitant a Nature, that they deserve the Solemnity of this Proceeding.

And then the LORDS adjourned to their House above.

Wednesday, March 1. The Third Day.

THE Lords coming down into *Westminster-Hall*, and being seated in the manner before-mentioned, Proclamation was made by the Serjeant at Arms as follows:

Our Sovereign Lady the Queen doth strictly Charge and Command all manner of Persons to keep Silence, upon Pain of Imprisonment.

Then another Proclamation was made: *Henry Sacheverell*, Doctor in Divinity, come forth, save thee and thy Bail, else thou forfeitest thy Recognizance.

The Doctor appearing at the Bar accordingly, with his Counsel as before.

Lord Chancellor. Gentlemen of the House of Commons, you may proceed in your Evidence.

Mr. Thompson. MY Lords, Your Lordships having heard what has been produced in Maintenance of the two first Articles of this Impeachment, I shall take the Liberty to proceed, and endeavour to discharge the Trust reposed in me by the Commons, to support the third Article, and the Accusations contained in it. I will not waste your Lordships Time, by making any Apology for my Inabilities, and being unequal to this Undertaking; not doubting but that I shall find from your Lordships a candid Interpretation of whatever I shall offer on this Occasion.

This Article, my Lords, is founded on a Vote or Resolution of your Lordships, and the Commons, in Parliament assembled, which is recited in the Preamble of these Articles, and the Occasion of

which it may be necessary to mention to your Lordships. It was some few Years ago that there were many scandalous and seditious Rumours spread Abroad, of the Danger of the Church of *England*, as established by Law. There were several Libels dispersed over the Kingdom, reviling her Majesty's Administration in Church and State; and among the rest, one intitled, *The Memorial of the Church of England*. Her Majesty was pleased to take Notice of these seditious Reports from her Throne to the Parliament; and thereupon your Lordships and the Commons, on the 17th of *December, 1705*, came to the Vote or Resolution mentioned in the Preamble, and an Address, which is recited to this Effect; "That your Lordships, and the Commons, in Parliament assembled, did address and lay before her Majesty a Vote or Resolution, That the Church of *England*, as established by Law, and which was rescued from the extremest Danger by his late Majesty, of glorious Memory, was, by GOD's Blessing, under her Majesty, in a safe and flourishing Condition; and that whoever should go about to suggest and insinuate that the Church is in Danger under her Majesty's Administration, is an Enemy to the Queen, the Church, and the Kingdom.

"And that your Lordships, and the Commons, by their said Address, did humbly beseech her Majesty to make the said Vote or Resolution publick, and to take effectual Measures for the punishing the Authors and Spreaders of such malicious and seditious Reports. And that on the 20th of the same *December*, her Majesty was pleased to issue her Royal Proclamation accordingly.

"Now, my Lords, this Article charges "That in Opposition to, and Defiance of, and in order to arraign and blacken that Vote or Resolution, Doctor *Sacheverell*, in his Sermon preached at *St. Paul's*, does suggest and assert the Church of *England* to be in a Condition of great Peril and Adversity under her Majesty's Administration." The Article further says, "That he wickedly and maliciously insinuates, That the Members of Parliament, who passed that Resolution, were themselves conspiring the Ruin of the Church, which they voted to be out of Danger: And this by way of Parallel, or Allusion to that Assembly, who voted the Person of King *Charles* the First to be out of Danger, at the same Time when they were conspiring his Destruction.

My Lords, I will now do the Doctor the Justice to take Notice of what he says in his Answer, and alledges as his Justification. He denies that he asserts the Church to be in Danger, under her Majesty's Administration; or otherwise than from Vice and Infidelity, Blasphemy and Profaneness. And as to the Parallel in the Vote, and the Insinuation of the Members conspiring the Ruin of the Church; He says, he never mentions that Vote, nor did he design the Parallel as laid to his Charge. He only meant, That while some Men were conspiring the Death of the King, others, not privy to this Design, voted him out of Danger: So, though the Members voted the Church to be out of Danger, yet others were conspiring against the Church, and by their Vice and Infidelity were drawing down Vengeance on the Church and Kingdom. And as to that Vote made four Years ago, He says, it concerns only those who did then insinuate the Church of *England* to be in Danger under her Majesty's Administration.

Now,

Now, my Lords, having stated the Charge, and the Defence, I shall proceed to acquaint your Lordships with the several Passages of the Sermon, which the Commons apprehend will make out their Accusation. And here, my Lords, I shall take Leave to say, That no strained or forced Constructions can be desired by the Commons, or expected from your Lordships, or any Inferences to be deduced, but what naturally arise from a fair, impartial, and candid Interpretation.

My Lords, The first Passage which the Commons apprehend is for their Purpose, is in the 5th Page; the Doctor just before, enumerates *St. Paul's* Misfortunes that befel him, whilst he was propagating the Gospel, and says, "There is a very observable Gradation in his Sufferings; but that, of all his Calamities, the highest of them proceeded from False Brethren:" And taking Notice of the Condition of the Church of *Corinth*, then follow these Words; "Though it were very obvious to draw a Parallel here betwixt the sad Circumstances of the Church of *Corinth* formerly, and of the Church of *England* at present, wherein her holy Communion has been rent and divided by factious and schismatical Impostors, her pure Doctrine has been corrupted and defiled; her primitive Worship and Discipline profaned and abused; her sacred Orders denied and vilified; her Priests and Professors (like *St. Paul*) calumniated, misrepresented and ridiculed; her Altars and Sacraments prostituted to Hypocrites, Deists, Socinians and Atheists; and this done, I wish I could not say, without Discouragement, I am sure with Impunity, not only by our professed Enemies; but, which is worse, by our pretended Friends, and False Brethren.

It may be observed, that the Doctor is very free in his Parallels; and when either Church or State is to be represented by Comparisons, he is pleased to make use of the worst he can find. He says, The Church of *Corinth* was in the utmost of Perils; and then it was to his Purpose to make the Allusion, and bring the Church of *England* into the same Condition.

Here are many Particulars in this Passage, whereby the Church is said to be in sad Circumstances, and I cannot tell how to apply them according to the Doctor's Way of Interpretation; for he says, all these Enormities are practised, not only without Discouragement, but with Impunity; not by professed Enemies, but by False Brethren: So he plainly shews who he aims at, as the Authors of these Calamities. He excludes vicious Infidels, Blasphemers, and Hereticks, who are professed Enemies, and lays it upon False Brethren: And he explains what Sort of False Brethren he means; For who can prostitute Altars and Sacraments to Deists, Atheists, and Socinians, but some of his own Order? And who are to punish such Offences among the Clergy, but their spiritual Superiors? And whether they are not Part of her Majesty's Administration, I submit to your Lordships.

But, my Lords, supposing the Fact to be true, That there are erroneous Doctrines publish'd; to what End must the World be told in this Manner that they are vented with Impunity, but to reflect on those who should punish them? And can that be done without a Prosecution? If the Doctor had produced any of his undeniable and ample Proofs of these Matters, (which he mentions in his Answer) before any Court that had a proper Conscience of them, and been denied Justice, he might have had more Reason for Complaint: But to blame his Su-

periors for not punishing what they might be ignorant of, and which, he says, he was not, (and for which he might have promoted a Prosecution) seems to retort the Guilt upon himself, which he would lay upon them.

My Lords, The second Passage is in Page the 16th. He is talking of a Comprehension which was designed, not long since, to unite the Church and Dissenters; and complains of the Persons who were concerned in that heinous Intention; and then he asserts, "That since this Model of an Universal Liberty and Coalition failed, and these False Brethren could not carry the Conventicle into the Church, they are now resolved to bring the Church into the Conventicle, which will more plausibly and slyly effect her Ruin. What could not be gained by Comprehension and Toleration, must be brought about by Moderation and Occasional Conformity; that is, What they could not do by open Violence, they will not fail by secret Treachery to accomplish. If the Church can't be pull'd down, it may be blown up; and no Matter, with these Men, how it be destroyed, so that it is destroyed". Now, my Lords, who were these False Brethren that were concern'd in this Design of Comprehension, which failed, and who introduce worse Mischiefs? Do these Dangers proceed from Vice and Infidelity, from Blasphemy and Erroneous Doctrines? No, my Lords, these False Brethren are described in the Page before, under his Second General Head, to be in Church and State: Which must be Persons in Power and Authority; the Expression itself imports it; nor could they otherwise be capable of accomplishing that Design, of uniting the Dissenters and the Church: To which Design, and the Author who intended it, he is pleased to give the most vile and scurrilous Names imaginable; and afterwards he lays to their Charge an Intention to blow up the Church by Moderation. And this, I suppose, is one of the Vices which the Doctor mentions in his Answer, as one Means of Danger to the Church. If Moderation be a Vice, I will do the Doctor the Justice to acquit him from the least Tincture of it, in any of his Works that I have ever met with.

My Lords, The Third Passage is in Page the 18th. He is continuing his Observations of the Danger from the same False Brethren in Church and State; and then his Words are, "Falseness always implies Treachery; and whether that is a Qualification for any one to be trusted, especially with the Guardianship of our Church or Crown, let our Governors consider". This, my Lords, must relate to Persons, who (as he would insinuate) are not fit to be trusted with the Guardianship of the Church or Crown: And whether this Reflection does not seem to aim higher than the Administration, I submit to your Lordships.

The next Passage is in Page the 20th: The Words are these; "And now we are under no Danger in these deplorable Circumstances? Must we lull ourselves under this sad Repose, and in such a stupid Lethargick Security embrace our Ruin? When *Elisba*, the Great Prophet of God, was surrounded with an Host of Enemies that sought for his Life, his blind Servant beheld not the Peril his Master was in, till his Eyes were opened by a Miracle, and he found himself in the midst of Horses and Chariots of Fire. I pray God we be out of Danger; but we may remember, that the King's Person was voted to be

“ be so at the same Time that his Murderers
“ were conspiring his Death.

Now, my Lords, the Doctor, to excuse this Passage, says, the deplorable Circumstances we are in, proceeds from the Maturity of National Sins, &c. as in his Answer. But who are mention'd in his Sermon as the Occasion of the Maturity of National Sins but the Dissenters, who, he says, are plotting the Ruin of the Church, and False Brethren join with them? So that here neither is the Danger asserted from Vice and Infidelity, but as it is occasioned by the Dissention from the Church, which the Law has thought fit to apprehend as no Danger to the Church; and therefore it did not become him to assert the contrary. Then as to the Parallel of the Assembly who voted King *Charles* the First out of Danger, and of the Members who made the Vote about the Danger of the Church Four Years ago, he says, he meant no Reflection on any of the Members who passed that Vote, because he never mentioned that Vote; and as to the Vote about King *Charles*, others were conspiring his Ruin than those who voted him out of Danger; so while the Parliament voted the Church out of Danger, there were other Enemies conspiring her Ruin. If the Doctor intended no Reflection upon that Vote, Why was Voting in any Case mention'd? Can any one imagine that the Doctor did not know of that Vote, since the Danger of the Church is so much his Topick? Nor can I presume him ignorant of the Time when that Vote about King *Charles* was passed; which, as far as I can observe from the History of that Time, was in *November* 1648, that he was voted out of Danger; and when he was Tried and Beheaded, I need not mention to your Lordships: And whatever Alteration might be made in that Assembly after the Vote, and before his Death, was done by those Persons who conspired his Destruction, and who were Part of that Assembly who voted him out of Danger. So that it seems plain, that the Vote of Safety, and the Conspiracy of Ruin, came from most of the same Persons; and it does not seem very strange to suppose the Doctor intended his Allusion in the same manner.

And as to the Scripture he quotes to this Purpose, “ That the blind Servant beheld not the
“ Peril his Master *Elisha* was in, till his Eyes were
“ opened by Miracle, and he found himself in the
“ midst of Horses and Chariots of Fire.” My Lords, these Horses and Chariots of Fire were not the Prophet's Enemies but his Friends; nor was there any Danger to be feared from them; on the contrary, they were a Security from his Enemies; so that he plainly perverts the Sense of that Text, to make a stronger Impression, and more effectually to delude the People.

My Lords, The last Passage is in the last Page: He is still talking of the Danger of the Church, and quotes a Text as in the *Lamentations* (viz.) “ Though she lies bleeding of the Wounds she received in the House of her Friends”. Indeed, my Lords, I can't find it there; therefore it seems to me to be a Lamentation of the Doctor's own making. Then he goes on, “ Though the Ways of *Sion* may
“ mourn for a Time, and her Gates be desolate, her
“ Priests sigh, and she in Bitterness, because her
“ Adversaries are Chief, and her Enemies at present
“ prosper; though among all her Lovers she has
“ few to comfort her, and many of her Friends have
“ dealt treacherously with her, and are become her
“ Enemies.” My Lords, I mention these Passages only to shew, that the Doctor, by the most pathetic Expressions of his own, mix'd with these Texts

of Scripture, endeavours to represent the Church of *England* to be in the utmost Danger.

I shall trouble your Lordships no further with the Passages in this Sermon; but should not omit to take Notice, that there is a Suggestion in the Doctor's Answer, that the Vote four Years ago did not concern him; but that it related only to them that then did assert the Church to be in Danger: If he had minded the Words of the Vote, he would have found there was no Pretence for that Objection; for it is, “ Whoever shall go about to insinuate,
“ that the Church is in Danger under her Majesty's
“ Administration;” which must relate to any Time during the Continuance of her Majesty's Reign.

And now, my Lords, I beg Leave to observe some Circumstances attending this Offence, which give it the highest Aggravation. That Memorial which was published some Years ago, and was the chief Occasion of the Vote in Parliament, was a Libel that reviled her Majesty and her Administration, as the Occasion of the Danger of the Church. The Author was pleased to conceal himself, and durst not avow his Doctrine; but the Book had the Fate it deserved: And from the Ashes of that Phoenix arose another Memorial, with many of the same virulent Expressions against her Majesty's Administration, agreeing in the whole Scope of it, as to the same scandalous Purpose; but far exceeding it in Malice and Inveteracy.

And this new Memorialist has presumed to publish his Seditious Reflections in the most open manner imaginable; first at the Assises at *Derby*, and afterwards in the great Church of this Metropolis; and has thought fit to print and disperse about forty Thousand of them over the Kingdom. From whence could this extraordinary Zeal proceed? Was it to exhort Men to revere their Governors, and to submit to those in Authority over them? Was it intended to preserve Peace and Good-will amongst Men? To promote Charity, Brotherly Love and Affection? No, my Lords, there is plain Evidence to the contrary, *Ex ore suo judicabitur*. He tells you the Reason of his Topicks in that Place; he says, he intended “ To open the Eyes
“ of the deluded People in that great Metropolis;
“ to set the rich and powerful Inhabitants right in
“ their Notions of Government in Church and
“ State.” They were obliged to him for his pious Design, and for instilling those Doctrines, which, as your Lordships were told Yesterday, would make their Religion, Liberty, Property, and all that is dear and valuable, Precarious: He tells you further, “ That our Constitution of Church and State
“ is vigorously attack'd from without, and lazily
“ defended from within; that there are Attempts
“ upon the Friends of the Church, to shut their
“ Eyes and Mouths, in order to undermine and
“ destroy them; that he thinks the Pulpit a proper
“ Place for Politicks; and that it is the Business
“ of a Clergyman to sound a Trumpet in *Sion*, to
“ cry aloud and spare not.” And in his Preface to the *Derby* Sermon he explains himself still further upon this Topick, “ That the Church is shamefully betrayed and run down; that there are some
“ still who will defend it with their Lives and
“ Fortunes.” And states the Case as if there was an immediate Necessity to take up Arms for a Holy War upon this Occasion.

My Lords, This Crime is more heinous, for that there is the least Reason for these Seditious Murmurs, that has been in any Reign whatever. Is there any Invasion or Attempt upon the Liturgy, even the least Ceremony of the Church, or any

Part of the Ecclesiastical Constitution? Are her Revenues impaired, or any of her Temporal Rights violated? No, my Lords; but our Royal Sovereign has distinguish'd her Care for this Church in a more peculiar Manner than any of her Predecessors; she has given from her own Revenue to increase that of the Clergy, for their more creditable Support, and to enable them to preach sound Doctrine for the Welfare of her Subjects; nor is her Majesty wanting to promote Religion, Piety and Virtue, by her own Royal Example, the most effectual Encouragement. These are the true Basis of the Church, and the best Pillars to support it. And what Occasion was there for these Reflections on her Majesty's Administration? Has not that venerable Bench given the World abundant Proof of their Care and Vigilance to preserve that Church, of which they are the Guardians, by their Learning and unblamable Conduct; by their zealous and resolute Defence of her in the worst of Times, and against all her Enemies? It is very surprizing that a Gentleman, whose Education has been in the Fountain of Learning and Religion so many Years (who cannot be presum'd to err through Ignorance) that he should presume in his private Capacity to contradict the Sense of the whole Nation, and cast such Aspersions on his Superiours. To what End could he so zealously disperse his Notions, if not to animate a deluded People to the Execution of seditious Designs.

It were to be wished, that a Government could be supported by Mildness and Clemency; but such is the State of depraved Nature, even these most Passive-Obedience Natures, that they are not contented to be only ungrateful for the Benefits they enjoy from the Church and State, but they must rebel against Principle, and fly in the Face of that Government from which they receive their Support and Protection.

The Doctor cries aloud, and there are many others that spare not: Some have presumed to censure this very Proceeding before your Lordships, as a Persecution of the Church. And what must be the Consequence of tolerating such bold and daring Spirits to go on in their seditious Practices!

If your Lordships do not vindicate your own Resolutions, and exert your Power and Authority to suppress that audacious and unparallel'd Insolence, that daily flies Abroad from the Pulpit and the Press, (which, as the Doctor says truly, are become the Mints of Faction and Sedition) I may take Leave to say, there will be too much Reason for his Assertions of Danger both to Church and State: But the Commons are so well satisfy'd of your Lordships true Concern for the Preservation of our Constitution, that they cannot imagine you will suffer any Attempts that may be pernicious to the Welfare of the Government, to pass without condign Punishment; and therefore they intirely rely on your Lordships Wisdom and Justice.

Mr. Compton. **M**AY it please your Lordships, I am commanded by the Commons to assist in maintaining the third Article of their Impeachment against Doctor *Henry Sacheverell*, which has been fully opened to your Lordships by the learned Gentleman that spoke before me.

My Lords, The Commons think they have good Reason to assert, that Dr. *Sacheverell*, in his Sermon preach'd at *St. Paul's*, doth falsely and maliciously contradict and arraign a Resolution of both Houses of Parliament, approv'd of by her Majesty, and made publick by her Royal Proclamation.

My Lords. Your Lordships cannot but have observed, that it has been one of the constant Artifices of the Enemies of the present happy Establishment, who very well know the just Value the People of this Nation have for the established Church, to suggest and insinuate, that this Church is a Condition of great Peril and Adversity, in order to foment Animosities, and to cover Designs which they dare not publickly own. But how frequent soever this has been, I believe I may safely affirm, that this scandalous and seditious Assertion was never so boldly maintained, nor with such invidious and aggravating Circumstances, as by the Criminal at your Lordships Bar.

The learned Society, of which he is a Member, reaped such signal, such immediate Advantage, from the Revolution, that he could not be unmindful, he could not be ignorant of the extreme Danger from which our Laws and Liberties, our Church and Constitution were rescued by his late Majesty. But such is his Ingratitude to our Great Deliverer, such is his Inveteracy to the Revolution, that he makes that very Revolution the Period of Time from whence the Enemies of our Church first had Hopes to deliver her up to her worst Adversaries. Nor does his Malignity cease there, but he endeavours to persuade the People, that from the Revolution to the present Time, there has been a continued Series of Contrivances to ruin and destroy the Church: At the Revolution, by open Violence; but *Now*, that is, under her Majesty's Administration, by *secret Treachery*; and since neither the late nor the present Reign can escape his Invectives, for what Person he reserves his Panegyrics, is submitted to your Lordships to determine.

My Lords, I would not take up any of your Lordships Time unnecessarily; but I must not conclude, without expressing the Indignation the Commons have at his traducing and vilifying the last Parliament, by that odious Parallel in the twenty first Page of his Sermon preach'd at *St. Paul's*.

My Lords, the Parliament he thus endeavours to blacken, was opened with so full an Appearance in both Houses, that her Majesty observ'd it with Satisfaction from the Throne; and at the same Time her Majesty with Grief observ'd the Malice of such Persons, who suggested the Church was in Danger; and desired the Assistance of her Parliament to discountenance and defeat such Practices. And in Duty to her Majesty, to secure the Quiet and Peace of the Kingdom, and to disappoint the Designs of the Enemies of our Church and Constitution, both Houses of Parliament came to the Resolution, set forth by the Commons in the Articles of the Impeachment which have been read to your Lordships. And the same Parliament proceeded in this and other Matters which were before them, with so much Vigour as well as Prudence, that in less than six Weeks her Majesty graciously took Notice that their Proceedings had had a good Effect all over *Europe*. And at the Conclusion of the Session, her Majesty, with great Goodness, declares how much she was pleas'd to observe their Unanimity and Zeal throughout the whole Session, against every Thing that tended to Sedition. It was this Parliament that so chearfully concurr'd with her Majesty in promoting and compleating the Union of the two Kingdoms. And it was the Gentlemen that compos'd this Parliament, join'd by the Representative of the other Part of the united Kingdom, who readily and unanimously assisted her Majesty in disappointing the Attempt of the Pretender to her Crown, whose chief Dependance was in the restless and arbitrary

bitrary Principles of some of her Majesty's Subjects, ill-affected to their Country.

And now, my Lords, is there any Ground to compare the dutiful Proceedings of such a Parliament, with what was done in those unhappy Times, with which he would maliciously draw a Parallel? No, my Lords. And I may safely venture to say, that 'tis impossible to find the least Resemblance between her Majesty's glorious Reign and that unfortunate Administration, except that there were

then, as there are now, *Ministers of the Church, who by their Function, being Messengers of Peace, set up to be the Trumpeters of Sedition, and Incendiaries to Rebellion.* But, my Lords, the Commons

hope, That the happy Period is now come, when even this Resemblance shall have its Determination; for they intirely rely on your Lordships Justice to inflict such an exemplary Punishment on this Offender, as may deter others from endeavouring to distract the Kingdom with such groundless Distrusts and Jealousies for the future.

Lord Coningsby. **M**Y Lords, I am commanded by the Commons of *Great Britain* to assist, and endeavour to make good, the important Charge they have exhibited against the Criminal at the Bar: And because I am least able, among all the Gentlemen that have that Honour, out of Indulgence to me I am assigned to the third Article, that wants least to be supported.

The Sermon preached by the Doctor at *St. Paul's*, and which has been read to your Lordships, from the first Word in the Title Page, to the last Line in the Conclusion, is one false, malicious, and seditious Assertion, That the Church of *England* was under the last Reign, and is under the present, in the utmost Peril and Danger.

The Proclamation which your Lordships have heard mentioned, and which was designed by our glorious Queen, from whose Speech it took its Rise, by your Lordships, and the Commons who concurr'd in it, to be a Warning to such Incendiaries, as the Criminal, not to trumpet amongst the People Suggestions so seditious, in order to cover Designs more dangerous, and which, God be praised, they are not yet strong enough, nor never I hope will be, publickly to own; shews this malignant Offender committed this Offence in Difiance of her Majesty, your Lordships, and the Commons.

The Proofs, which almost every Gentleman has brought to the two preceding Articles; and those particular Instances that have been so fully opened by these Gentlemen who have spoke before me to the present, shews that it would be vain in me, and mispending your Lordships Time, to pretend to enforce those Points, already so fully made good.

I shall therefore very shortly, tho' I hope very plainly, lay before your Lordships what are those pernicious Designs the Doctor intends to cover, and at last hopes to bring to pass, by his Preaching, Printing, and Publishing, not only round this Kingdom, but amongst his Friends on the other Side of the Water, this seditious, I may say, rebellious Discourse, for which he stands at present impeached by the Commons.

And as it has been shewn your Lordships, by the Gentlemen that made good the first Article, that the Doctor, by reflecting on the necessary Means to bring about the Revolution, the Foundation on which our present happy Establishment is built; by asserting that her Majesty ought to depend upon no other Title to the Crown but her Hereditary one;

design'd, by such destructive Positions, to bring back the Pretender; with Popery and *French* Tyranny attending him, to govern the State.

So it is as plain, from the whole Scope of his Sermon, that the Doctor, and all those in Combination with him, have nothing more at Heart than to destroy the present Church, as established by the wholesome Laws of this Land, and that because it's most consonant in its Doctrine and Discipline to that of the primitive Christians, of any since the Time of the Apostles; and consequently less agreeable with the flaming Opinions of such Firebrands, who know not of what Spirit they are of: And this in order to set up a Scheme of a Church, agreeable to the tyrannical one they have projected for the State: A Church, the Doctor's I mean, though in Pretence Protestant, that would be ready soon to be turned into a Monster, by adding to itself a Popish Head.

A Church that will destroy all those that brought about, and have since supported the happy Revolution.

A Church, which upon Anti-Christian Principles professes Burning for Conscience sake; which the Doctor, like those wicked Men whose Mercies are cruel, calls wholesome Severities.

A Church that will turn all the Blessings we enjoy under the present Administration, into all those Miseries we got rid of by the late glorious Revolution.

I cannot doubt therefore but your Lordships will out of Duty to the best of Queens, and in Justice to your Lordships and the Commons, deter others from ever being guilty of the like heinous Offence.

Mr. Dolben. **M**Y Lords, This Article of the Commons Impeachment contains one Criminal Position, That the Church of *England* is now in a Condition of great Peril and Danger under her Majesty's Administration, aggravated by an odious Parallel that affords a Pregnant Proof of the true Spirit and Designs of this bold offender.

The Accusation has already been fully made out by plain and positive Words in his Sermon; from which, as well as from many other Passages, I shall beg Leave to submit to your Lordships Judgment, whether that wicked Parallel may not justly be turn'd upon him; Whether there is not more than Suspicion that he, and all his Abettors, are conspiring the Ruin and Destruction of the Church, when under the Disguise of a False Zeal they prostitute her sacred Name, to carry on dark and deep Designs, fatal both to Church and State.

I shall only briefly take Notice to your Lordships, that the Guilt of this Offence arises from a plain Contempt of her Majesty's Proclamation, and of the Resolutions of both Houses of Parliament; moved by no Inducement, but an Eagerness and Industry not to let any Shadow or Colour escape, that may contribute to his Part in the grand Design, to be only effected by fomenting Divisions and Distractions amongst us.

But, my Lords, in order to unveil the Doctor's Pretences, and to take away his trivial Excuses, I beg Leave to represent to your Lordships, that if the whole Legislature had not, from a full Conviction of the Church's Security and Safety, laid a severe Injunction against the publishing such a false and pernicious Suggestion, yet evident Truth ought to have taught him not to have transgress'd in so notorious a Manner: