The Thirteenth Chapter
To the Romans,
Vindicated from the Abusive Senses put upon it.

Written by a Curate of Salop;
And directed to the Clergy of that County, and the Neighbouring Ones of North-Wales; To whom the Author wisheth Patience, Moderation, and a Good Understanding, for Half an Hour.

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The 13th Chapter to the Romans, Vindicated from the Abusive Senses put upon it.

My Business having drawn me up to London in the Winter, I had the Opportunity of Hearing the Trial of the famous Doctor, from the Beginning to the End: and was thereby inform'd of abundance of Things, of which I was before ignorant; and enabled, as I thought, to set you right also, and to correct a great many Mistakes, into which I found We had all of us been led. When I first came to Town, it was between the Preaching of his Sermon, and his being Impeach'd for it: and I believe, I may safely affirm, there were not Ten Men of Sense and Character, in all the City, but did absolutely condemn that Discourse, as a Rhapsody of incoherent ill-digested Thoughts, dress'd in the worst Language that could be found. They said it became not a Minister of the Gospel, for the Spirit with which it was composed; nor a Doctor, for the Argumentative Part of it; nor a tolerable Englishman, for the Style and Expression. In a word; neither the Matter, nor the Manner of the Sermon pleased any one. This, I am sure, was then the Untainted Judgment of the Town. The Man was thoroughly despis'd, both by his Friends, and Enemies, for this Performance. Upon the Impeachment indeed Matters were much changed, and the Sermon mended strangely. The High-Church Party took the Sermon, and the Preacher, into their Protection, and made his Cause their own; not changing their Opinion, nor valuing either at the Price of a Pin, but making it a Handle and Occasion of bringing their loft and abandon'd Cause into Countenance again, and of playing their Game anew with more Advantage. They gain'd at first on the devout and honourable Women,
who whisper'd back to them, That if they had the Courage to resume the Posts they had been lately driven from, there never was an Opportunity more favourable than now: I may not tell you abundance of Things that I then heard from good Hands: We quickly saw how the Cause thriv'd in its Management, and what Arts were used to make weak People believe, the Church was endanger'd in that Trial, and Tried together with her Champion: This was then the Talk of credulous Women, shallow Men, and of young Preachers, and of many of my Countrymen and Sir J. Pa--on. Fellow Curates; from whom, I doubt not, our Neighbour stole the Thought, and put it into his elegant Address. Whereas to Me, the Church appear'd to be no more concern'd in this Dispute, than the Mountain, at whose bottom my House stands. The Dispute, I plainly saw, was who should have the good Places, the profitable Posts, and Offices of Honour. The Peace was then in View, and both Sides began to bestray themselves; the One to keep the Seats they were already in, the Other to remove them, and place their Betters in; imagining, that as Things settle'd at the Peace, there they would fix and continue. But let them settle where they will, the Church, I dare engage, will be no whit the better, unless we will account that half a score Sedicioius, Bold Incendiaries, are the Church. These indeed will be Gainers, as you will shortly see; and that will be all the Advantage the Church will get by this warm Controversy.

There is nothing so conceited as a Man that has lately been at London, and let into some Secret History, and kept Company for an Hour or two, with some Great Folks above his Quality. This, I own, was my Condition, and I believe that as soon as I should get down into the Country, I should carry all before me, and quickly convince you, that you had wrong Notions of Things, understood very little of the Springs of publick Affairs, and were carried away into a Thousand Errors. That you are still as blind as Beetles,
Beetles, I am very sure; but that you are capable of being convinced, and set right in any of these Matters, is what I now doubt very much; since I have seen you so unanimous in affirming the Doctor to be a Man of Parts, and great Defender of the Church, and that the Churches Interest and His were inseparable; and that all who were against Him, were Enemies to the Church, with a great many such like foolish and absurd Propositions. When I saw this, I easily forgave your counting Six to be more than Seven, and Fifty two to be as many again as Sixty nine: These I thought might better be maintain'd, (by opposing Weight to Number) than the other, which betrays such a Defect of Judgment, as is not to be rectified or remedied. But that which gave me most trouble, in all our Bickerings, was, methoughts, that obstinate, vexatious Citation of The 13th Chapter to the Romans, which was thrown at my Head upon all Occasions. I could not mention the Revolution, K. William, the H. of C.----, Liberties of the Subject, nor any thing like them, but presently I was desired to look into the 13th Chap. to the Romans. I no sooner urged that Sir S. H. and all the Doctor's Council had defended the Revolution and the Resistance that brought it about, as strenuously and openly, and in as plain Terms, as the Managers themselves had done; and that the present Archbishop of T. had given up all that they contended for, in making the Laws of the Land the Measure of the Subject's Submission and Obedience; as good K. Charles the I. had own'd the Law to be the Measure of his Power, in His Declaration from New-Market, March 9. 1641. I had, I say, no sooner urged these things, and others to the like Purpose, but that a Bible was brought, which opened of it itself at the 13th Chapter to the Romans, and I was bid to see what I could make of it. This, as I was a Curate, gave me more Concern than all you said besides, and so I resolved to see and read that Chapter through and through, and give you my Thoughts of it; which I now send you in Print, for the Edification of my Country, and
and good Neighbours. It cost me the more Pains, because I was to spin it (as it were) out of my own Brains, not being allowed, as it should seem, to consult any Commentators, either of the Popish or the Protestant Party abroad; since I was every Day told, that the Doctrine of Passive Obedience and Non-Resistance, was a Doctrine Peculiar to the Church of England. Now altho' a Doctrine seldom recommends it self to me by its Peculiarity; yet I thought it would be to no Purpose to cite either Protestant or Papist, who would not be believed or trusted in the Matter. And yet, I tell you, it is no little Prejudice to a Doctrine of such Importance, to have both Protestant and Popish Writers favour it so little as they do: Nor is it a little absurd, to say a Doctrine is Peculiar to a Church, when it pretends to come from Christ, to be taught by the Apostles, and by all the Primitive Writers. I desire after the Example of other Great Authors, that I may first suppose some few things, as Postulata, and then make Arguments and Inferences from them, in the manner following.

I. I suppose that the Epistle to the Romans (of which the 13th Chapter is so notable a part) tho' immediately directed to the Christians of that Empire, was yet intended by St. Paul, for the Use, Instrucution and Direction of all the Christians in the World besides.

II. I suppose that, at what time the 13th Chap. to the Romans might be written, there were as many different Governments in the World, as there are at this Day. I will name but Four. 1st, An Absolute Monarchy, such as the Roman Empire then was, and the Turkish one now is. Where the Will of the Prince was the Law. 2dly, A limited and mixed Monarchy, as that of the Quadi was of old, and England is now thought to be. Where the Prince governed by a Body of known Laws, made by himself together with a Chamber of Nobles, and a Chamber of Sage and Substantial Persons, chose out of the Commonalty, to represent them. He could make no new Law by himself, nor could
could he abrogate an old one; nor could he so explain a
doubtful controverted Passage of a Law, as to make it
pass for Law, by his single Authority. He had the
Power of appointing all such as should execute the Laws.
He had also the Power of the Sword; he could make
War and Peace, but he could not of himself, raise any
Money, either to pay the Civil Lift, or to pay the
Soldiers; nor could he appoint his Successor. In a word,
it was just such another Government, as that of Eng-
land is, under a King, a House of Lords, and Commons.
And if any of you doubt whether the Quadi were re-
ally and in truth thus governed at that time, I will not
refer you to the Writers of those times for my Juftifica-
tion, but desire only to suppose there might be such a
Government; which is not unreasonable, because you
know there actually is such a one, namely, our own
of Great Britain. 3dly, An Ariftocratical Government,
like that of Venice, where the Senators truly govern all,
but with a Duke at their Head, of little Real, but of
much Ceremonial Significance. 4thly, A Commonwealh
like that of the Seven Provinces with a Stadtholder for
their Captain General. These Four Sorts of Govern-
ment I take leave to suppose there were, or at least
might have been, when the 13th Chap. to the Romans was
written.

III. I suppose the 13th Chap. to the Romans, made no
immediate Change of all, or any of these Four Govern-
ments; but left them as they found them. Each of
them continued, or might have continued, as it stood
before that Chapter was written; neither of them be-
came more or less lawful, innocent, or convenient;
than they were before St. Paul appeared: It gave the
Governing Part of each, no more Power than it had be-
fore; nor did it put the Governed Part into any worse
Estate and Condition.

IV. As the 13th Ch. to the Rom, unsettled no Govern-
ment that was then settled; nor made any manner of
Change that we know of: So neither did it settle or
fix any Government in such a manner, as to make it un-
unlawful for the Legislative Power (should it see fit) to change or alter it. An Absolute Monarch might, if he had pleased, have condescended to govern by known Laws, and might have obliged himself to govern by no other Laws; and might have discharged the People from obeying him, whenever he should go about to overthrow those known Laws: And of this he might appoint 12 or more Great Officers to be the Judges, who should determine, whether such and such Commands, if executed, would overthrow those known Laws; and consequently whether the People were obliged to execute those Orders and Commands. One may suppose the 12th Chap. to the Romans would not hinder this Arbitrary Prince, from making these Condescensions, nor from obliging himself to stand to them when made. Neither would the 13th Chap. to the Romans forbid or hinder a Limited Monarchy from becoming an Absolute one, should all that are concerned freely consent to make it so. In a word, it is but reasonable to think, that every Estate and Government knows its own Defects the best, and best knows how to supply and remedy those Defects, by changing the Place of Power, and putting it into proper Hands, in what Degree or Measure it thinks fit, and most conducive to its own Advantage: For all Governments have the same Authority; but differ in the Exercise and Administration of it.

V. The 13th Chap. to the Romans is therefore a much quieter Chapter than most People imagine. It changed no Government: It settled none unalterably; It made no Freemen Slaves; It made no Slaves Freemen. It left every Nation to be governed by its own Laws; and if they could mend those Laws, they might: And if they should part with them for worse, it did not forbid them doing so. It bids every Soul be subject to the Higher Powers ——— but it does not tell us, who those Higher Powers are: It sends us to the Laws of the Constitution, to learn where they are placed. The Higher Powers at Rome were not, at that time, the Emperor, the Senate, and the People, conjunctly, but the Empe-
ror, the Senate, and the People conjunctly, but the
Emperor alone. The Higher Powers among the Quadi
were the Prince, The Upper and Lower Chambers; in the
Legislature, the Power of raising Taxes, and appointing
the Succession; but the Prince alone in Fighting and ex-
ecuting Laws. The Higher Powers in the Aristocracy,
and in the Commonwealth, were much as they now are
in Venice, and the Seven Provinces. This we learn not
from the 13th Chap. to the Romans, but from the Histories
of their several Constitutions. The 13th Chap. to the Rom.
tells us, that the Powers that be, are ordained of God; there-
fore it tells us, that Arbitrary Monarchy, that Limited
Monarchy, that Aristocracy, and a Commonwealth are or-
dained of God; that they are, each of them, alike the
Ordinance of God. And the same Chapter says, that they
who resist the Ordinance of God, shall receive to themselves
Damnation --- Therefore it says, that whosoever resist-
eth in an Arbitrary, or a Limited Monarchy, in an Ari-
stocracy or in a Commonwealth, shall receive to himself
Damnation, i.e. It says in short, that a Man may be
a Rebel in or against any Sort, or Species of Gover-
ment; and that a Rebel, without Repentance, shall
be damned. But does it tell us, what Rebellion is? Or
what Sort of Resistance it is, that makes a Man a Rebel?
This innocent Chapter, to my thinking, says nothing
of the Matter —— it leaves us to learn from the Laws
and Constitutions of each Government, what Obedience
is required at the Subjects Hands: What it is to be
a Rebel; and what Resistance is adjudged Rebellion. And
since it leaves each Kingdom to be govern'd by its own
Laws, (as is above shewn) and to change those Laws,
as it sees convenient, it follows manifestly, that such,
or such an Act of Resistance, may be Rebellion in one
Country, and not in another; and (in the same Country)
at one time, and at another time (when the Law is
changed) it may be no Rebellion; and that which once
was damnable, may now be innocent and justifiable. We
may therefore learn from the 13th Chap. to the Romans,
that Rebellion is at all times damnable; but we cannot
learn from thence, what is Rebellion. That the Laws
of the Land must teach us: The Chapter forbids Resistance, but, truly, the Laws must tell us what Resistance is, and in what Case it is forbidden.

VI. The 13th Chap. to the Romans commands Submission to the Higher Powers. The Laws of the Empire may say, that this Submission (with Respect to the Roman Emperor) must be Submission without Reserve: The Chapter therefore may say, that the Submission of the Roman Subjects, was Submission without Reserve. But does the 13th Chap. to the Romans say the same thing to the Subjects of the Quadiian Monarchy, with respect to their King? When the Laws of their Government tell them, that their King, is not a Roman Emperor, nor has the sole Legislative Power lodged in his Hands, nor can raise a Penny of Money, without both Chambers; Does this Chapter tell the People, that they must submit without Reserve, to what Laws the Prince shall think fit to make of his own Head? And must pay whatever Taxes shall be laid upon them by him, without Consent of both Chambers? Does the Chapter bind them, where the Laws have freed them? If not, 'tis manifest, the Laws of the Land are to instruct us, what Submission is required from the Subject to the Prince, and in what Cases it ought not either to be ask'd or paid. The Higher Powers, in the Aristocracy of Venice, are the Duke, and the Senators: The 13th Chap. to the Romans bids the Subjects of that State submit themselves to the Duke, and Senators. But does that Chapter bid them pay the same Submission to the separate Orders of the Duke, as to the Decrees of the Senators conven'd with him in the Great Council, if so be that the Laws of that State forbid the Subjects to pay Obedience to such separate Orders of the Duke, unless confirm'd by the Decrees of the Senate, in due Form? Will any Man say, the 13th Chap. to the Rom. commands the Subjects to pay such Acts of Obedience, as the Laws of that State discharge them from paying, and require them not to pay? The Duke is to be obeyed, where the Laws say he is to be obeyed, and not otherwise. And if a Man should say, S. Paul required the contrary, they would stop his Mouth.
Mouth with S. Mark; They would put him into a Sack, and throw him into the Adriatick Gulph.

VII. It is not therefore to be endured, that the 12 Ch. to the Romans should be so flander'd, as it has of late been: Since it only requires such Obedience and Submission, as the Laws of every Government require at the Subjects hands, neither more nor less; for if it required either more or less, it would alter and unsettle Governments; it would change the Power of the Rulers, and the Liberties of the People; it would make the one more or less absolute, the other more or less free, and quite subvert Establishments, and turn the whole World upside downwards: The contrary to all which has been shewn above, and in its way demonstrated.

VIII. I do not therefore intreat you, Not to be Slaves your selves; nor intreat you not to court Oppression, Tyranny, and Arbitrary Power; nor intreat you, not to abuse your Fellow Subjects for maintaining the Liberties and Privileges which the Laws of their Country have allowed them; I do not now so much intreat you in these Matters, as I intreat you, not to abuse the Word of God; not to traduce S. Paul; not to speak evil of the Christian Doctrine; as tho' these did not only barely favour, but encourage, and command, the Slavery of the Subject, and the Prince's Arbitrary Power, if he should please to assume it. Let the Scriptures alone, and make not them subservient to the base and villainous Designs of wicked Men that would enslave their Countrey. If they in whose hands the Legislative Power is lodged, shall now, or hereafter, give up the Liberties and Privileges we now enjoy as Englishmen, it will be time enough then to submit to our accursed Fortune. That is a Power, we know not how to disallow, or disobey. There, we shall see and feel the Weight of S. Paul's Authority, pressing Submission to the Lawful Powers, and calling for Obedience to the Rulers, that are set over us. Resistance in that Case, shall be accounted damnable. Let the Laws of our Country first bind our Hands, and then S. Paul will bind those Laws upon our Consciences. But do not wrong that Saint,
by saying that he hath made us Slaves, before the Laws of our Country have made us so. In this, I intreat you to spare the 13th Chapt. to the Romans.

IX. But, it may be, you will say, the 13th Chapter to the Romans, prescribes Submission on the Christians; to a Prince that was the very Worst of Men, a Monster of all Tyranny and Cruelty: And therefore that it is not now perverted or abused, when brought to enforce Submission to the like Commands of other Princes. To this I answer, that it is not to be proved, with any certainty, in whose Reign, or at what time, the Epistle to the Romans was written. But let the Passive Doctors take it for granted, that it was written when Nero reigned; and (if they like it the better for that) just when he caused the City of Rome to be set on Fire, and struck his Harp on that occasion: Or when he gave his Orders out to have his Mother kill’d; or in what Fit of Enormous Wickedness they please to place Him. What, I would know, is all this, to the Other Parts of the World, who were govern’d by Milder Princes, and liv’d under Laws both Just and Merciful? Where it was not allowed to the Prince to Govern by his own Will and Pleasure, but by known and settled Rules of Wisdom and Equity? Were the Subjects of these Other States and Kingdoms obliged, immediately upon the Writing this Epistle to the Romans, to conform themselves to the Example of the Subjects of the Empire, and pay their Princes the same Obedience and Submission, that were paid to Nero? If not, what signifies it who was then Emperor; or whether He were good or bad? And would it not be a sort of Blasphemy against the Christian Doctrine, to say, the Subjects of other States and Kingdoms were Free by the Laws of their Country, but, by their Conversion to Christianity, became immediately Slaves to the Will and Pleasure of their several Princes, in the same Measure and Degree, that the People of Rome were Slaves to Nero? When I intend to Renounce Christianity, I may say this thing of it, but not before. But if these States and Kingdoms were not oblig’d (by their becoming Christian, and receiving the Epistle to the Romans for the Word of God) to conform
conform their several Governments to that of Rome, to become themselves Slaves, and to make their Princes absolute as Nero was; Why then is the 13th Chapter to the Romans urged to make those People Slaves, after the Example of the Romans, whose Government was never like the Roman Government? Why may we not as well hold fast our Legal Liberties, after the Example of those Other Kingdoms, who continued to be Free, notwithstanding their becoming Christians, and receiving the Epistle to the Romans for the Inspired Word of God? How should it enter into any serious Man's Belief, that because the Romans were to submit themselves to Nero, who was an Arbitrary Prince, in Instances of great Tyranny and Cruelty; therefore the Quadi must submit themselves to Cotylus their Prince, in the like Instances of Tyranny and Cruelty: altho' by the Laws of that Kingdom, Cotylus was not an Arbitrary Prince, but bound by his Oath, to Govern by known Laws, which expressly said, The People were not to be treated in such a manner? Suppose St. Paul had lived about 30 years ago, and had taken occasion to write to the Christians at Constantinople, living under the Turkish Emperor; and should have thought fit to have said, in express Words, Let every Soul be subject to the Higher Powers; for there is no Power but of God; The Powers that be, are ordained of God; and He that resiseth the Power, resiseth the Ordinance of God; and they who resist, shall receive to themselves Damnation, &c. Had it been reasonable for any Clergyman to have argued from hence, that the Subjects of Great Britain, Venice, and Holland, must have paid the same Obedience, in all Regards, to the King, the Duke, and Prince of Orange, which the Subjects of the Turkish Empire paid to the Grand Signior? There is hardly a Man living but sees the Absurdity of such a Consequence; and yet, we have Men of all Orders and Degrees amongst us, that do every day, with great Gravity, make the same Conclusion, from the Subjection of the Romans to their Emperor; and infer, that the rest of the World are obliged to pay the same to their Respective Princes; and grow very angry, if we yield not quickly to them. The Supreme Power is, indeed, in all Places, and
at all Times, the fame, and must have the same Sub-
misson paid to it, that is paid to the Turkish Emperor
now, and was heretofore paid to the Roman One. But
we must first know certainly where the Supreme Power
is lodged; and that, I am sure, we shall never know
from the 13th Chap, to the Romans, which mentions not
a word of England, Venice, or the Seven Provinces. For
that I have said, we must have Recourse to the Laws
and Constitutions of those several Countries.

X. Let me then intreat you once more, not to lay
so heavy a Load upon this Chapter, or any other Piece of
Scripture. What need is there of charging God with all
the Miseries and Misfortunes that afflict Mankind, un-
der a State of Slavery, by making them the Effects of
his Commands; which must not be withstood, altho'
the Laws say otherwise, or leave Men, at least, at Li-
berty? Have Princes any need of being courted to be-
come the Tyrants and Oppressors of their People? Is
not the Exorbitance of Power, the Prize they are some-
times aiming at, and contending for, and the thing
that seems to please them more, than the true
Luftre of the Crown, which they constantly wear with
Innocence and Justice? What if it is not so with us at
present? Who can answer for Futurity? If a Good Prince
be complimented with more Power than belongs to him
by the Constitution, who shall be able to with-hold it
from a Bad One? And if you tell a Good Prince, He has
it from God, a Bad One will tell himself as much, and
become his own Flatterer. Look round the Neighbour-
ing World, and think what France is now, what Spain,
what Germany, what Italy, what Swedenland, and what
Denmark is; and remember they were once as Free as
you are now, and thought themselves as little likely to
put on the Chains they now groan under. The Clergy,
I must own, had but too great a share, in bringing on
those bad Changes; there was no doing such great
Things without them; they forwarded the cruel and
ambitious Aims of Princes; the Villanous Designs of
Wicked Counsellors, and the base Treachery of their
Fellow-Subjects, and help'd to offer up the Liberties of
their Country, to the Will and Pleasure of their Kings. Only, the 13th Chapter to the Romans had no hand in these bad Business; The Explanation of that Chapter to these Purposes, is, it should seem, peculiar to the Church of England. Excuse me, Brethren, if I am somewhat Zealous to remove this Scandal; I ever did, and ever shall account it a Reproach, to have it said, that the Church-men here, are Enemies of Liberty, and Favoures of Arbitrary Power: and, inconsiderable as I am, I always took the liberty to say, We loved our Nation as well as the Presbyterians; but call themselves the Church of England, who by their Principles are Slaves themselves, and (which is worse) would have all others to be so.

XI. I have now done with the 13th Chapter to the Romans, and have shewed you, that it requires of no People, any more Submission to the Higher Powers, than the Laws of their several Countries require: That it exacts no other Obedience than the Laws exact: That it forbids no other Resistance, than the Laws of that Country forbid: And that it Damns no Man, for making such Resistance as the Laws of his Country allow him to make, be it more or less. And after all this, I have the Presumption to say, that there is not a better Subject in all the Queen’s Dominions, than I am: I tell my People that She is the Lord’s Anointed; that She possefses the Throne, as well by the Act of Settlement, as by an Hereditary Right, as being the Daughter of King James; the Title and the Hopes of the Pretender (be they what they will) having been extinquish’d by an Act of Parliament; so that no Body can, or ought to come between the Crown and Her. I shew them moreover, that to preferve the Protestant Religion (which would be utterly subverted, should any Papist come to Reign over us) an Act of Parliament has quite cut off the Hereditary Right of more than Twenty several People, (all of them Papists) to settle the Crown upon the House of Hanover, and given to them (as long as they continue Protestants) an Hereditary Right also. I tell the People also, that Government
ment is the Ordinance of God, so beneficial to the World, that, without it, they could not live in Peace, nor have any Property, nor enjoy any good thing of this Life; nor call either House or Land, or Meat or Drink, or Cloathing, their own; but that every thing would be taken from them, by such as were cunninger, or stronger than they: And that they cannot love or thank God sufficiently for such a Blessing, as secures all others to them; and this convinces them how reasonable it is, to pay Taxes and Assessments, to enable the Government to protect them from Violence and Injustice, and Fraud at home, and from their Enemies abroad. I take this Course to make them in Love with Government, which, I assure them, was ordained of God purely and only for the People's Good; and there is not a Man in the Parish but believes it, because it is so much for his Interest; and it is not truer that God is in Heaven. I never dress up Caesar like a Hangman, a Ravisher, and a Publick Robber, and then tell them He is God's Vicegerent, and is not to be resisted; but I shew them the difference betwixt an Arbitrary Prince, and one that governs by Law, and tell them how happy the People of England are, above what the Romans heretofore were, and most other of the Nations of the World now are; whose Rights and Properties are as much secured by Law, as the Prerogative of the Crown is: That they are subject to no Will and Pleasure of a single Person, but to known Laws made in part, by Representatives of their own chusing; and that they are not to pay a Penny of Money, but what the Parliament lays upon them publicly. This makes them value their Constitution, and resolve to maintain it; which I also tell them they are as much obliged to do, as to defend the Rights and Person of their Sovereign. As to the Doctrines of Passive-Obedience and Non-Resistance, I seldom meddle with them, because they always suppose some very hard Proceedings of the Crown, some notorious Infringement of the Liberties of the People, or violent Invasion of their Right and Property; there can be no pretence for Passive Obedience, but where the Commands are Unlawful unrea-
unreasonably Hard and Cruel, and so insupportable, that they cannot be actively obeyed, and complied with; which is an Odious Case to put to the People, against their Prince. And so is the Business of Non-Resistance; there is no speaking to it, without supposing things are come to that Extremity, that the Subject cannot have his Remedy, or Security, in Concealment, by Flight, by Petition, nor by Course of Law; it necessarily supposes a forcible Invasion on the Prince's side, which the Subject is not (it seems) to refuse. These I say, are very hard and odious Cases, for Preachers to put against their Princes, tho' the Conclusion always is in Favour of the Prince. And indeed I have seldom heard these Causes managed in the Pulpit, with that Success that should encourage one to do the like. The Prince has generally lost more Ground in the Affections of the Audience, than he has gain'd on their Reason and Understanding. Nay, where the People have gone away convinced that they must not refuse, yet were they full of Wrath and Indignation, to think they must endure, so tamely, such insupportable Oppressions, as the Preacher had supposed, and, in his Passive Scheme, had laid down. For these and other Reasons I seldom touch upon these Doctrines in the Pulpit, and really think I do my Prince more Service by my Silence, than if I should urge them in the common manner. But whenever I am asked my Opinion of these Matters, out of the Church, I never am ashamed to tell them what it is; it is what I have set down at the beginning of this XIth Section. I say with King Charles the Ist. that the Law is the Measure of the King's Power. And I say with the present Abp. of T---, that the Law is the Measure of the Subject's Submission. And I think I may say of myself, from both of them, that a Subject is not obliged by Law to submit to the Command of his Prince that is directly against the Law. And this I think will say it self, whether I say it or no. But I add moreover, that in some Cases where the Law leaves me at Liberty (to avoid all Scandal and Offence) I may be obliged to obey a Command that brings not an intolerable
lerable Mischief on me: To disobey in light Cases, would shew too great a slight of Power, and a disres-
pect to the Person of the Governor, which ought most
carefully to be considered, and avoided if it can. In
a word, I never preach upon the 13th Chap. to the Ro-
mans, but I endeavour to make the People understand
the Blessing of Government, to love their Prince, and pay
their Taxes readily: By which means I bring them to
obey for Conscience sake, much rather than for Wrath;
because that Government is ordained of God for the
good of Mankind, and Princes are appointed of him,
to secure this End, and to see it answered by the Exe-
cution of good Laws; and for this Cause we pay Tribute.
And thus the People see they have a very good Bar-
gain of it — The Prince sells them Security and Prote-
cction from all Injustice at Home, and Enemies Abroad,
for the Rates and Assessments which they agree (by their
Representatives) to pay him at such certain times. But
for your Axes, Halter, Fire and Sword, Death and Dam-
nation, if they disobey; they know it as well as I, and
pray me to spend my time better. And yet I take my
Opportunity to let them know, that Disobedience to
the Laws is Damnable in the other World, because it is
defuctive of the Peace and Security of Mankind in
this; which is the very End of Government, the very
Reason of God’s Institution of it.

XII. It is high time you will think to put an end to
this Commendation of my own Way of Preaching: I
think so too; but I did it, to let you see that there is
other use (and much more serviceable to the Crown) to
be made of the 13th Chap. to the Romans, than what is
commonly made of it, by most young Preachers, whose
Understanding is not, generally, equal to their
Heat and Zeal; and who run away with the Words and
Letter of a Text, and leave the true Sense and Meaning
of it behind them. Would it not vex a Man a little,
to hear a young Divine preaching upon that Saying
of Christ, Render to Caesar the things that are Cæsar’s,
and to God the things that are God’s: — To tell his People
that from the Division of the Text, it was plain, that
what-
whatever was not God's, must needs be Cæsar's, for no one else was concerned; and then to back it with that pretty Fancy, _Divisum Imperium cum foave Cæsar habet_.

This, however had done no great harm, if he had not in the Application told us, that _All Kings and Queens_ were the same things with _Cæsar_, and invested with the same Powers; and consequently that all we had in the World, belonged to _them_, if it were not pre-engaged to God. By this we perceived that nothing was left to us; the _Tythes_ were God's, and all the rest was _Cæsar's_. Is this to be endured in an English Audience, if the Ears of every Man in the Parish were not bored through? And I would fain learn how much the Doctrine of those _greater Men_ differs from that of this Young Curate, who tell us, that all Magistrates, as well the _Subordinate_, as _Supreme_, are so of God, so much his Ordinance and Institution, that they are not _in any Case_, or _upon any pretence whatever_, to be resisted, not only _in the Execution of the Laws_ (which every one allows) but even in the most outrageous _Violation of the Laws_? So that a _ Petty Constable_ shall break my House open, abuse my Wife and Children, ransack my Coffers, take what Plate, Money, or Goods he pleases, provided his Staff be painted with the _Queen's Arms_; only because these Venerable Gentlemen have stamped the _Divine Authority_ upon all _Subordinate Magistrates_. I know they will wipe their Mouths, and say, they have supposed no such _Extrem Cases_. I say, we are never the more obliged to them for their Silence; for such Extrem Cases will suppose themselves, and will come first into every Bodies Mind and Consideration. Say that all _Subordinate Magistrates_ are the Ordinance of God, and the whole Parish will say their _Constable_ is such a Magistrate. Say that Magistrates are by no means to be resisted, who doing never such violent illegal Acts, and what shall hinder a needy Rascal got into an _Office_, from attempting to do them, protected for the present, not only with the _Royal_ but _Divine Authority_? And all these Doctrines, and their dreadful Consequences are, it seems, to keep the Peo-

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ple from Rebellion! As it were Rebellion to oppose illegal Violence! As it were a damnable Sin to resist a Constable, or (if you will) a Justice of Peace, committing Outrages against the Laws, such as deserve Imprisonment, Fine, or Death! Yet these are the easie, natural, and unavoidable Consequences of the Doctrine of these worthy Writers, who seem to have little Regard to the Country wherein they live, and little to the Laws that protect them from those Injuries and Violences, which they invite and tempt Men to commit, by making their Persons sacred; for by this new Divinity, we are about to consecrate Four or Five Thousand of the Queen's Officers at Home, and all the Regiments in English Pay abroad. Let these Learned Men look to it, for there is not one of the Foot-guard, but, if sent by his Officer (whose Commission runs still higher and higher) is a Subordinate Magistrate, and is upon that Account irresistible. You may be sure I say these things with great Scorn; but yet these silly wicked Consequences are not to be avoided, if you will take these Doctors' Word for the Premises. How freely do they part with People's Estates and Liberties! How cheap do they make Damnation! To be damn'd, will, in a little time, come to signify no more than to be excomunicated in a Spiritual Court, for not appearing upon Summons, or for not paying Costs of Three or Four Shillings! Surely, my Brethren will awake some time or other from these Dreams; altho' I know my Voice is much too low to reach them.

But Courage, Countrymen! For whilst I was writing, under great Agony of Mind, the last Period, I received in the Gazette, the Address of the Clergy of London and Westminster, with their Bishop at their Head: Who tell the Queen, "They acknowledge the most Illustrious House of Hanover, as the next Heirs in the Protestant Line, to have the only Right of ascending the Throne, and indubitable Title to our Allegiance."

We thank God (continue they) from the bottom
"of our Hearts, for the Legal Provisions in this Regard made to secure us from Popery and Arbitrary Power; which we once, through the Divine Assistance vigourously and successfully withstood, when they were breaking in upon our Constitution: Nor shall we fail to manifest an equal Zeal against them, whatever, and by what Means ever, they shall meditate a Return. From whence I do with great Satisfaction observe, i. That the Bishop and the Clergy of London and Westminster do openly acknowledge, to the Queen's Face, that an Act of Parliament can transfer the Hereditary Right of Succession from one Person to another, and from one House to another, and that such a Title is indisputable. The Proof of this, is, that the House of Savoy, and other Houses, are set aside, in favour of the House of Hanover. This I am sure, the Clergy of London were far enough from venturing to say, when the Bill of Exclusion was on foot; then the Right of Succession was De Jure Divino, indefeasible, unalienable, unalterable, and I know not what. They did not pretend it to be barely unreasonable, and hard, and inconvenient, but absolutely unlawful to exclude the Duke of York. They altered their Mind, belike, when he was K. James. 2dly, They thank God heartily, for the Legal Provisions made to secure the People from Popery and Arbitrary Power. And so do I, to see this Declaration come from them, because it will help to acquit them of the Scandal of being Friends to Arbitrary Power; and because I hope they mean what they say. Now I would fain know how any Men can thank God, that the Laws are on their Side, in this or that Regard, who acknowledge at the same time, that if those Laws should be invaded, violated, and quite subverted, even to the utter Misery and total Ruin of the People, they have no manner of Right to defend them, by any forcible Opposition whatsoever, although the Person that thus subverts those Laws, has no such Power committed to him? What Security to a Subject is a Law against Arbitrary Power, when it is forbidden the Subject (by a Superior Law) to put that Law...
Law in Execution against that Arbitrary Power? What are Privileges worth, what are Liberties good for, that cannot be maintained and secured, by such means as are only proper, only able to secure them and maintain them? How would it read, should such a Speech have been left as this, spoken to the King of the Quadi, by the High-Priest of Mars, at the Head of his Sovereignty? "We thank the Immortal Gods, most Noble Prince, that we have Laws and Statutes to secure us against Arbitrary Power, that bind you, by the Share you had in making them, and by the Oath you took to govern by them, neither to hurt our Persons, nor deprive us of our Liberty, nor take our Money from us, but in such a manner and proportion as is settled by our Constitution; these Laws and Liberties, the World around, admire and envy to us. But yet we are obliged to tell your Subjects, (as we often tell your Majesty) that whenever you please to break through these Restraints, to invade these Liberties, and to subvert these Laws, their Hands are tied, they have no other Remedy, but to implore your Mercy and Forbearance, and beseech the Heavenly Powers to divert your Purpose, and inspire you with a better Mind. "We tell your Majesty, you have no Moral Power, nor yet Political, to do these cruel and destructive Things; but if you will go on, the Gods may call you to an Account hereafter: But as for us, and all your People, we are devoted to eternal Snakes and Furies, if we lift up a Hand against you; for you are irresistible, not only in your Sacred Person, but in all your Ministers that act subordinately under you. I stay not to conjecture what Remarks so grave a Man as Tacitus would make on such a Speech. I only say, That if the Prince abstain from Violence, after this, he is a very good Prince, and will deserve all Thanks and Praise imaginable; but what Claim or Title to such solemn Thanks, the Immortal Gods should have, passes my Reach and Understanding; because (as I should think) those Gods were the very People (if you will pardon that bold Figure) that hindered these good
good Laws from being any Security to the Subject, by imposing an after-Law, that tied his Hands from maintaining them. And if the London Addressers, when they come to explain themselves, should mean thus, I say, they cannot compliment their Prince too highly, for the Preservation of these Laws from Violence; but I shall be to seek, for what it is, they thank God so from the bottom of their Hearts. For a Hundred Laws are not worth a Chip, if he, against whom those Laws are expressly designed, has it in his Power to subvert and confound them when he will; because those Persons, for whose Safety those Laws were expressly designed, are restrain'd from opposing him with any forcible Resistance whatsoever. Had this Doctrine been true, and believed, how little had all the Laws against Popery signified in the Reign of K. James, had the Subordinate Powers at Hounslow-Heath stood by their Master, and joined with him in the Executive Part? And I am glad to observe, that the Bishop and Clergy take occasion to represent to her Majesty, and all the World, how vigorously they have opposed Popery and Arbitrary Power, and how vigorously they will again oppose them, if ever they offer to return and make head. How vigorously and successfully they opposed Popery, is visible and legible to all the World, to their everlasting Honour. But their vigorous Opposition to Arbitrary Power, in that unhappy Reign, has the Misfortune not to be so well known to the Kingdom, unless they mean the Hand they had in bringing about the Revolution. The Noble Head of these Addressers had indeed such a Share in that Transaction, that it never ought to be forgotten; and he opposed Illegal Arbitrary Power, by all the ways a brave Man, and a Lover of his Country could; but surely the Followers of him will not assume this Honour. Let them make out their Claim to this great Merit, and all Men living will be glad to own it. But till it appear, that they did heretofore vigorously oppose Arbitrary Power in their Prince, the Promise of doing the like, with equal Zeal hereafter, will and must be fallacious, or of little Use and Service;
Service unless it be, to let us see, that they, who say they have opposed Arbitrary Power, and say they will again oppose it, must needs believe it lawful for other People to do the like. But if they only mean (as I am afraid they do) by Opposition, the Preaching up the Prince's Obligations to keep his Oath, and not to exercise any Illegal Arbitrary Power; what will it signify, if, at the same time they tell their Audience, that St. Peter and St. Paul have tied their Hands, made all Laws useless, and all Nations defenceless, in Case the Prince will not regard his Oaths and Obligations, but will subvert the Laws, invade the People's Rights, Estates and Lives, and in a word, undo the Kingdom? Let them but say this plain thing—That it is not forbidden to this Nation, by any Law or Command of God, to save itself and its Posterity, from imminent and utter Ruin by Resistance, and we will ask no more. And if it still be asked, who shall be Judges when this Ruin is so near, that it will want Resistance to prevent it? I answer, every Lord, and every Commoner in Great Britain.

But after all, I am come back to say, that whenever the Legislative Power shall enact, that the Prince's Proclamations shall be accounted Sacred as the Roman Edicts were: That they shall do just what they please, and what they please shall be accounted Legal: That to resist them, or those whom they shall Commission under Hand and Seal, tho' violating the known Laws, shall be Rebellion: Whenever this or more shall be done by the Legislature, I freely own I shall be bound by it; and own moreover, that S. Peter, and S. Paul will bind me to it. For that is the meaning of all I have been saying, That the Word of God obliges all Subjects to such Obedience, and no other, as the Laws of their Country have obliged them to: And has forbidden such Resistance, and no other, as the Laws of their Country have forbidden.

FINIS