

The prerogative of primogeniture: shewing, that the right of succession to an hereditary crown, depends not upon grace, religion, etc., but onely upon birth-right and primogeniture. And that the chief cause of all, or most, rebellions in Christendom, is a fanatical belief, that, temporal dominion is founded in grace / By David Jenner.

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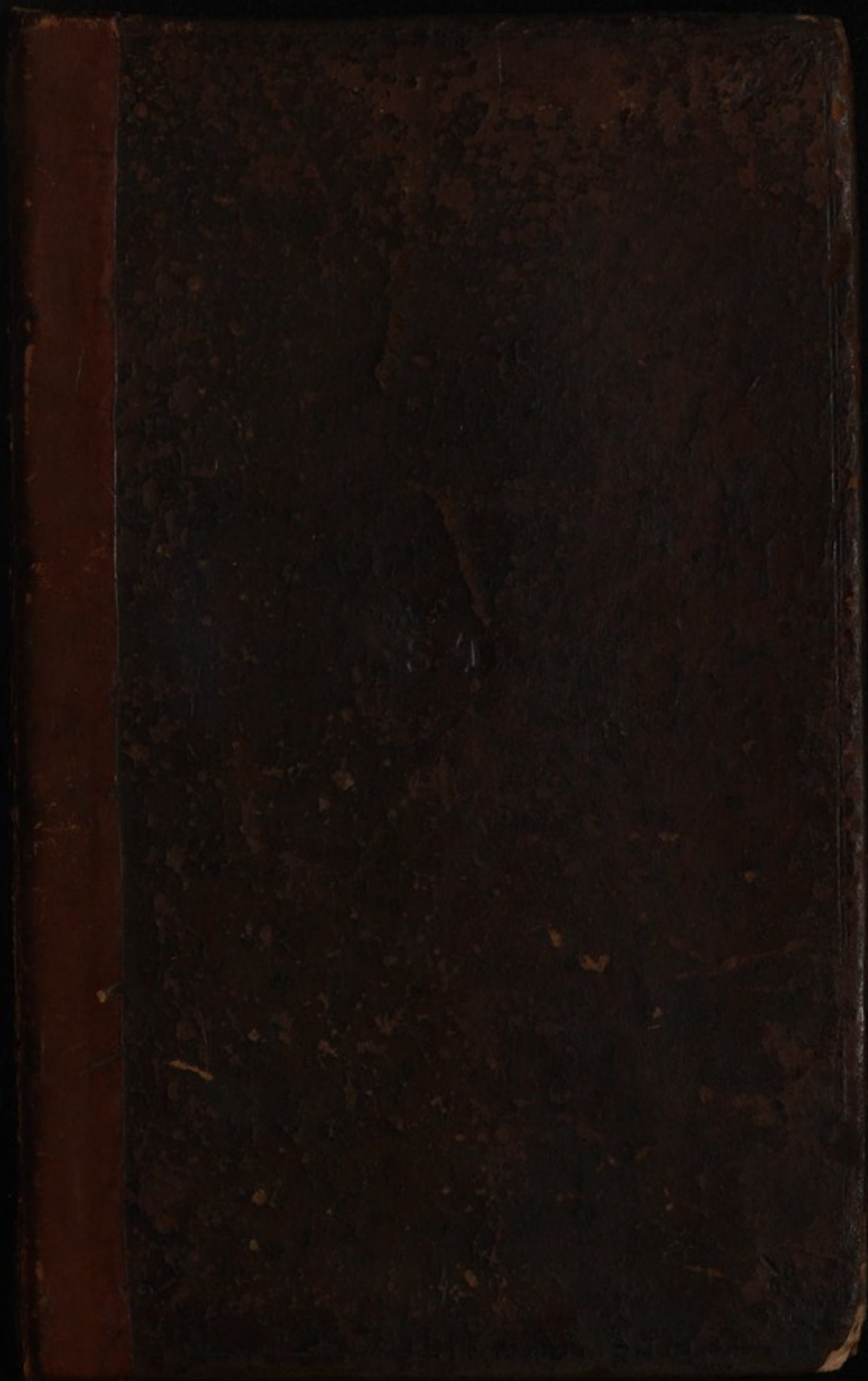
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183 Euston Road
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T +44 (0)20 7611 8722
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D. JENNER.

OF
PRIMOGENITURE

THE
PREROGATIVE

1685



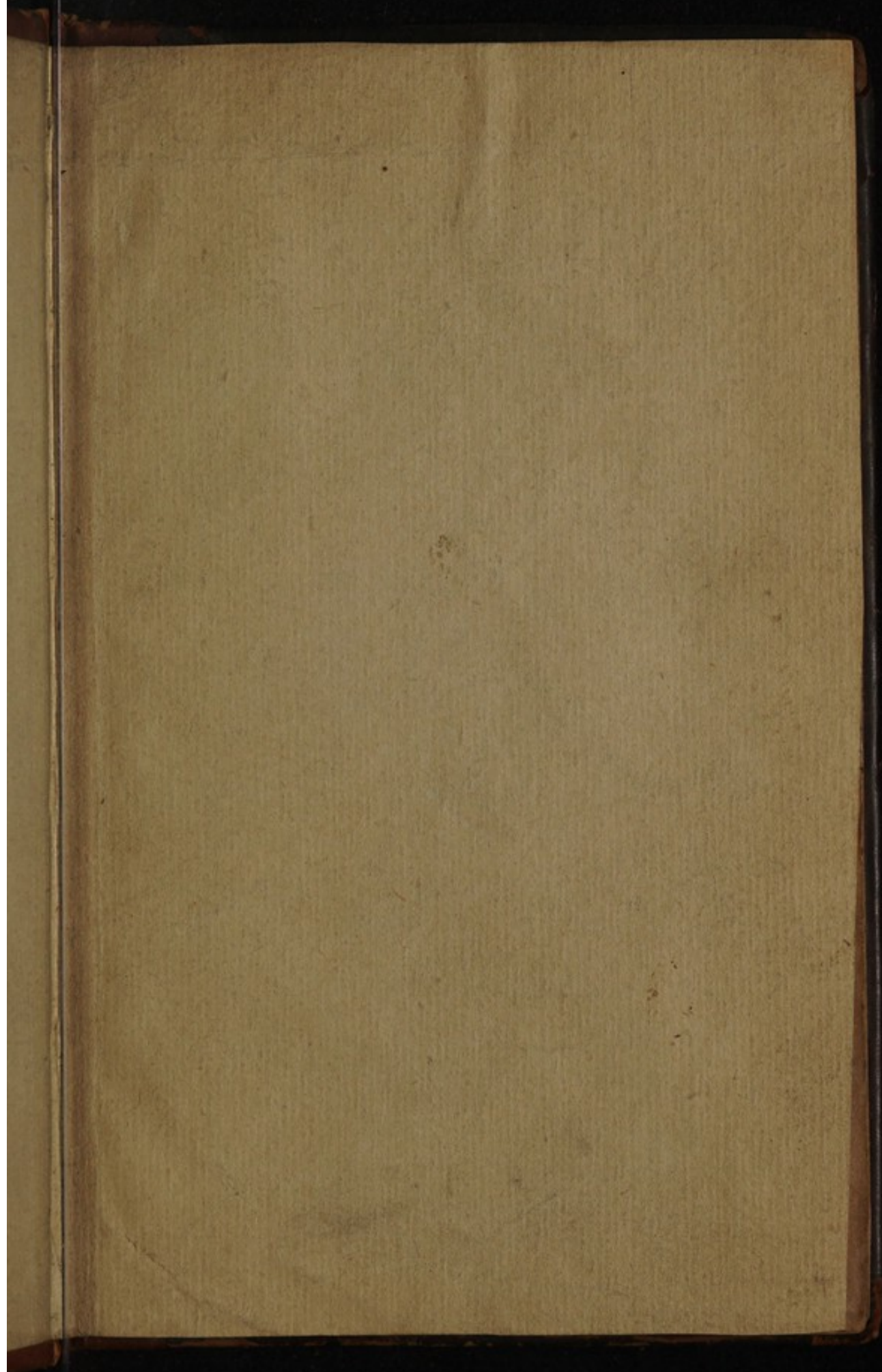




Thomas Guy's Book 1700

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THE
PREROGATIVE
OF

Primogeniture :

SHEWING,
That the *Right of SUCCESSION*
TO AN
Hereditary Crown,
DEPENDS

Not upon *Grace, Religion, &c.*
But Onely upon
Birth-Right and Primogeniture ;

AND
That the Chief Cause of all, or most, Rebel-
lions in *Christendom*, is a *Fanatical Belief*,
That,
Temporal Dominion is founded in Grace.

By DAVID JENNER, B. D. Prebendary of
Sarum, and Rector of *Great Warley in Essex.*

LONDON, Printed for J. Hindmarsh, Bookseller
to His Royal Highness, at the *Black Bull* in *Cornhill*. 1685.

15646



18

TO THE
Most Royal and High-Born
PRINCE,
JAMES,
DUKE of YORK
AND
ALBANY,
EARL of ULSTER,
LORD High Admiral of
ENGLAND, IRELAND,
And all Foreign Plantations,
Constable of *Dover-Castle*,
Lord Warden of the *Cinque-Ports*,
Governour of *Portsmouth*, &c.

Most Royal Sir,

YOUR Unparallel'd
Magnanimity, and
other Your most Eminent

A 2

Ver-

The Epistle Dedicatory.

Vertues and Excellencies,
are so well known to the
Christian World, as that
Envy it self cannot obscure
them.

And whatever *English*
Man does, or shall hereaf-
ter, audaciously presume,
to deny You his hearty
Xaίρε and *Euge*, is, and ever
will be, unworthy, any lon-
ger to be an *Inhabitant* of
Great Britain,

Whose present *Peace*
and *Prosperity* (next unto
Almighty God's Over-ru-
ling *Providence*, and unto
Our most Gracious *King's*
Wife

The Epistle Dedicatory.

Wise *Conduct* of Affairs)
is Owing unto Your *Highb-*
ness's Matchless Valour and
Prudence ,

The which You have
most signally demonstrated
in Vanquishing the *King's*
and the *Nation's* Enemies
Abroad ,

And in being highly in-
strumental in Suppressing
them at *Home* :

So that, if *Fabius Maxi-*
mus Deserved the Thanks
of the whole *Roman-Senate*,
for his prudent Manage-
ment of their *Republick*
Concerns,

A 3

Then,

The Epistle Dedicatory.

Then, infinitely more,
has Your *Royal Highness*
Merited, not onely the
Thanks of Our *English Se-*
nate, but over and above,
even *Statues* and *Skrines* of
Gold, Gratefully to be e-
rected, in perpetual *Memo-*
ry of Your most Glorious
Atchievements.

But, *Ab*, ungratefull *En-*
gland! That, after Your
most Illustrious *Highness*
had Jeoparded Your *Roy-*
al Person in many despe-
rate and bloudy Battels, at
Sea, and at Land, onely
for the Honour and Wel-
fare

The Epistle Dedicatory.

fare of this Your Native
Country, whose Safety You
oft-times most Generously
preferred before Your
Own,

You should, at last, be
so basely and so inhumanely
requited,

As to have an *Unchri-
stian* and *Unnatural Bill* of
Exclusion from Your Un-
doubted *Birth-Right*, pass
against You, through the
Prevalency of the *Anti-
Protestant* and *Factionous As-
sociatours*, in the late *House
of Commons*, who, (over-
powering the *Loyal Party*

The Epistle Dedicatory.

in the said *House*) Voted,
Sabbati 6. die Novembris
1680, and on *Sabbati* (a
day, when, surely! those
Fanatical Persons thought
the *Holy Jesus* was again
gone out of this *World*,
down into the *Grave* as
to his *Body*, and *Descen-*
ded into Hell as to his *Soul*,
doing *Penance* there for
Mankind,

And so, would not, on
a *Saturday*, be present, upon
Earth, to eye and behold
their disloyal and disinge-
nuous *Actions*, and there-
fore, They became *Ram-*
pant,

The Epistle Declaratory.

pant, and did what they
pleased in spight of *God*
and the *King*; And be-
ing a *Majority*, they Voted,
Nemine Contradicente, Sab-
bati) 26 die Martii 1681.

Your *Royal Highbness's*
Exclusion from the *Impe-*
rial Crown of England and
Ireland, &c.

Printed by the Order of
Wi. Williams, Speaker.

A Vote, steep'd in so
much *Gall* and *Vinegar*, and
attended with so much
Disloyalty and *Ingratitude*,
As might justly have set
All

The Epistle Dedicatory.

*All Your Noble and Hero-
ick Passions on fire ;*

But, God be praised !

*In imitation of the Cap-
tain of our Salvation ,*

*You have perfectly Con-
quered Your self.*

*Which personal Victory,
according to, not onely the
Stoical, but also, Christian,
Philosophy, is more Me-
morable, than All your o-
ther most Famous Conquests.
And Cæsar like, nay, rather
Jesus like, You have forgot
Nothing , but to be Re-
vengefull , upon Your in-
veterate Enemies.*

Which

The Epistle Dedicatory.

Which is Your *Immortal* Glory.

And one thing, I most humbly suggest to Your *Princely* and most *Christian* Consideration, as an undeniable Truth,

Scil. That Those Your Enemies, who have, or still do, endeavour Your *Royal Highness's* Exclusion, (Contrary to the *Divine* and *Natural* Law of Your *Birth-Right* and *Primogeniture*) neither were, nor are, *Protestants*, nor any true Sons of the *Church of*
Eng-

The Epistle Dedicatory.

England as now established
by Law,

But they were, and are,
onely a Company of Per-
jured *Pseudo-Protestants*,

Who under the speci-
ous pretence of being Vo-
gued *Protestants*, did, and
still do, carry on their Di-
abolical *Faction* and Trea-
sonable *Association*.

Beaufrons,
c. 1.

For, in *England*, onely
He is a *Protestant*, who
heartily believes, and as
heartily *protests* for, and
couragiously *defends*,

The King's Supremacy,

And

The Epistle Dedicatory.

And who (Christian-like) Cordially declares for the *Succession* of the *King's* Lawfull *Heir* according to *Primogeniture*, whether He be *Papist* or *Protestant*, whether Morally *Good* or *Bad*;

For, This is the constant and professed Doctrine of the *Apostolical-Protestant* Church of *England*,

As (I humbly conceive) is sufficiently proved in the following *Treatise*,

The which does truly
blush to approach Your
Royal

The Epistle Dedicatory.

Royal and most *Illustrious*
Presence, in its *mean* *Dress*
and *Country* *Garb*.

But, forasmuch as it is
the lively *Draught* of a
most *Loyal* *Heart* towards
His *Majesty*, and of a
most *Faithfull* and *Devo-*
ted one, towards Your
Highness;

The *Authour*, therefore,
most *humbly* begs Your
Candid *Acceptance* of it;
Assuring Your *High-*
ness,

That, He has no other
Ambition in *Publishing* the
same, than, where he lives
to

The Epistle Dedicatory.

to be instrumental in educating and instructing the *People* in the true Principles of *Primitive Piety* and *Loyalty*,

And, whilst He lives, be serviceable (according to his Capacity) unto *God*, the *King*, and the *Church*;

And to let the *World* know, that He is,

Your Royal Highness's

Most Dutifull, most Humble

and Devoted Servant,

David Jenner.

T H E

The Fifth Discourse.

to be influential in edu-
cating and instructing the
People in the true Prin-
ciples of Primitive Piety
and Fidelity.

And while he lives,
be faithful (according
to his Capacity) unto God,
the King, and the Church;
And to let the World
know that he is.

The Royal Highness.

My Lord, my Father.

and my Mother.

David Jones.

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ERRATA.

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only. p. 105. l. 11. *without the Pope's Laws*, r.
without the Pope's leave. p. 89. in Margin, r. in Se-
cessus abdito. p. 149. l. 7. or, r. of. p. 179. l. 17. r. or
for *Idolarry*. In the Epist. Ded. ult. p. l. 6. add *to*.

The ...

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THE
PREROGATIVE
OF
PRIMOGENITURE.

CHAP. I.

The Necessity of Government.

Government bears date with, if not before, the *Creation*; and runs parallel with *Time*, if not with *Eternity*; And is in many respects more necessary than Life or Being it self:

For it is not necessary, that any particular finite *Beings* should always Exist; But it is absolutely necessary, they should always be *Governed*, whilst they do Exist.

B

The

The Prerogative

The *World*, although made for *Man*, did, and still can, subsist well enough without him; But not without his *Obedience*.

And therefore, as *Orpheus* aptly named *Harmony* the Life of *Musick*, so *Plato* not improperly styled *Order* and *Government* the Life of the *Universe*: For Government, *tanquam Anima*, even as a Soul, Animates all parts of the *World* with a *Political* Life, and causes every *Individual* to answer the end of its Existency, which is the Conservation of the *Whole*, although it be with the loss of its own particular, natural Life: For, in this Case, the *Publick* Good is ever to be preferred, before a *Private*. And it is better, not to be at all, than not to be usefull.

Were it not for *Government*, there would be neither *Being* nor *Well-Being*: for, every thing would take up *Arms* under pretence of *Self-preservation*, and then, the Conclusion can be nothing else but Confusion: for, according to the Jewish Proverb, *Nisi potestas publica esset, alter alterum vivum deglutiret, &c.* Unless there were pub-

Grot. de Jur.
Bell. l. 1. c. 4.

publick Government, One would become a prey to the Other; even as the
 (a) *Aborigines* in the *East*, and the *Mohegians* in the *West, Indies*, who, having no Laws nor Government, eat and devour one another alive: And (b) *St. Chrysostome*, writing on the Necessity and Benefit of Government, informs us to the same purpose, *scil.* That where there is no Government, there men soon lose the exercise of their Reason, and become more savage and cruel, than the irrational Brutes, and not onely snarle and bite like Dogs, but even devour each other, like rapacious Birds, and ravenous Beasts of prey: And it is most certain, that there never happened any Evil, either in *Heaven* among the *Angels*, or on *Earth* among *Men*, but upon the Breach of Law and good Government.

The Hebrew word שָׁרַף, which we translate, *to Govern*, primarily and emphatically signifies *to Bind*, and *to Heal* a wound by *Binding* it up tight and close after the manner of *Chirurgeons*: And *Codurcus*, applying the proper signification of the said

Codarc. in
Job. 34. v.
17, 18.

word קִבֵּץ unto *Government*, tells his Reader, *Quòd Imperium, Jura, Leges sint velut Vincula Reipublicæ, &c.* That *Government*, *Laws*, and *Statutes*, are the sure Bands and Ligaments of the World in general, and of every Kingdom in particular, which knit and firmly tie all parts together, and so prevent a *Rupture*; for, *Sine imperio & Magistratu solvuntur omnes Civilis Societatis Compages, &c.* Without *Government* there can be no *Civil Society*, but all things must unavoidably run into *Anarchy* and *Confusion*, which, certainly, can please none of Mankind, but onely *Timon* of *Athens* the *Man-Hater*, and such who delight to sport and fish in troubled waters.

Kings and *Governours*, are very appositely in *Hebrew* termed ראשׁ, *Heads*; Because, they, as *Heads*, do Govern and Order all the inferiour Members of the several *Bodies-politick*: And, τοῖς ὀμφολοῖς τῶν ἱερῶν, *Kings* are like the great *Jice* and *Beams* of the Building, or chief *Corner-stones* of the House, which keep up, and support, the whole *Fabrick*; and therefore are they most elegantly styled,

led, *Clavi Reipublicæ*, the main *Pins* and *Studs* of the *Common-wealth*: All which sufficiently speaks the indispensable Necessity of Government in general.

And as to the *Original*, or first Author of *Government*, it is no other than Almighty *God*, the Supreme *Monarch* and *Governour* of the whole World, visible and invisible:

Wherefore, whoever *Resists* Government, is truly said, in Holy *Writ*, to *Resist God himself*: And he that will turn a perfect *Libertine*, and would live without *Government*, must turn a perfect *Atheist*, and must *live without God in the World*.

CHAP. II.

Monarchy the best Form of Government.

THE Moral *Philosopher* discoursing on the various sorts of Government, gives the *Precedency* unto *Monarchy*, as being *Divino Imperio quàm simillima*, most like the Government of the All-wise God, which is the first and the best of all.

Eupolemus, in his Book *de Judææ Regibus*, makes (a) *Moses* to be an absolute *Monarch* over the *Jews*, and that he was accountable unto none for his Actions, but onely unto God, as the Sacred *Scriptures* in many instances do prove: and, τὸν Μωσὴν πρῶτον Σοφὸν γένεσθαι, &c. and that he, even *Moses*, was the first of the Wise men, who studied, promulged, and practised, the Right Rules and Laws of Monarchical, Military, and Ecclesiastick Government: and it is added in *Moses*

(a) Deut.
33. 5.
Moses was
King in Jesu-
run.
Maimon. in
Loc.

Moses his *Encomium*, that, Μωϋς περ-
 ρητικὸς, νομοθετικὸς, τακτικὸς, σερατη-
 κὸς, πολιτικὸς, φιλόσοφος, &c. He was
 an inspired *Prophet*, an experienced
Politician, a judicious *Legislator*, a
 prudent and valiant *Souldier*, a pro-
 found *Philosopher*: And therefore of
 all men then living, he was most emi-
 nently and singularly qualified for ma-
 naging and swaying the Regal *Scep-*
tre.

Clem. Alex.
 Strom. l. i.
 p. 346.

And *Numenius* the *Pythagorean Phi-*
losopher is of opinion, That *Plato*, who
 wrote excellently for *Monarchy*, and
 the other *Grecians*, especially the *La-*
cedemonians and *Macedonians*, who
 ever preferred *Monarchy* before all o-
 ther Forms of Government, borrowed
 all, or most, of their Arguments for
 so doing from King *Moses*:

And therefore the same Authour
 tells us, that in truth *Plato* was no o-
 ther than *Moses*, τί γάρ ἐστι Πλάτων, ἢ
 Μωϋς ἀπμιζων; &c. speaking in the
Greek Dialect.

Clem. Alex.
 Strom. l. i.

And *Miltiades* the *Athenian Empe-*
rou, is said to have learnt from * *Mo-*
ses's Writings, his great Policy, by
 which he so prosperously governed

* Τῆτο συνι-
 δὼν Μιλτιά-
 δης ἐμιμύ-
 σατο τὸν δὲ
 τέχνην. ibid.

his Civil and Military Affairs, and more particularly his War-like *Strategems*, by which he subtilly over-came *Dares the Persian General*: And *Clement Alexandrinus* notes farther, Πλάτων δὲ ὁ Φιλόσοφος, ἐκ τῶν Μωσέως τὰ περὶ τὴν Νομοθεσίαν ὤρεληθεῖς, &c. that *Plato* being instructed by *Moses* as to the Right way of Government, ἐπιτίμησε μὲν τῇ Μίνως καὶ Λυκέργε πολιτεία, &c. found fault with *Minos's* and *Lycurgus's* Polity. But, ἐπὶνέσε δὲ ὡς σεμνοτέραν, τὴν ἐν τι λέγουσαν, καὶ πρὸς δόγμα ἐν νέουσαν αἰεὶ, &c. He highly commended *Moses's* Polity and Institution of *Monarchy*, in which there was but One to *Decree* and *Command*, and but One to be *Pleased* and *Obedied*.

Cæsar Octavianus Augustus, after the Murther of *Julius Cæsar*, consulting with those two Great *States-Men*, *Agrippa* and *Mæcenas*, what Form of Government was best to be erected, as being most sutable to the *Genius* of the *Roman People*:

The aforementioned *Politicians* differ'd in their Sentiments,

For *Agrippa*, being a stiff *Commonwealths*

wealths Man, declared for *DEMOCRACY*, alledging that the *Legislative Power* was in the People.

But *Mæcenæ* (a true *Kings Man*) advised for *Monarchy*:

And he enforced his Advice with this argument, *scil.* Because the *Romans* at first derived their *Religion*, their *Laws* and *Manner* of their first form of Government (which was *Monarchical*) from the *Grecians*, who (before their intestine *Rebellions* and *Seditions*) were Originally for *Monarchy*; And He observed, That, *ex quo Monarchiæ renunciârant, quo quiescerent, nunquam invenêre, &c.* Ever since, the *Grecian People* had (through the prevalency of a *Commonwealth-Faction*) thrown off *Monarchy*, they could never acquiesce in any other kind of Government, But, like the * *Moon*, were often changing their *Aspect* and *Face* of Government, which changes bred bad blood, corrupted their *Commonwealth's* Body, and could no other way be cured, but by opening the *Veins* with the point of the *Sword* in the

* *Nova rerum facies subinde apparuit, cadêsq; horrendæ perpetratæ sunt, dum hi Oligarchiæ, illi Democratiæ partes tue-
rentur, &c. Hoel. Element. Hist. l. 4. §. 2.*

the heat of Mutual Contests, and Civil Broils, and Bloudy Wars, which Wars never ended, untill *Monarchy* was restored in the Persons of King *Philip* and *Alexander* the Great.

Ibid.

In like manner, says *Mæcenas*, *Principio Imperium penes Reges erat, donec Ambitio & Seditiois æstus alias vivendi Rationes excogitaverint, &c.* The *Romans* were from the Beginning governed by *Kings*, untill the Pride and Ambition of some *Popular-Republicans* raised a direfull and bloudy Sedition, and Rebelliously and Tumultuously Deposed their *Kings*, and by Fraud and Violence expelling *Monarchy*, they introduced *Democracy*, *Oligarchy*, and sometimes *Aristocracy*.

But it so fell out, that when they had unhinged the Primitive, Monarchical Government, *They*, like the Rebellious *Grecians*, were never satisfied; but with every puff and blast of popular fancy, altered their new Model of Government: For within the space of 134 years, they had 37 sorts of Government in *Rome*: Thus argued *Mæcenas*, and from the premisses, he concluded, that *Monarchy* was the most

most proper Form of Government, for all Mankind, but especially for the Romans. Whereupon, *Cæsar sententi-* Ibid. §. 5.
am ejus amplexus, IMPERATORIS Titulum accepit, &c. *Octavius Cæsar* adhered to *Mæcenæ* his Advice, and forthwith took upon him, the Illustrious Title of *EMPEROUR*: and under his prudent Conduct of publick Affairs, the *Roman Empire* flourished exceedingly, even to Admiration.

And we *Christians* may, by the way, add this Note, *to wit*, That when *Monarchy* was restored and firmly settled under *Augustus Cæsar*, that then, and not before, happened to be *The Fulness of Time*, in which *Christ Jesus* the Great King of *Heaven* and *Earth* came into the *World*, and manifested his *Glory*: and He, not only Confirmed *Cæsar* in his Earthly Throne, but also to prevent all Rebellion and Disobedience against his *Cæsarean Power* and *Majesty*, *Christ* himself paid *Tribute* to *Cæsar*, and charged all others to doe the like.

Nicocles, or rather *Isocrates*, personating the Emperour *Nicocles*, writes *Isocrat. Nicocles. Ora. 3.*
an

an whole Oration in the praise of *Monarchy*, in Opposition to *Oligarchy* and *Democracy* :

And arguing, διὰ τὴν ἀνάγκην, &c. from the Necessity of *Monarchy*, and ὅτι πάντα τὸν χρόνον μετὰ ταύτης οἰκίζμεν, &c. from the Antiquity and long Continuance of it in all peaceable Ages, He concludes, βελτίστη τῶν ἄλλων Πολιτειῶν, &c. *Monarchy* to be the best of all *Polities* whatever.

And he farther proves his said *Position* by the following Arguments.

I. Because, αἱ Μοναρχίαι, πλείστον μὲν νέμονται τῷ Βελτίστῳ, δεύτερον δὲ τῷ μετ' ἐκείνου, &c. *Monarchy*, for the most part, prefers to places of Honour, Trust, and Government, such as are most *Deserving*; Whereas in *Democracy*, there is little regard had of a Man's *Merit*, either as to his Honourable *Birth* and *Descent*, or as to his acquired *Vertues*, *Prowess* and *Learning*: But with the *Democraticks*, the chief qualification, is, *Riches* and *Popularity*; for if a man be of *Potency* to carry on a particular Faction, then He, being
the

the People's Darling, shall be promoted, though he be otherwise a very *Ignoramus* as to *State-Affairs*.

2. Because Monarchy is (a) the mildest, the justest, and most equitable Form of Government, impartially distributing justice to every Man: An honest and peaceable Man, may, in all probability, expect justice to be done him sooner in this Form of Government, than in any other; for it is easier to please, and to obtain the favour of one single person, as in *Monarchy*, than to gain the *placet* of a various, clashing Multitude, as in *Democracy*.

(a) Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ προ-
τέρων πρὸς τὴν καὶ δικαιο-
τέραν, δίκαιως αὖτὴν αὐ-
τὴν κείμενον, ὅσω πρὸς
ῥᾶον ἐστὶν ἐνδὲς Ἀνδρὶ
γνώμῃ περιστάσιν ἢ ἄλλῃ
μᾶλλον ἢ πολλὰς δια-
φοραῖς, καὶ παντοδαπαῖς
ζητήσιν ἀρέσκειν, &c.

3. In *Monarchy* (b) the King has none to Emulate or Envy, for he is *Supreme*, and therefore above all Ambition: All is his own, and for him to envy the prosperity of his *Subjects*, would be to envy his own happiness.

(b) Ὅτι δὲ ἐν
τῇ μοναρχί-
ᾳ οὐκ ἔστι
ἐχόντες ὅτι
ἐξουσίαν,
ὡς ἀπάν-
των, &c.

Whereas

(a) Ἐν τῇ Ὀλιγαρχίᾳ
καὶ ταῖς Δημοκρασίαις,
διὰ τὰς πρὸς ὅσας αὐ-
τὰς φιλοπορίας λυμάνον-
τας τοῖς κοινοῖς, &c.

(b) Πλεονάκεις ἂν πρὸς
αὐτὰς εὐρεθὶ διαφερομέ-
νες, ἢ κοινῇ βουλευομέ-
νες, &c.

(c) Καὶ γὰρ παρὰ σκαυ-
δοῦναι δυνάμεις, καὶ
χρῆσθαι ταύταις, ὥστε
καὶ λαθεῖν, καὶ ὀρθοῦναι,
καὶ τὰς μὲν πρὸς τὰς
ἐξ βιᾶς αὐτῶν μᾶλλον
αἱ Τυραννίδες τῶν ἄλ-
λων πολιτειῶν οἷα τ'
εἰσὶν, &c.

* Παρὰ τὸν
πύλεμον βα-
σιλευομένης,
&c.

Whereas in (a) *Oligar-
chy* and *Democracy* there are
commonly great Emulations
and Ambitions one aspiring
to over-top the other; and
oft-times thorough heats (b)
and animosities, the publick
Weal is neglected, and every
one drives on his own pri-
vate Interest, and seeks to save him-
self, to the ruine of the Common-
wealth. Wherefore upon these Con-
siderations *Nicocles* rationally urged
that no Form of Government could
better secure the *Common-wealth* from
Intestine Broils, and from Foreign In-
vasions, than that of *Monarchy*, which
could, at pleasure Muster up
Forces, wage (c) War, and
carry it on vigorously, to
the effecting its desired ends.
And to confirm this his O-
pinion, he brings instances
of several *Common-wealths*,
especially that of the *Car-
thaginians*, who, in time of War,
for the better success of their Affairs,
did invest some single person, such as
Hannibal, with *Kingly* * Power, during
their Wars. And

And he instances also in that of the City of *Athens*, τὴν μάλιστα τὰς Τυραννίδας μισῶσαν, which of all Cities (after their Rebellion) most hated *Monarchy*, yet, even *Athens* constituted some single person *Generalissimo*, and intrusted him with a *Regal Authority*; and at last when their *Republick* Affairs flew, *malis Avibus*, upon the wings of ill-luck, They chose *Solon* for their *King*: But, he being as great an *Hater* of *Monarchy*, as was *Timon* of Mankind, Refused their profer.

4. In *Monarchy* (says *Nicocles*) *State-businesses* may more privately be deliberated and consulted upon, and therefore without discovery may more successfully be managed to the Terror of the Enemy, and to the great advantage of the Kingdom, than in *Democracy*; where, by one or other, the *Secrets* of *State* are frequently discovered, and their *Consultations*, *Votes* and *Resolves* are made known, before they are ripened, or before they can be put into Execution; which has proved very fatal and detrimental to many *Re-publicks*. And

And here, by the way, we may note, that by some Wise men, it has been thought no part of *National Prudence* or *State-Policy* in our late *House of Commons* here in *England*, to Order every day their own *Debates*, *Votes* and *Resolves* to be publickly *Printed*: for by so doing, They fomented the several *Factions* in the *Nation*, and exasperated the Disaffected people against the *King* and his *Government*, and more particularly against his *Royal Highness* the *Duke of York*: And which was worst of all, they (by their printed *Votes*) discovered and revealed, not onely their own, but also the *King's*, *Secrets* and *Counsels*, unto his *Foes*, as well as his *Friends*.

5. *Nicocles* (arguing as an innocent *Heathen*) draws an Argument to prove the Excellency of *Monarchy* above all other Forms of Government, from the *Regimen* of the *Gods themselves*: λέγονται καὶ τὰς Θεὸς ὑπὸ τῷ Διὸς βασιλεύεσθαι, -- ἔστι γὰρ αὖ τῇ τε αὐτῇ χρῆσθαι τὰς Θεὸς ἔφαμεν, &c.

For,

For, the very *Gods*, whilst they were in a Free *Common-wealth*, could not agree how to govern the *World*, but did bitterly claih and wrangle among themselves: So that, at last, Necessity forced *Them* to chuse a *King*, who should be *Supreme*, and *Monarch* over all the other *Gods*: And the Lot fell upon *Jupiter*, who was immediately proclaimed *Supreme Monarch* over all the rest: And when this was done, then the *World* was peaceably Governed, and all things prospered as well as Heart could wish.

Wherefore, as *Nicocles* of old did, so we at present may, rationally conclude, That of all the Forms of Government, *Monarchy* deserves the *Supremacy*.

C H A P.

C H A P. III.

*That all Kings and their Law-
full Heirs ought, by Right of
Primogeniture, to Reign and
Govern Successively, whether
they be Morally Good or Bad,
whether Infidels or Christi-
ans, Papists or Protestants.*

THAT Succession to the *Impe-
rial Throne* ought to be by
Virtue of *Primogeniture*, and
not of *Grace*, will be the Task of the
following *Sections* to prove.

S E C T. I.

*The Proposition proved by Humane Au-
thority, of Heathens.*

IN *Plato's* time, *Kings* were, either
Elective, κατὰ νόμον, according to
the *Law* and *Custom* of particular
Nations,

Nations, as, ἐν Χερχιδόνι, in Carthage. And as, at this day, in Polonia.

Or, they were, κατὰ γένος, Hereditary, according to Primogeniture, as in Lacedemon and (a) Macedonia: for the Lacedemons and Macedonians, were not only for Kingly Government, but also for the due and regular Succession of their Kings in the right (b) Line. To the same purpose, Ælian informs us, scil. That (c) among the Grecians, their Kings reigned successively according to Birth-Right, and particularly Gelon in Sicilia, the Leuconian Kings in Bosphorus, and the Cypselidæ in Corinth. Though (as he reports) the Legal Succession of their Kings by Primogeniture, seldom ran farther in a direct lineal Descent than, ἐπὶ τετραγονίαν, unto the third Generation; by reason of frequent Insurrections and bloody Rebellions, in which too often some powerfull Usurper or other mounted the Throne (even as

(a) Ἡ δὲ βασιλεία ἐν Λακεδαιμόνι καὶ Μακεδονίᾳ κατὰ γένος, &c. Diog. Laert. Plato. l. 3.

(b) Ἀπὸ γὰρ πνθ' γένους ποιεῖται τὴν βασιλείαν, &c. ibid.

(c) Μνημονεύονται δὲ ὑφ' Ἑλλήνων ἐξ αἰώνος, καὶ εἰς ἐγγόνους, διαρκέσαι αἰετ. ἢ τε Γέλωνος ἐν Σικελίᾳ καὶ ἢ τῶν Λευκονίων περὶ Βόσπορον καὶ ἢ τῶν Κυψελιδῶν ἐν Κορίνθῳ. Ælian. Hist. l. 6. c. 13.

Oliver Cromwell lately did here in this Our Kingdom) and cut off the Right *Heir*. Thus *Might*, over-coming *Right*, turned the *Stream* of Regal Government out of its proper *Channel*, and forced it to run (at least for a while) a *by-way*.

Nicocles, the aforementioned *Emperour*, strenuously defends his own just Title to the *Crown*, by virtue of his *Birth-Right*; when he assures the World, that he came to the *Crown*, not by *Usurpation*, nor by any illegal and sinister way, but honestly,

(a) *Εἰς ταύτην ἔγω πρὶν ἀρχὴν ἢ πατρὸς νόμον, ἢ ἀλλοτριαν.* (a) and justly, to wit, by *Inheritance* descended from his *Progenitors* down to his *Father*, and from his *Father*, immediately to *Himself*.

ἀλλ' ὁσίως, καὶ δίκαιως, καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς προέχοντα, καὶ διὰ τὸν πατέρα, καὶ δι' ἑμαυτὴν, &c. *Isocrat. Nicocl. Orat. 3.*

SECT.

S E C T. II.

The Proposition ;

That Succession to the Throne ought to be by Virtue of Primogeniture, and not of Grace, is farther proved by Divine Authority.

AS Humane, so also Divine Authority speaks the same Truth, *scil.*

That all *Kings* and their Lawfull *Heirs*, whether good or bad, virtuous or vitious, ought successively to Reign and Govern.

To this purpose, very pertinent are the *Interrogatories*, which *Elihu* put to *Job*, c. 34. v. 17, 18. *Shall even he that hateth Right, Govern? And wilt thou condemn him that is most just? Is it fit to say to a King, Thou art wicked? and to Princes, Ye are ungodly?*

For the right understanding of which *Interrogatories*, it must be premised, That through gross mistake *Elihu* rashly concluded, that pious *Job* had unworthily repined at *God's* severe hand

of *Providence* towards him ; and therefore to convince *Job* of his supposed error, does *Elihu* expostulate with him, saying, Shall they, who are *Haters* of *Righteousness* and Justice, by virtue of their *Right* of *Succession* and Inheritance, Govern and Reign over their *Subjects*, and that by *God's* own appointment? And what? wilt not thou, *O vain Man!* suffer *God* himself, the King of *Heaven* and *Earth*, to govern, act, and doe, what seemeth him best, with his *Creatures*? But thou wilt presume to censure thy *Maker*, and say, He is not *just* in his Dealings with *Thee*?

Surely! Reason teaches thee this Lesson, That if thou mayst not censure nor condemn an *Earthly Prince*, who possibly may *bate Right*; much less mayst thou censure and condemn *the most just One*, even *God*, who can never doe any unrighteous thing.

So that *Elihu* makes a Comparison between *God* and a *King*. And he thus argues à *Majore*, to wit, That if *Kings* ought not to be Censured nor Controlled by their *Subjects*, but ought to Govern and Rule notwithstanding

standing any supposed *Irregularity* of their Lives and Actions; Then much more ought Almighty God to Reign and Govern, according to his own *Beneplacet*, and no Man whatever, ought in the least to murmur at his Providences, though apparently never so thwart unto humane expectation: For, *Shall even he that hateth Right, govern? and wilt thou condemn him that is most just?*

The point of *Interrogation* in v. 17. *Drus. in Job.*
 הֲיִשְׁתָּבֵן, *Shall he?* is altogether *Affirma-* 34. 17, 18.
tive: and implies, that *he who hateth Right, shall, and ought, however to Govern.*

But the point of *Interrogation* in v. 18. הֲיִשְׁתָּבֵן, *nunquid?* *Is it fit, to say to a King, Thou art wicked? or, to Princes, Ye are ungodly?* is wholly *Negative*, and teaches all men this *Loyal Lesson, scil. That, it is not fit, nor lawfull, for any Subjects, to say, their King is wicked; nor to revile and scandalize their Princes, by opprobriously affirming, that they want Grace, and are Ungodly, and that, therefore, they are unfit for Government.* *Non dicere* *Drusius in loc.*
convenit, non honestum, non par est:

It is not honest, nor meet, nor allowable, to say so to *Kings*, and *Princes*: For let them be never so bad, even *Belials*, *Idolaters*, as the word בְּלִיַּעַל which we translate *Wicked*, in the *Hebrew* does signifie; yet, for all that their *Idolatry*, they ought to *Reign* and *Govern*.

Yea, this Truth, *scil.* That *Kings* and their Lawfull *Heirs* by Right of *Primogeniture* ought successively to *Reign*, is farther evidenced by our *Saviour's* Answer unto *Pontius Pilate*.

St. Joh. 18. 37. Pilate said to him, Art thou a King then? Jesus answered, Thou sayest that I am a King: to this end was I born, &c.

In which Answer, our Blessed *Saviour* asserts two Great Truths,

1. That *he himself* was truly and indeed a *King*, as *Pilate* had said.

2. That *He* was *King* by *Primogeniture* and *Birth-Right*, for, unto this end, to wit, That he might be a *King*, and might declare to all the World, the same Truth, *Was He Born*.

Thus the Holy *Jesus* rationally urges and pleads his own *Birth*, as a sufficient Title to his *Father's Kingdom*,

dom, inasmuch as his *Father* was a *King*, and *He* was his *First-born*.

Which Answer of *Christ's*, when *Pilate* rightly understood, *to wit*, that *Jesus* was indeed a *King*, but not of *this World*; and when he understood also, that, *Jesus* his being a *King* was no more prejudicial to *Cæsar's* Crown and Dignity, than was that *internal Empire* which the *Stoick Philosophers* attributed to every *Wise Man*: Now, when (a) *Pilate* clearly understood *Jesus* his meaning, then *He* went immediately out of the *Judgment-Hall* unto the *Jews*, and professed publicly to them, *That he found in Jesus no fault at all*.

(a) *Ex Jesu responso Pilatus concepit Regnum, quod Jesus sibi tribuerit, non magis imperio Romano obesse, quam id quod Stoici Sapi-*

enti suo tribuunt, qui docent, solum Sapientem Regnare, veram fortitudinem patiando maxime probari, &c. Grot. in S. Jo. 18.

S E C T. III.

The Proposition, proved by the Unalterable Law of Inheritance by Primogeniture.

THAT all *Kings* and their Lawfull *Heirs*, whether good or bad, whe-

whether *Beloved* or *Hated*, ought successively to Reign, is fully proved by the Ancient and Unalterable Law of *Inheritance*.

Which Law was, and still is, grounded,

1. On God's exprefs Command, and so it is a judicial Law of God.

2. On Natural Reason, and so it becomes a *positive* Law of *Nature*, obliging all *Nations*, at all times, to the Observation of it.

Which Law of *Inheritance* by *Primogeniture*, we find recorded by *Moses*, in *Deut.* 21. v. 15, 16, 17. and it runs thus, —

The Law of
Inheritance.

If a Man have two Wives, one *Beloved*, and another *Hated*, and they have born him Children, both the *Beloved*, and the *Hated*; and if the *First-born Son* be hers that was *Hated*, then it shall be, when he maketh his Sons to *INHERIT* that which he hath, that he may not make the Son of the *Beloved*, *First-born*, before the Son of the *Hated*, which is indeed the *First-born*: But he shall acknowledge the Son of the *Hated* for the *First-born*, by giving him a double portion of all that he hath, &c.

By

By this Law, it is undeniably evident, that the *First-born* should ever be the *Heir* of his *Father*, whether the said *First-born* were Good or Bad, Beloved or Hated.

And the Reason which God gives for that Law, is this, *scil.* v. 17. *Be- Deut. 21.17.*
cause the First-born is the Beginning of his Fathers strength, and, therefore, the Right of the First-born is his, that is to say, the Right of Inheritance is his.

So that, this Law of Inheritance by Primogeniture is not onely a positive and judicial Law, made by God, binding the people of the Jews; but it is also a Moral Law founded on Natural Reason: And therefore, is for ever Obligatory, and at all times, Binds all Nations to observe and keep it.

For, if among the Jews, the *First-born* was therefore to Inherit, because he was the Beginning of his Father's strength:

Then, by the same force of Reason, ought All *First-born* Sons of all men whatever, to Inherit their Father's Substance, because, they all are the Beginning of their Father's strength:

And

And therefore,

The *Right of Inheritance*, is *theirs*.
From which Concessions, we thus argue, *to wit*,

That if *Succession* and *Inheritance* be established upon the *First-born* in private *Families*, because of his *Primogeniture*;

Then by the same *Law*, the *Right of Inheritance* and of *Succession* unto the *Crown*, is for ever settled upon the *First-born* of *Kings*. For, the *First-born* of *Kings* are the *Beginning* of their *Royal Father's strength*: And therefore, the *Right of the First-born*, that is to say, the *Right of Inheritance* and of *Succession* to their *Father's Throne*, is *Theirs*.

And from this *Moral Law of Inheritance* by *Primogeniture*, it came to pass, that not onely the *Jews*, but also, all *Civilized Nations* among the *Heathens*, did prefer their

(a) *Amplissimum vero dignitatis Gradum Primogenitus hereditario jure sibi vendicat, &c. Epist. Indi. Japan. p. 145.*

First born (a) *Sons* to be their *Heirs*; and particularly, the *First-born Sons* of their *Kings* to succeed and inherit their *Father's Crown* and *Dignities*; for *Common and Natural*

tural Reason dictated this to be the *First-born's* Right.

And whenever (as sometimes) it did happen that some aspiring *Domestic* or *Foreigner* did attempt to put by the Right *Heir* from succeeding his *Father*, that then, War was immediately Commenced to defend the *First-born's* just *Title* to the *Crown*.

And it is to be noted,

That although oft-times *God* did use his own *Prerogative*, and did, among the *Jews*, set up and pull down *Kings*, at his pleasure, which no *Creature*, though never so great, ought to doe.

Yet, this is to be observed, that after *God* had once settled the *Succession* of the Crown of *Israel* in King *David's* Family, and particularly on King *Solomon's* Issue by *Primogeniture*; That then it was High *Treason* for any to put by the Lawfull *Heir* and *Successour*, although the said *Heir* was an *Idolater*, and never so bad, as to, either *Faith*, or *Manners*.

Nor may we forget the *Chronologer's* Observation, *scil.* That All who reigned in *Judah* after King *Solomon*,
they

Allen Script.
Chronol. p.
154.

they all were the Right *Heirs* to the *Crown*, except onely *Queen Athaliah*, who was of the *House* of *Omri*, and of the *Tribe* of *Issachar*; She onely, by *Usurpation*, *Fraud* and *Violence*, stepped up into the *Throne* that did not belong to her, and she paid dear for it, for, the *Divine Vengeance* soon overtook her, and rendred to her the just wages of her *Treason*, which was *Death*; for, 2 *Chron.* 23. 15. *they laid hold on her and slew her, and set up Joash* (the Right *Heir*) and then, all the people rejoiced, and the *City* was quiet (v. 21.) after that they had slain *Athaliah* (the *Usurper*) with the *Sword*; and had restored *Joash*, the Right *Heir* by *Primogeniture*, unto the *Crown*.

And although, for the sins of *Solomon*, Almighty *God* did rend away from the *House* and *Lineage* of King *Solomon*, ten *Tribes*, and erected a distinct *King* over those said ten *Tribes*, to shew,

1. His own *Justice* against impenitent *sinners*.

2. To exert his own *Prerogative*, and to let the *World* know, that it is in his power alone to *set up*, and to *Depose Kings*,
Yet,

Yet, *God* did not dis-inherit, for ever, the Right *Heir* of King *Solomon*;

For, although *God* did set up a New *Kingdom*, and a New *Succession* in *Israel*, for the Reasons above mentioned, Yet, it was onely for a certain term of years.

And by limiting the *Succession* in *Israel* to a term of years, the Allwise *God* did clearly hint to all men, this *Truth*, to wit,

That notwithstanding the *Inter-Regnum's* of *Jeroboam*, and of all the other *Kings* of *Israel*; that, however, still the *Right* of *Inheritance*, and of *Succession* to the Imperial *Crown* over all *Israel*, as well as over all *Judah*, still belonged to the *Line* and *House* of *Solomon*. And it so happened, that after *God* had sufficiently punished the *House* of *Solomon* for their *Rebellions* against his Divine *Majesty*; That then, according to his own *Law* of *Inheritance*, he restored the whole *Kingdom* back again to the *Right Heir* of the *Line* and *House* of King *Solomon*:

For, *Josias* the *Right Heir* of King *Solomon* by *Primogeniture*, Reigned ^{2 Kings 23.} ^{24.} over

over all *Israel*, as well as over all *Judah*.

Nor may we pass over in silence this *Remark*, *scil.*

That whenever any *Rebellious Subjects* did depose and kill any *King*, whether in *Judah*, as did the *Mutinous Subjects* destroy *Amon* King of *Judah*, upon the pretence of his being an *Idolater*: Or, in *Israel*, as did *Treacherous Zimri* Murther his Lord *Elah*, King of *Israel*:

2 Kings 21.
23.

1 Kings 16.9.

Now, whenever any did thus *disloyally* attempt to *depose* and *kill* their *Lawfull Prince*, and did endeavour to prevent the *Right Heir* from enjoying the *Crown*;

Then, did *God*, by his wise and just Providence, so order *Matters*, as that the said *Treacherous Attempters* were ever *Prosecuted* for *Traitors*, and were deservedly *Executed* for their *Treason*.

✠ And if any *scrupulous* person shall desire to be farther informed, for what *Reason*, it is not *Lawfull* for any *People* to *Depose* and *Kill* their *Lawfull King*, nor to *Exclude* the *Right Heir* by *Primogeniture*, from *succeeding* in the *Throne*, because of his *Immorality*,
Tyranny,

Tyranny, Idolatry, or because of any other pretended wickedness whatever:

The Reason is,

Because *Kings* are accountable onely unto *God*, for their *Faith* and *Manners*, for their *Principles* and *Practices*, and not unto the *People* their *Subjects*: For, it is *God*, and not the *People*, who sets up *Hereditary Kings* and *Princes*.

And therefore *They* are to give an Account of their *Stewardship* onely unto *Him* of whom they received it.

Hence it is, That, although *God* may in his wrath *Depose Kings* for their Sins committed against *Himself*; Yet, the *People* may not *Depose* any *King*, for any *Irregularities* or *Outrages* committed against *Themselves*, whether upon their *Persons* or their *Estates*.

For, the *King* is therefore accountable unto *God*, because He is (though a *King*) *Inferiour* to *God*, being his *Vicegerent*. But the *King* is therefore unaccountable to his *Subjects* the *People*, because, He is their *Superiour*, being their *King*.

D

And

And it is ever adjudged a thing preposterous and absurd for the *Head* to be accountable unto the *Inferiour Members*, for its Government.

It is very true; That both Reason and Interest speaks it to be the Duty and Concern of the *Head* to Govern and Manage the whole *Body well*, regularly and judiciously, for fear of a severe check and punishment from an higher Hand, to wit, from the *Supreme Head* and *Governour* of Heaven and Earth, and for fear the whole *Body* should miscarry, and be ruined thorough his *ill Government*.

But, however, if the *Head* will not doe his Duty, and Govern well, yet, the *Inferiour Members* may not take up Arms and *Rebell*, and, in their zeal for *Reformation*, cut off the *Head*, as a *Delinquent*: But in such a case,

It is the *Inferiours* Duty humbly to kiss the Rod, patiently to submit to Divine Providence, and pray, saying, O Heavenly Father! Thy will, and not Ours, be done.

And this, by the way, is worthy every Man's observation, *scil.*

That,

That, although God doth oft-times raise up certain *Rebels* to be as his *scourges* to punish irregular *Princes*; and although it be *just* in God so to doe: Yet, it is *High Treason* for those *Rebels* to execute God's *Decrees* and *Judgments* upon such their Lawfull *Princes*, unless they have (as had *Jehu*) a special *Warrant* immediately from God himself, so to doe; which *Warrant*, no Man since *Christ's Advent* ever had, or can have in the days of the *Gospel*.

And therefore, it is *Treason* for any *Subjects*, upon the *specious* pretence of executing God's Decree and Vengeance, to raise *War*, make *Sedition*, to *Depose* and *Kill* their Lawfull *Prince*.

Thus *Absalom* was guilty of *High Treason*, in making *War*, and in raising *Sedition* against his *Father King David*, and He *Died* for it: And yet, *Absalom* did onely execute God's Decree of *Judgment* against King *David* his *Father*.

In like manner, God raised up *Zimri* to execute his Decree against the House of *Baasha*, and permitted Him to destroy his Master King *Elah*, the

Son of *Baasha*; which Action of *Zimri's* killing his Master King *Elah*, is Condemned for an Act of *High Treason*, and was by the *Loyal* People punished as such, 1 *Kings* 16. 20. And no better was *Shallum's* killing *Zachariah* the King :

For although *Shallum* had done no other in killing his said Sovereign, King *Zachariah*, than what God aforehand had decreed should be done to the *House* of *Jehu* for his and their Hypocrisie and Wickedness ;

Yet, notwithstanding, *Shallum's* executing God's Decree, He was deservedly Condemned for a *Traytor*, and at length Vengeance seized upon him.

By these, and other *Instances*, which might be alledged, it is evident,

That *Treason* and *Rebellion*, although *Commenced* upon never so Religious a *pretence*, very seldom, if ever, went unpunished.

And therefore we *Christians* may pertinently urge in this case of *Treason* and *Rebellion*, what *Christ* alledged in that of *Offences*, Matth. 18. 7. *Woe to the World, because of Offences,*
for

for Offences will come; but *Woe* to them by whom the Offence cometh. So here, *Woe* to the *World*, because of *Treasons* and *Rebellions*: for *Treasons* and *Rebellions* will happen, as long as *Touth* are not duely *Catechised*, and men are not better and more *Loyally Principled*. But, *Woe* to those Men by whom *Seditions*, *Treasons*, and *Rebellions* do come: For, the Divine *Nemesis* will undoubtedly pursue, and over-take them, either in this *World*, or in that to come.

S E C T. IV.

The Proposition proved by Reason, and the Common Sentiments of Religion.

R *Reason* and *Religion* dictate it to be a thing absolutely *sinfull* and *unlawfull* for any *Subjects* whatever, High or Low (if they be *Subjects*) in *Parliament* or out of *Parliament*, to Depose their *Lawfull Prince*:

The Bill of
Exclusion un-
lawfull.

And that it is also unlawfull for any *Subjects*, by a *Bill of Exclusion*, or by any other *Means*, to put by the Lawfull *Heir* from the *Crown*, for fear (as was lately pretended) *He* should alter *Religion*, and so bring many *Evils* upon the *Nation*.

Now, that it is utterly unlawfull and sinfull for any *Subjects* to doe thus, Reason dictates;

Because, to preclude a Lawfull *Heir* from the *Crown*, for fear of future *Evils* which may happen in his *Reign* and *Government*, is truly,

Malitious.

1. To suppose a fault in the *Right Heir*, before there is one; and to Act upon such a Supposal, favours of the height of *Malice* and *Dis-ingenuity*: In truth, *so to doe*, in our apprehension, is no better than to *Hang* a Man first, and then to *Try* him afterward.

Atheistical.

2. *So to doe*, is to trust more to *Man's Policy*, than to *God's Wisdom*; more to *Man's Care*, than to *God's Providence*, for the prevention of future *Evils*.

The Holy *Scriptures* assure us, that
the

the Heart of the King (and of his Right Heir) is in the hand of the Lord, Prov. 21. 1. and as the Rivers of Water, he turneth it whither soever he will.

But this late *Fanatical Doctrine*, of *Deposing Kings*, and of *Excluding the Right Heir* from the *Crown* for want of *Grace*; and for fear of future Evils that may possibly be done by Him, speaks the contrary:

For this their *Doctrine* avouches for a *Truth*, that the *Heart* of the *King*, and of his *Succeſſour*, is not in the hand of the *Lord*: Or, if it be, that then, God will not turn it so, as to doe any Good to the *People*.

And therefore, the *People* (especially in *Parliament*) for the Good of the *Common-wealth*, ought to *Usurp* God's *Prerogative*, and take the *Heart* of the *King* and of his *Lawfull Heir*, into their own hands, and dispose of it, as they, the *People*, shall judge best.

Now, What is all this, but in effect, not onely to *Depose* and *Dethrone* an *Earthly Prince*, and his *Lawfull Heir*, but also to *Depose* and *Dethrone* *Almighty God himself*?

The Prerogative

Nay, What is it in plain *English*, but for the *People* to take the Reins of Government out of *God's* hand into their own, and to Rule the *World* according to their own exuberant *fancies*?

Nay, What is it at the best, but to doe an apparent *Evil*, that a *Contin- gent Good* may come on it?

Which *Principle* is *Antichristian*, and Condemned for *such* by Saint *Paul*, who assures us, That they who maintain such an irreligious *Tenet*, scil.
 Rom. 3. 8. *Let us doe Evil, that Good may come; Their Damnation is just.*

And here it is to be farther noted, That if it be (as has been proved to be) a *sin* for the *Subjects* upon any pretence whatever to *Depose* their *King*, and to *Exclude* his Lawfull *Heir* from the *Throne* for fear of any *Evil* that may happen through his *ill Government*;

Now, if this be a *sin*,

Then to be sure, much more is it a *sin*, for any *Subjects* to endeavour, That a *Law* might be made to *Dis- inherit* the Lawfull *Heir* of the
 Crown,

Crown, upon the pretences aforesaid.
For,

1. To make such a *Law*, is truly to make a *Law* directly to oppose and contradict the unalterable *Law* of *Inheritance*, which says that the *Right Heir* by *Primogeniture*, shall *Inherit*; and the other known *Law* of *God*, That *He*, who *hateth Right*, shall *Govern*.

And therefore, it was a notorious *Sin*, an *Antichristian* Act in the late *Shaftsburian-Associators*, to move for a *Bill* of *Exclusion* of his present *Royal Highness James Duke of YORK* from *Succeeding* in the *Throne* (notwithstanding his undoubted *Right* thereunto by *Primogeniture*) upon a *presumptive* jealousy, that *He* would not be a *Friend* to the true *Episcopal-Protestant Religion* of the *Church of England*, as now, by *Law*, *Established*. For by this *Attempt*, they endeavoured to have set up a *New Law* of *Man*, against the *Ancient Law* of *God*, which *Commands* (as we have heard already) that the *Right Heir* shall *Govern*, although he *hate Righteousness*, and although he be a *Belial*, an *Idolater*:

And

Opposite to
God's Law of
Inheritance.

And the *Law of God* is so far, from either *Deposing* a Lawfull King, or *Precluding* the Right *Heir*, as that, it will not suffer any *Subjects* whatever to say, Their *King is Wicked*, or that, *their Princes are Ungodly*.

The Cause of
Civil Wars
and Sedition.

2. To make a *Law* for the *Exclusion* of the Lawfull *Heir* from the *Crown*, is to establish *Sedition* and *Faction* by *Law*. And it is not onely to *cause*, but also to *perpetuate* an *Intestine* and *Civil War* by *Law*; as our present most Wise and most Gracious King prudently and too truly urged in his late *Declaration*, giving that for one Reason, why neither in *Honour* nor in *Conscience* could He give his Royal *Fiat* unto that unnatural and irreligious *Bill of Exclusion*.

For, if such a *Bill* should pass into a *Law*, then there must inevitably follow a *Bloudy, Civil War*:

Which can please none but them, who delight in *Bloud*, and love to fish in troubled waters.

And which will be worse,

The said *War* will, in all likelihood, continue untill the longest *Sword* shall have

have carried all before it. And who knows, but that *Might* may once again overcome *Right*, as it did at *Worcester Fight*, and in the late *Cruel Rebellion*?

Now, Reason assures us,

That upon passing the *Bill of Exclusion* into a *Law*, there most certainly will follow a *Civil War*; and that because,

There will be in the *Kingdom*, two *Opposite*, irreconcilable *Abettors* for the *Crown*, and their *Adherers*; such as,

1. The *Right Heir*, by *Primogeniture*, *Excluded* and his *Party*.
2. The *Usurper intruded*, and his *Confederates*.

And both sides will plead a just *Title* to the *Crown*.

The *Lawfull Heir*, *Excluded*, will urge (and that most truly) his *Right* thereunto by virtue of his *Primogeniture*, according to the *Law of God*, of *Natural Reason*, and of *Magna Charta*:

And therefore to be sure, He will Fight, and that undauntedly, for the *Crown*.

On

On the other hand, the *Usurper* will plead, and that not without Reason, his *Title* to the *Crown*, by virtue of the New *Law* of the *Nation*, to wit, the New *Statute* of *Exclusion*, which has settled the Royal *Diadem* upon his *Head*, and therefore He will not easily part with it.

Wherefore, no man need doubt but that the *Usurper* will fight, and that stoutly, to keep what by *Law* he has got.

Thus any Man (that has but half an eye) may (if he will) plainly see, That, if the *Bill* of *Exclusion* should pass into a *Law* (as the *Anti-Torkists* so hotly desired) that then *War* and *Sedition* will be established and continued by *Law*.

And now, suppose this should ever happen to be (which *God forbid*;) Then the Great *Query*, and *Case* of *Conscience* will be, *scil.*

Qu. What *Party* or *Side* ought the Pious and Dutifull *Subject* to take and follow?

Ans. To

Ans. To deal plainly and faithfully in this *Case*, where *Conscience* and *Religion*, I mean *Christianity*, are so deeply concerned ;

We humbly conceive it to be the honest *Subject's* Duty in this *case*, rather to Obey *God* and his *Law*, and so, to fight, *More Romano*, Courageously for the Right and Lawfull *Heir* by *Primogeniture* unjustly *Excluded*: This we ought to doe, rather than to Obey *Man* and his New *Law* of *Exclusion*, and so, to engage for the *Usurper*, who Reigns and *Governs* not by *Divine*, but onely by *Humane*, Law and Appointment.

And we will Appeal to *Conscience* and *Reason*, Whether it be not safer to follow *God* and his *Law*, which cannot *err*, than *Man* who may err, and his *Law* of *Exclusion*, which does grossly *err* in the very Sanction of it ; in that it manifestly opposes the above-mentioned *Law* of *God*, which Commands, That the Right *Heir* by *Primogeniture* should Reign and Govern, although *He hateth Right*.

Object. If

Object. If it be (as it is, by all *Anti-Torkists* and *Common wealths Men*) objected, That the *Law* of the *Realm*

(a) *Ipse autem Rex non debet esse sub homine, sed sub Deo, & sub Lege, quia Lex facit Regem. Non est enim Rex, ubi dominatur Voluntas, & non Lex, &c.*
Bract. l. 1. c. 8.

is above the *King*, for that the *Law* made him *King*; And therefore (say they) the *Law* has a power to *Depose* the *King*, and to take away that *Regal Authority* which it gave him: As that Great (but to our thinking, *Facitious*) Lawyer (a) *Bracton* argues: And as is so often quoted from him, and seditiously urged by the *Authour* of *Julian Apostate*, p. 83.

And the very same Argument was pleaded by all the late *Regicides*, particularly by that Grand *Regicide*, *Bradshaw* the Lawyer, who had the Impudence to sit as *Judge* upon the *Bench*, and to pronounce that *Diabolical Sentence* of *Condemnation* upon his own Dread *Sovereign*, King *Charles* the *First* of Blessed Memory; and he palliated over his and their Horrid *Treason* with this colour of argument, to wit,

That the Law was above the King.

Ans. It

Ans. It is hoped, that all the *Gentlemen* of the *Long-Robe* will go on (as they already have *worthily* begun) to repair the Honour of their *Noble Order*, and that none of *them* will any more advise or plead for *Treason*, nor ever again deceive and seduce the silly, ignorant *People* with their specious and fallacious Arguments: But that they (who have been *disloyal*) will suffer *themselves*, and their *Toutb* to be better *Disciplined* in the Doctrine of the *Church of England*: The neglect of which, has too apparently caused some of that Honourable and most necessary *Function*, and their *Clients*, so grossly to err in point of *Obedience*.

But, as for the above mentioned *Objection*, it is already *pithily* Answered, by the *King's Learned Sergeants at Law* in *Hilary-Term* 1683, in their truly *Loyal Motto*,

A DEO REX, A REGE LEX,

God made the King, the King made the Law.

And

And therefore, very false and *Antiscriptural* are the forementioned Positions, *scil.*

1. That, *the Law made the King.*
2. That, *the Law is above the King.*

For, although, the Law of God indeed is above all *Kings*, and if they wilfully transgress the same, they are all accountable unto God, and unto God onely for the same;

Tet, in this Kingdom of *England*, no *Statute-Law* is, or can be, above the *King*.

And that because,

It was the *King* who first gave *Life* and *Being* to the *Law* of the *Land*:

The *King* by his *Royal Assent* made the *Law* (*Salvâ Regiâ Prærogativâ*) to be what it is, to wit, a *Law*.

But the *Law* of the *Land* did not make the *King* to be what he is, to wit, a *King*:

For, the *King* was *King* before the *Law*;

And so, he became the *principal efficient Cause* of the *Law*.

And

And therefore, the *King* was before the *Law*, inasmuch as the *Cause* is ever before the *Effect*.

And it is to be noted,

That although the *Law* may (by Repeal, or other ways) be abolished, and *dye*,

Tet, in *England* the *King* never does, nor can, *dye*, as long as there is alive any Lawfull *Heir* by *Primogeniture*, though never so *Remote*.

Object. But most, if not all the *Anti-Torkists*, did, and still do urge, in favour of their *Bill of Exclusion*, the *Statute* of 13 *Qu. Eliz. c. 1*.

When a *Law* was made, to this purpose, *scil.* That it should be *High-Treason* for any to affirm the *Right* in *Succeſſion* of the *Crown* to be in some other than the *Queen*: Or to affirm that the *Laws* and *Statutes* do not bind the *Right* of the *Crown*, and the *Descent*, *Limitation*, *Inheritance* and *Governance* thereof. *Whosoever* shall, during the *Queens Life*, by *book*, or *work written*, or *printed*, expressly affirm (before the same be established by *Parliament*) that any one particular person is, or

E

ought

ought to be Heir and Successour to the Queen, except the same be the natural issue of her body, &c. shall for the first offence be a whole year Imprisoned, and forfeit half his Goods; and for the second offence shall incur the penalty of *Præmunire*. Polt. Qu. El. 13. c. 1.

This is the *Act*, and these are the words of that *Act*, which the *Authour* of *Julian the Apostate*, and all the *Factionous Associatours* have so stiffly pleaded, in Justification of their *Bill of Exclusion*.

Ans. But, a little to undeceive the deluded People; and to tell the *Truth*, as far as we apprehend it;

First, There was an Occasion, if not a Necessity, for such an *Act* in *Queen Elizabeth's* days; but there is none in these of *ours*.

And the Reason for it is this, *scil.*

Because in *Her* days, many, both *Papists* and *Fanaticks*, disputed *Queen Elizabeth's Right* and *Title* to the *Crown*:

Nor was it certainly known, who by *Birth* and *Primogeniture* was the Law-

Lawfull *Heir* of the *Crown*, after *Queen Elizabeth's* Decease, in case *she* should dye without *Issue* of her own *Body*.

And therefore an *Act* passed, Declaring two things, *scil.*

1. That *Queen Elizabeth* was by *Birth* and *Primogeniture*, the Lawfull *Heir* of the *Crown*.

2. That, whomsoever the said *Queen* and the *Laws* of the *Realm* should declare to be by *Descent* and *Primogeniture* her Lawfull *Heir* and *Successeur*, That then, *He* or *She* so declared, should be acknowledged and owned for the Right *Heir* of the *Crown*; it being declared (as was said before) that *He* or *She* was the Right and proper *Heir* by virtue of *Birth*, *Descent*, and *Primogeniture*.

So that, the aforementioned *Act* of *Queen Elizabeth* does confirm the Right of *Succession* to the Imperial *Crown* of Great Britain, to be onely by Lawfull *Descent* and *Primogeniture*.

Secondly, But farther, If the meaning of that *Act of Queen Eliz. 13. c. 1.* were otherwise, than we apprehend it to be, *Yet*, it is well known, that,

That *Act of Queen Eliz. 13. c. 1.* is *Obsoleted*, and *out of Date*, and was made onely for *Queen Elizabeth's* Reign, and therefore is of no force or validity in these our days;

And that *because*, in this our day, the Right *Heir* to the *Crown* by *Descent*, and *Primogeniture*, is well known:

For, if he were not well known, then, pray, what need is there of a *Bill of Exclusion* to *barr* and *preclude* the Right *Heir* from succeeding in the *Throne*; and that onely, as is pretended, for fear the supposed Right *Heir*, when once got into the *Throne*, should not *Govern well*?

From these Arguings, it is *evident*, That the above-mentioned *Act of Queen Elizabeth* is out of *Date*, and does no ways affect these our times, in which there is (at least there need be) no dispute, who, at present, is the Right *Heir* by *Primogeniture*.

And

And therefore, it cannot be *ignorance*; but, as we fear, right down *Prejudice*, not to call it *Malice*, in them, who are knowing in the Law, to urge, from that *Act* of Queen *Elizabeth's*, a Lawfulness to hinder, by a *Bill* of *Exclusion*, the Right *Heir* from Inheriting the Imperial Crown of *England*, which is his undoubted Right by virtue of his lineal *Descent* and *Primogeniture*.

It will not be impertinent, here to add the Observation of some judicious Men:

How that, *God* never blessed, either that *Family*, or that *People*, which have unnaturally dis-inherited the Right *Heir*.

And it has been observed by many, That, although the *Law* of this Our *Kingdom* does permit *Parents* to cut off the *Entails* of their *Estates*, from their *Eldest Sons*, when prodigal and vicious, or otherwise:

Yet, it has been observed,

That those *Families* which have taken that *Liberty* which the *Law* of the *Land* has given them, and there-

fore, have *dis-inherited* the Right *Heir*, That they never prospered or continued long, but by some evil *Accident* or other, they have been *blasted* in their *Estates*, or *Reputations*, and in few years have *dwindled* away into *nothing*.

And as thus the *Curse* and *Wrath* of *God* has pursued private *Families*, which have *dis-inherited* the Right *Heirs* to their *Estates* ;

So, much more *exemplarily* has the *Wrath* of Almighty *God* visited in a direfull manner those *Nations* and *People*, which have *Rebelloiously Deposed* their Lawfull *Kings*, and have *Dis-inherited* the Right *Heirs* to the *Crown*.

And We, the *Inhabitants* of Great *Britain*, have had wofull experience of this *Truth*.

For, who does not Remember those sad *Judgments* which afflicted this Our *Nation*, upon the *Deposition* and *Mur-ther* of the late Pious Martyr King *Charles the First*, and upon the *Ex-clusion* of the Right *Heir* to the *Crown*, even our present Dread *Sovereign*, King *Charles the Second* ?

And

And what ? Shall we ever yield again to them, who Plot to bring down the same, or worse, Judgments upon us, by Excluding the next Right Heir to the Crown ?

God forbid ! But rather, seeing We of this Nation are made whole, and do enjoy Our privileges and immunities, our peace and quietness; Let us therefore, Sin no more, by our Rebellion and Sedition, Lest a worse thing come unto us.

For, that wholesome Advice, which *Christ* gave to the *Impotent* Man in the *Gospel*, is very applicable unto *England*——

Behold, thou art made whole, Sin no more (by Deposing, or Precluding the Right Heir). lest a worse thing come unto thee.

C H A P. IV.

That all Subjects ought actively to Obey their Natural and Lawfull Prince, in all things which be not positively against some known Law of God, although their said Prince be an Heathen, an Idolater, and Apostate, or never so Morally vitious.

THE Proposition, we shall endeavour to prove,

1. By the Law of Nature, and of Natural Reason, which enacts,
That the Inferiour shall ever be Obsequious and Obedient to his Superiour.

2. By the Authority of Sacred Scripture and Divine Reason, which Anathematizes all Rebellion, and the Authours of it.

3. By

3. By the Authority and Practice,

1. Of honest, Loyal *Heathens*.

2. Of *Christians*,

Both { *Primitive*
and
Modern.

S E C T. I.

*The Duty of Obedience to Superiours,
whether Morally Good or Bad,
proved by the Law of Nature and
of Natural Reason.*

Natural Reason dictates, this *Truth*,
to wit, That if a *King* has a
Right to *Command* and *Govern*, then
the *Subjects* have an indispensable Ob-
ligation upon them to *Obey*; for Pre-
cept and Obedience are naturally con-
comitant.

And as *Father* and *Son*, so, *Prince*
and *People* are *Relata secundum esse*,
not onely *Relatives*, but also *Essential*
Rela-

Aristot. Polit.
L. 1. c. 8.

Relatives, whose very *Essence* as *such*, consists in a mutual *Relation* of the one unto the other :

So that, as no man can be said to be a *Father*, who has no *Son*; so, no man can be said to be a *King*, who has no *Subjects* :

And as all *Sons* are either Dutifull, or Undutifull ;

So, all *Subjects* are either Obedient, or Disobedient.

And as it is a Breach of the *Law* of *Nature*, for a *Son* to be undutifull ; So, it is a Breach of the same *Law*, for a *Subject* to be disobedient.

For, as the non-performance of the *Father's* Lawfull Commands, renders the *Son* undutifull ;

So the non-performance of the *King's* Lawfull Injunctions, speaks the *Subject* *Rebellious* :

And whoever denies *Obedience* to his *King*, does in effect deny him to be *King*.

And this is to be noted,

That by the *Law* of *Nature*, All *Children* are strictly obliged to Obey their *Parents* whether they be *Christians* or *Infidels*, *Good* or *Bad* :

For

For in the point of *Filial Obedience*, no *Child* ought to Dispute the *Faith* and *Religion*, the *Morality* or *Immorality* of his *Parents*.

All that he is to consider, is that near, that essential *Relation* in which they stand unto him, *to wit*, that they are his *Natural Parents*;

And therefore, without farther dispute, *They are to be obeyed*.

And as thus the *Son*,

So also the *Subject* in point of *Obedience* to his *Prince*, is not to dispute nor question the *Virtues* or the *Vices*, the *Religion* or *Principles* of his *Prince*;

But solely to consider, that essential and indissoluble *Relation*, in which his *Prince* stands unto him, *to wit*, That *He* is his *Natural* and *Lawfull Prince*;

And therefore, must of Necessity be *Obedied*.

And we may argue farther,

That the Law of *Nature* and of sound *Reason* Dictates,

1. That all good *Order* ought to be kept.

2. That

2. That *Order* cannot be preserved, if *Inferiours* shall *Rebell* and *Resist* the *Commands* of their *Superiours*.

3. That all *Disorder* and *Rebellion* threatens ruine to the *Whole*.

Which Mischiefe to prevent,

The *Law* of *Nature* obliges every *Being*, within its own proper *Sphear*, to contribute its utmost endeavours towards the *preservation* of the *whole*.

These things being granted to be according to the *Laws* of *Nature* and *Natural Reason*;

It cannot, now, but wound the *Heart* of any understanding *Man*, whether *Christian* or *Heathen*, to see the *Heel* rise up and kick against the *Head*, to see *Subjects* Plot and *Rebell* against their *Natural* and *Lawfull King*, especially, seeing, all *Rebellion* is (as has been proved) no other, than waging open *War* against *Nature herself*: *Nature* having Constituted all things in a most harmonious *Order*, placing one *Being* before another, and strictly *Commanding* every *Being* to keep its own *Station*, and to act one-ly within its own *Circuit*, and not to move *excentrically*. And

And in truth, wonderfull is the excellent *Governance* of *Nature*; For, where there are *Millions* of *Individuals* of the same *Species*, there *Nature* ever makes *One* to move *First*; and all the *rest*, to move orderly and successively.

And this Natural *Law* of *Regularity*, and of *Priority* and *Posteriority*, is duly observed by all *Moveables*, whether

Animate, or
Inanimate.

I. All Things *Inanimate*, such as the *Elementary Particles*, when they move *Ascendent* or *Descendent*, they All observe the Natural *Laws* of *Motion*, particularly, of *Priority* and *Posteriority*, and do All move *Regularly* one after the other, to prevent *Confusion*.

Natural *Philosophy* assures us,

That whenever there does happen the least *Disorder* and *Irregularity* among the *Inferiour* parts of *Nature*, that then to prevent a general *Revolt* and *Fraction*;

The *Supreme Nature* is Necessitated

to act severely, and by force to reduce the *Rebellious Particles* into their *Right Order*.

And thus, sometimes, the *Supreme Nature* causes things to act and move quite contrary to their particular *Natural Inclinations*.

Thus, *Water*, sometimes is forced to *ascend*, contrary to its *Natural Tendency*.

And *Air* to *descend*, contrary to its *Natural Propensity*.

And all this is done to prevent (as was hinted before) a greater *Rebellion* and *Rupture*, and to preserve the safety of the *Universe*.

2. The *Laws of Nature* and *Good Order* are also duely observed by things *Animate*, although they be *Irrational*:

For they have their *Superiours* and *Inferiours*.

Gerson.

Tea, the very *Beasts* of the field, are said to Observe the *Natural Law of Primogeniture*: And in their *Motions* to put the *Eldest foremost*: And when this *Order* is broke, by some *Rebellious* and *Disorderly Juniors*, then
com-

commonly, there happens among them
a fierce *Combate*.

Thus, as the *Poet* notes, there is
Rex Gregis, a *King* among the *Herd*s
of *Cattel*, and the *Flocks* of *Sheep*:

And it is well known, that the *Li-*
on is commonly called the *King* of
Beasts.

Nay, not onely *Beasts*, but also *In-*
sects, such as *Bees*, have their *King*;

And *Bees* have not onely a *King*,
but *Virgil* in the praise of them, says,

—*Regem non sic Ægyptus, & ingens* Virg. Georg.

Lydia, nec populi Parthorum aut Medus 4.

Hydaspes

Observant, &c.

That the *Bees* are more *Observant* and
Obedient to their *King*, than ever were
the *Egyptians*, *Parthians*, or *Medes* to
their *King*.

And therefore a *Bee* in the *Gothick*
Language is * *Bi-eju*, *quasi penes unum*, * *Minsheu*.
which signifies a *Company*, incorpora-
ted, under one *Head*.

The *Bees* have their *Laws* of *Go-*
vernment which they punctually ob-
serve.

And

And one of their chiefest *Laws*, is, That all the *Subjects* of their *Commonwealth*, should carefully and dutifully, in their fixed courses, wait upon, and guard their *King*, at home and abroad:

And therefore, they will never move without a word of Command, nor fly in swarms without their *King*; but most Loyally wait his Royal Pleasure; and whilst His *Majesty* is solacing himself in his *Palace*, they, like so many *Life-Guard* Men, most dutifully hover about, and attend the Door. And it has been observed, That, if, through too long *Attendance*, they have grown faint and weary in their Service;

Yet, they will rather humbly fall down *Dead* at the foot of their *King*, than desert their Station, and hazard His *Majesty's* safety.

And if any *Enemies*, such as *Wasps* and *Hornets*, shall at any time assault their *King's* Dominions; They all unanimously take up *Arms* in defence of their *King*, and will fight on his behalf, to the last *Breath*.

And

And which is most remarkable,

—*Rege incolumi, mens omnibus una est.*

Whilst their *King* is safe, nothing can afflict them; but they are all cheerful and unanimous; the most *critical* eye cannot discern the least *Discord* among them.

But on the other hand,

——— *Rege*
Amisso, rupere fidem, &c.

Virg. ibid.

Their *King* once (unhappily) lost, they are all in a *tumult*, their Government is dissolved, and every one does what he pleases, for their *Laws* expire with their *King*:

So that, they all, by stealth and plunder, get what they can. And like so many unruly *Banditi*, they seldom give over pillaging, untill they have either lost their lives, or luckily lifted themselves in the Service of some other Neighbouring *Prince*.

F

For

For, such is the *Nature* of a *Bee*, as that he can never live quietly, without a *King*.

By these instances, it is sufficiently demonstrated,

That all *Beings* whatever are Obedient to their *Superiours*, and do keep good *Order*: And that Most, if not All Living *Creatures*, which are guided onely by the *Light* of *Nature*, do not onely prefer *Monarchy* above all *Governments*, but also injoin strict *Obedience* thereunto, according to the *Laws* of *Nature*.

And *what*? Shall onely *Man* (of all the *Creation*, except *Devils*) walk disorderly, and be found *Rebellious* and disobedient unto *God*, and unto his *Natural Prince*, contrary to the *Law* of *Nature* and sound *Reason*?

For *shame*! Let it never be said, That *Man*, the *Glory* of the *Creation*, is in a *Conspiracy* with the *Fallen Angels*, against *God* and the *King*.

S E C T. II.

The Duty of Obedience to Superiours, whether Morally good or bad, Christians or Heathens, proved by Authority of Divine Reason and Scripture.

NOT onely the *Law of Nature*, but also the *Law of God*, and *Divine Authority* Command *Loyalty* and *Obedience* to be shewn unto all *Kings*, whether *Heathens* or *Christians*, *Good* or *Bad*;

And declare also, That it is the *Subjects* Duty not onely to Obey them, but also, heartily to pray for their *prosperity*.

Thus the *Patriarch Jacob* did not onely doe humble *Reverence* and *Honour* unto *King Pharaoh* an *Heathen*, but also gave him his *BENEDICTION*: for, *Jacob Blessed Pharaoh*, Gen. 47. 7. *שלוט שאילר*, that is, *Jacob* saluted Munster. him, with *Prayer* for his *Welfare*, and Druf. Ains. in Loc. with *Thanks* for his *Bounty*.

And the *Holy Prophets*, who of all men were most free from *Courtship*

and Flattery, they, especially the Prophet *Daniel*, did Honour and Worship, even *Heathen-Kings*, and frequently saluted them with this *Pathetical Option*,

VIVAT REX,

O King, Live for ever!

Which is all one with,

God save the King.

In like manner *St. Paul* did Honour Noble *Festus* the Roman Governour, and King *Agrippa*, who were no *Christians*.

Tit. 3. 1. And the same *Apostle* exhorts *Titus*, Bishop of *Crete*, to put All Men in mind of being subject to Principalities and Powers, to obey Magistrates (whether *Christians* or *Heathens*, good or bad) and to be ready to every good work.

And in *Hebr. 13. 17.* the *Jews* are Commanded to obey all that had Rule over them: Which Rulers over them in the State, were the *Roman Emperours* and

and *Deputies*, who were, at that time, inveterate Enemies to *Christianity*.

Our Blessed *Saviour* himself Commands all Men (*Christians* especially) to give unto *Cæsar* what is *Cæsar's*, as well as to *God*, what is *God's*: And the *Law* of *God* and of *Man* tells us, that *Honour* and *Obedience* is *Cæsar's* due, therefore it must be paid.

And *St. Paul*, writing to the New-converſed *Romans* at *Rome*, charges them to be ſubject to *Cæsar*, and the Higher Powers; And he gives this Reason for the neceſſity of their Obedience, to wit, *Because there is no power but of God*; and that, *Whoſoever* Rom. 13. 1, 2. *reſiſteth the Powers, reſiſteth the Ordinance of God*; and he that reſiſteth, ſhall receive to himſelf *Damnation*.

And the very ſame pious Doctrine of *Loyalty* does *St. Peter* teach, 1 *Pet.* 2. 13. *Submit your ſelves to every Ordinance of Man, for the Lord's ſake, whether it be to the King as Supreme, or to Governours, as unto them, which are ſent by him.*

And v. 18. *St. Peter* adds, as the *Whole Duty of Man*, this Injunction,
Fear God, Honour the King.

Thereby (according to *Beaufrons*) plainly intimating unto us this excellent *Truth*, scil.

* *Beaufrons*,
c. 8. p. 89.

“ That if we will not peaceably
“ submit to every Ordinance of the
“ King, as to things Lawfull, but be-
“ come Mutinous and Rebellious;
“ then, notwithstanding our high pro-
“ fession of Religion, and of fearing
“ God, we neither, *Fear God*, nor
“ *Honour the King*: for as *God* is ever
“ to be *Feared*, so the *King* is ever to
“ be *Honoured*.

Josh. 1. 18.

Unto these Instances of *Holy Writ*, pleading for Obedience to *Kings*, and to the Supreme *Magistrates*, we may add that Loyal *Decree*, which the *Reubenites*, and *Gadites*, and the half *Tribe of Manasseh* made: For they all were so zealous for Obedience unto *Joshua* their Supreme *Magistrate*, as that they *Decreed*, That *whosoever* Disobeyed *Joshuah's Commands*, and would not hearken unto his words, in all that he commanded, he should be put to *Death*.

1 Sam. 15. 23.

The Prophet *Samuel* terms *Rebellion* no better than *Witchcraft*: So that,
accor-

according to him, Whosoever Rebels, has forsaken *God*, and is gone over, *Volunteer*, to the *Devil*, and is carrying on his works of *Darkness*.

Nor may we pass over in silence, that smart check which the Heathen *Sanballat* gave (though most undeservedly) unto Loyal *Nehemiah*, saying, *What is this thing that ye doe?* *Nehem. 2. 19.* *Will ye Rebell against the King? Will ye Rebell?* that is to say, in the Negative; *No, surely!* ye will not offer to *Rebell against the King*: For, your *Jewish* Religion (which ye say is the onely true Religion in the World) teaches you otherwise, and instructs you better, *to wit*,

That although the *King* be, in your opinion, no other than an *uncircumcised Heathen*, and (as you believe) an *Idolater*,

Yet, for all this, ye ought (according to your own Religion) not to *Rebell* against him.

From these Proofs in *Canonical Scriptures*, we may rationally argue, and conclude with the truly Loyal *Archbishop Laud*, and others of the *Church of England*, scil.

Heyl. in Vit.
Archb. Laud.
p. 310.

“ That all the Commands of a *King*,
“ which are not, upon the first Infe-
“ rence and Illation, contrary to some
“ clear passage of the Word of *God*,
“ or to some evident *Sun-beam* of the
“ *Law of Nature*, are precisely to be
“ *obeyed*.

S E C T. III.

The Proposition;

*That All Lawfull Kings, whether Mo-
rally good or bad, ought to be obey-
ed, proved by the Authority and
Practice of honest Heathens.*

Hitherto we have heard the Di-
vine *Oracles* amply declaring
the *Subjects* Duty peaceably to Obey
their Lawfull *Kings*, and their *Succef-
sours*, whether *Papists* or *Protestants*,
Heathens or *Christians*, Good or Bad.
The very same Truth and Duty, we
find urged, and confirmed by the Au-
thority and Practice of mere *Heathens*,
who were guided onely by the glim-
mering

mering *Light* of their Natural Reason, even such as they, did not onely teach, but also practise *Loyalty* and *Obedience* to their Lawfull *Princes*.

Hesiod discoursing on the *Benefits* of Kingly Government, tells his *Reader*, that

— — — Οἱ δὲ νῦ λαοὶ Hesiod. The-

Πάντες ἐς αὐτὸν ὁρῶσι διακρίνοντα δέμιας ὄβ.
Ἰδέησι δίκῃσι, &c.

unto the *King* the *People* do all, most dutifully, *look*, waiting for his Word of Command; They being fully assured, that, seeing their prosperity is his happiness; He, therefore, will order all things *right*, according to the Rules of *Justice*.

And when *King Jupiter* was De-throned by the *Rebellious Titans*, then the *Loyal Party* mustered up their *Forces*, and humbly tendering their Services to him their *King*, They all unanimously entred into a solemn Vow, that they would fight his Cause, and never sheath their Swords, untill

Ῥυσόμεθα κατὰς ὑμῶν ἐν αἰνῇ δνιότητι,
Μαχόμενοι Τίτῃσι ἀνὰ κατὰς ὑπέρ-
νας, &c. they

they had vanquished all his Enemies, and had restored him to his Imperial Crown and Dignity.

Theocritus enlarging himself on the Praise and high Commendations of King *Ptolemæus*, says, He was *περρε-
ρέστατος Ἀνδρῶν*, the most happy of all men, not onely in that He (being King)

Theocr.

——— Διὶ Κρονίωνι μέλειται
Αἰδοῖο Βασιλῆα, &c.

was the care and charge of the Supreme God:

But also he was happy, in that

——— Ἀνάσσονται Πτολεμαῖοι,

All his Subjects were Obedient and Conformable to his Government, and were not factious and tumultuous, nor given to Seditious Talk, nor to Idleness.

——— Λαοὶ δ' ἔργα περισέλασι ἔκηλοι,

But every man kept his own Station, and peaceably followed his own business.

And

And at last, he *religiously* concludes
his *Panegyrick* on the said *King* with
this *pathetical Epiphonema*,

Χαῖρ' ὦ Ἰναξ Πτολεμαῖε,

Theocr. 6.
Νλ. 17.

God save King Ptolemy.

Phocylides in his *Admonitory Poem*,

— Πίσιν ἐν πᾶσι φυλάσσειν,

Cautions all men, especially *Subjects*,
that are under an Oath of Obedience,
punctually to keep their *Faith* and *Al-*
legiance: And that, *Because*,

Τεύδωρον σὺνεί Θεός, &c.

God hates a perjured person.

It is Remarkable, That
Fabius Maximus, after he had been
Consul five times, became *Obedient* to
his Son *Suessa*, who was promoted to
that high *Office*. And when some *jea-*
lousie arose, that He had contemned
the Authority of his said *Son*, for that,
upon his first approach into his *Son's*
Presence,

(a) Non ego,
inquit, Fili,
summum im-
perium tuum
Contempsisti, sed
experiri volui,
an scires Con-
sulem agere:
nec ignoro quid
Patriæ vene-
rationi debeat-
ur, verum
publica insti-
tuta privatâ
pietate po-
tiora judico.
Valer. Max.
l. 2. c. 2. §. 4.

Presence, He did not bow the Knee, nor did him that Honour and lowly Reverence which was due to his *Consulary* Dignity. *Fabius* presently corrected the mistake, assuring his *Son* the *Consul*, that He did not forbear to give him due Honour and Worship, out of contempt, (a) but onely to try, whether *He* so young, knew how to maintain the *Magnificency* and *Grandeur* of a *Consul*, or did rightly understand how to treat *Him*, not as his *Natural Father*, but as his most dutiful *Subject*; for, he did openly declare, That the *Publick* Honour and Veneration due to the *Supreme Magistrate*, ought ever to *precede* all *private Duty* to *Parents*.

The *Senate* of *Rome*, to shew their *Abhorrency* of the treacherous *Assassination* committed on the Person of their Emperour *Julius Cæsar*, in *publico luctu*, did most solemnly bewail that horrid and execrable *Fact*, in a publick *Lamentation*: And, *Damnati Omnes*, Condemned to Death all the *Plotters* and *Actors* thereof: And although the said *Regicides* fled from *Justice*, yet the vengeance of *God* pursued

fued them all ; So that, not any one of them died a Natural *Death* ; But (a) some of them perished at *Sea*, others were slain in *Battel*: Some casually knocked on the head, and others killed themselves, with the very same *Dagger* with which they had wounded *Cæsar*.

(a) *Alius alio casu periit--- pars naufragio, pars prælio, nonnulli semet eodem illo pugione, quo Cæsarem violaverant,*

interemerunt, &c. Sueton. Vit. Jul. Cæs. §. 84.

And *Æmilius Probus* gives us another Remarkable Instance of the *Divine Hand* punishing Treachery and Disloyalty in the Person, and Complices, of *Mithrobarzanes*, who perfidiously revolting from *Datames* his Lawfull *Prince* unto the *Pisidians*, who were at that time *Datames* his open Enemies, was, at last, upon a right understanding of his perfidiousness, furiously assaulted by both (b) *Parties*, and miserably destroyed ; by whose *Death*, *Datames* was freed from the *Traytor*, and from his Enemies the *Pisidians*.

(b) *Proditores perculit, & hostes profligavit, & quod ad suam perniciem fuerat cogitatum, id ad suam*

salutem convertit : quo neque acutius ullius Imperatoris cogitatum, neque celerius factum usquam legimus. Cornel. Nep. Datam. p. 132.

It

It is recorded by *Quintus Curtius* for the everlasting praise of the *Grecians*, that it was their natural wont, to Honour and Obey their *Kings*.

(a) *Nam haud facile dictu est, prater ingentem illi genti erga Reges suos venerationem, quantum huius utique Regis vel admirationi dediti fuerint, vel charitate flagrauerint, &c. Quint. Curt. l. 3.*

(a) And when *Alexander* their *King* was (beyond expectation) recovered from a desperate sickness, occasioned by a fall into the River *Cydnus*, All his Loyal Subjects (especially his *Souldiers*)

were so over-joyed at the good news thereof, as that they presently made their humble *Addresses* to His Majesty, heartily Congratulating His happy *Recovery*. And as a farther expression of their *Loyalty*, and of their great joy for their *King's* safety, they did also multiply their *Thanks* and their *Bounty* to *Philip* the *King's* Physician, for his *Faithfulness* to the *King*, and for his great *Care*, and *Cure*, of *Him*. Nor may we forget *Isocrates* his high *Eulogium's* of the said *Grecians*.

How that, they always preferred the Publick Good of the *Kingdom* before their private *Interest*, and that they did not desire so much to be Rich and Great, as to be Honest and Use-
full

full to the *Common-wealth*: And that they did not covet to leave any better *Patrimony* to their *Children*, than that of Honour, Loyalty, and Renown.

Nay, they never contended (a) one with another, but when they strove, who should be most serviceable to his *King* and *Countrey*. And so faithfull were they to their *Prince*, and to all men, as that their bare word was of more value, than other mens *Oaths*, in after-ages.

(a) Οὕτω δ' ἔχεν αὐτοῖς τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους φιλοτιμίας καὶ πολιτικῶς, ὥστε καὶ τὰς εἰσόδους ποιεῖντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους, πότερεσι πλείω τὴν πόλιν ἀγαθὰ ποιήσου-

σιν, &c. πιστέρεσι χρώμενοι τοῖς λόγοις, ἢ νῦν τοῖς ὅρκοις, καὶ τοῖς συνθήκαις ἀξιοῦντες μᾶλλον ἐμμένειν, ἢ ταῖς ἀνάγκαις, &c. Dionys. Halicar. in Vit. Isocr.

And *Nicocles* pressing the *Subjects* Duty to Obey their *Prince*, draws his Argument à *Commodo*, from the great *Benefits* they all would most certainly reap thereby: for then, they would abound in Wealth and Riches, and would enjoy peace and quietness at home, and would become a Terrour to their Enemies, and be the Envy and Emulation of their Neighbours abroad. And as (b) the *Kingdom* of the *Persi-*

(b) Τῆτο μὲν γὰρ, πλὴν τῶν Περσῶν δύναμιν ἀπαντες ἐπισμεν τηλικαύτην τὸ μέγεθος γεγονομένην, ὥστε διὰ τὴν πῶν ἀνδρῶν φρόνησιν; ἀλλ' ὅτι μᾶλλον τῶν ἄλλων τὴν βασιλείαν τιμῶσι, &c. Isocr. Ni-

ans,

ans, so that of *Nicocles's* would flourish and prosper more by the *Subjects* Love and Obedience towards their *Prince*, than by any *proweess* of *Arms*, or by any other *politick* Contrivances whatever.

For, as *Diogenes Synopeus* (a man generally *morose*, and averse from *Monarchy*) *μόνην τε ὁρᾷ τὴν πολιτείαν εἶναι τὴν ἐν νόμῳ*, &c. said, that the Life and Essence of Civil *Polity*, consisted in Honour and Good Order; for so does *νόμος* signify in *Diogenes* his sense.

(a) *Pereunte obsequio imperium etiam intercidit, & si ubi imperatur, queri singulis liceat.*
Tacit. Hist.
l. 1.

And *Tacitus*, to the same purpose, urges the Necessity of the *Subjects* Obedience to their (a) *Prince*, because, otherwise, there would soon be a Dissolution of all Good Order, and of the whole Frame of *Government*.

Now, one way to preserve the Government established, and to continue the present peace and welfare of the *Kingdom*, (as *Nicocles* adviseth) is, not onely to obey the *King*, but also to obey and to honour *All* that are in *Authority* under him; for whoever
(a) envies

(a) envies and maligns the King's *Friends* and *Prime Ministers* of State, do malign the *King Himself*, and do really strike at him thorough their *sides*: Whereas, were they truly *Loyal*, they would Love and Honour those, whom their *King* Loved and Honoured.

(a) Μη φθονείτε τοῖς παρ' ἐμὲ πρωτεύουσιν, ἀλλ' ἀμειλάσθε, καὶ πεισάθε χρηστὰς ὑμᾶς αὐτὰς παρέχοντας ἐξιστάται τοῖς πρὸς ἑσπερ. Φιλῆν οἶεσθε δεῖν, καὶ πᾶν, ὡς ἄν καὶ ὁ Βασιλεὺς.

And whereas many drank the *King's Health*, and talked big of their *Loyalty*, and highly applauded their *King*.—— But yet, says *Nicocles*, true *Loyalty* (b) consists more in *Works*, than in *Words*; more in *Obedience*, than in *Talk*.

(b) Τὴν ἔννοιαν τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις ἐνδείκνυσθε, μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς λόγοις, &c. Isocr. Nicocl.

S E C T IV.

The Proposition;

That all Subjects ought actively to Obey their Natural and Lawfull King, in all things which be not positively against some known Law of God, although their said Prince, be an Heathen, an Idolater, and Apostate, or never so Morally vitious, proved by the Authority and Practice of the Primitive Christians.

THE Doctrine and Duty of Obeying All Lawfull Kings, whether *Heathens* or *Christians*, Good or Bad, in all things that are not positively *Evil*, was constantly taught, and conscientiously practised by the *Primitive Christians*, both *Clergy* and *Layity*.

Ignatius, the second Writer after the *Apostles*, declares, that All Kings are to be honoured, because they represent *God the King of Kings*: And as in *Heaven* none is Greater than *God*, so
on

on Earth, none (a) is Greater than the King.

(a) Τιμᾶν
χρὴ καὶ Βασι-
λέα — ὅτε

γὰρ Βασιλέως τις παρεπλήσιον ἐν Ἀρχασι, &c. Ign. Epist. Smyrn.

So says also *Tertullian*, *Colimus Imperatorem ut hominem à Deo secundum, & solo Deo Minorem, &c.* (b) That the Christians honoured and worshipped the *Emperour* (who was then an *Heathen*) as a man second to God, and less onely than God.

(b) Cum su-
per Imperato-
rem non sit
nisi solus De-
us, qui fecit
Imperatorem,
&c. Optat. l. 3.
and so Saint

Chrysoft. Βασιλεὺς γὰρ κορυφαίη καὶ κεφαλὴ πάντων ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἐστὶν αἰπάτων. *Chrysoft. in Rom. 13. 1.*

And *Justin Martyr* Apologizing for the Primitive Christians, who were accused of Sedition and Disobedience against the *Emperour*, and his Government, assures the *Emperour Antoninus Pius*, that the aforesaid Accusation was very false, and a mere Calumny cast upon the Christians: For, he challeng'd the whole World, to prove, that ever any true Christian was either Seditious in Words, or Factious and Rebellious in Actions.

(a) Εἰ δὴ μὴ-
δὲν ἔχοι τῆς
ἐλέγχου, ἔχ
ὑπαγορεύει ὁ
ἀληθὴς λόγος
διὰ φήμην πο-
νηρὰν ἀναίτι-
ος ἀνθρώπου ἀδικεῖν, &c. Just. Mart. Apol. 2.

And therefore (a) if nothing of that nature could be proved against them, it was unreasonable upon surmises and false reports to punish the *Innocent*.

And *Justin* farther pleads,

(b) That the *Christians* were so far from opposing their *Emperour* or his *Government*, as that their *Religion* obliged them to assist and to fight for *Him*, and to endeavour to out-doe all others his *Subjects*, (who were not of the *Christian Religion*) in promoting *His* and his *Empires* safety and prosperity: And this they did, out of dread and fear of the true *God*, who hated all *Evil Doers*, particularly such as were *Seditious Traytours*, and Malitious (b) *Murtherers* of their Lawfull *Prince*: All which Disturbers of the Publick peace, the *Christians God* would severely punish either in this life, or in that to come.

(a) Ἀρωγὴ δ'
ὑμῶν καὶ σύμ-
μαχοι πρὸς
εἰρήνην ἐσμεν
πάντων καλ-
λόν ἀνθρώ-
πων, οἱ ταῦτα
δοξάζομεν,
ὡς λαθεῖν δε-

δὲν κακὴν ἔργον, ἢ πλεονέκτην, ἢ ἐπίβελον, ἢ ἐνάρετον, ἀδύνατον εἶναι, καὶ
ἐκαστον ἐπ' αἰωνίαν κόλασιν, ἢ σωτηρίαν κατ' ἀξίαν τῶν πεπραγμένων
πορεύεσθαι. εἰ γὰρ οἱ πάντες ἄνθρωποι ταῦτα ἐγίνωσκον, ἔκ' ἂν τις τὴν
κακίαν πρὸς ὀλίγον ἤρετό, γνώσκων πορεύεσθαι ἐπ' αἰωνίαν διὰ πνεύματος
καταδίκην, ἀλλ' ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου συνῆχε καὶ ἐκδόσμεν ἀρετῇ, &c. Just.
Mart. Apol. 2.

And

And the said Emperour *Antoninus Pius* was so well satisfied with the Dutifull and Loyal *Behaviour* of the *Christians*, as that he openly declared, That He verily believed the said *Christians* did (according to their *Religion*) abhor to plot any thing against the *Roman Emperour*, or his *Government*, and that they would chuse to dye, rather than offend either their *God*, or their *King*; And therefore He wrote Letters unto the *Governours* and *Deputies* of *Asia*, and other places, prohibiting them, to prosecute the *Christians* any more upon the account of their *Religion*.

And to the same effect wrote *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Philosophus* unto the *Roman Senate*, advising the said *Senate* not to persecute the *Christians*, but rather to esteem them their *Friends*. For, says he, the *Christians* (a) casting themselves down on the ground, prayed fervently, not onely for him the *Emperour*, but also for all his *Army*: And by the prevalency of their prayers, *He* and all his *Host*

(a) Ὅτι πάντες γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, ἔχ' ὑπὲρ ἑμῶν μόνον ἐδεήθησαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ παρόντος σπατεύματι, &c. Just. Mart. *Apol.* 2.

were miraculously delivered from a dreadful Famine and Drought under which they laboured: And the *Christians God*, ὃς ἐγὼ ἠγνόουν, whom he knew not, by their Intercession, did not only free *Him* and his *Army* from their imminent danger, but also gave him a complete Victory over *his* and the *Senate's Enemies*, by striking them down dead, under foot, with Fire and *Hail-stones* from *Heaven*.

(a) Καὶ τὸ μὴδὲν τέτων ἀδικεῖν, ὑμεῖς Μάρτυρες, κελεύοντες μὴ ὁμοιοῦν πρὸς ὑμῶν λοιπὸν, ἐξέτασιν ποιῆσαι εἰς, δογματῶν τῆς πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ τὴν ὑμέτερον οἶκον καὶ τὴν Βασιλείαν σπουδῆς καὶ ὑπακοῆς, &c. *Athenag. Legat. p. 4.*

Athenagoras in his Embassy for the (a) *Christians*, Appeals unto the Emperor *Aurelius Antoninus* Himself, to justify the *Christians* as to their Obedience unto his Royal Person, his Noble Family, his Laws and Imperial Government; for he knew full well that the *Christian Religion* taught them to believe, Ἄνωθεν τὴν Βασιλείαν εἰληρόσι, &c. That all *Kings* had their Authority from above, and therefore were to be obeyed: Nay, he knew that the *Christians* did not onely honour and obey him *Aurelius Antoninus* the Father; but they also Rever-

red

red and Honoured *Aurelius Commodus* the Son and Right Heir of the *Crown*, and therefore they prayed jointly for the prosperity and happiness of both
(a) *Father and Son* :

(a) *Ἦσαν μὲν τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς υἱοτεγγεῖς εὐχόμεθα. ibid.*

Yea, the Christians prayed, that the said Emperour's Son, and his Son's Lawfull *Heirs* might succeed in the *Throne* (for, says he, *that was a most just and righteous thing*) and that his and *their* Kingdom might grow greater and greater, and (b) that all things might happen to His and His *Heirs* content, and that they (*poor Christians*) might lead under *Him*, and his *Successours*, a sober and quiet life, seeing they all did cheerfully observe his *Commands*.

(b) *Ἰνα παῖς μὲν πατρὸς κατεῖς, κατὰ τὸ δίκαιόν τε, διαδέχηται τὴν Βασιλείαν, αὐξήσιν δὲ καὶ ἐκτίθωσιν καὶ ἡ ἀρχὴ ὑμῶν πάντων ἐπι-*

χειῶν γυνομένων, λαμβάνη, τὸτο δ' ἐστὶ καὶ πρὸς ὑμῶν, ὅπως ἡρεμον καὶ ἡσυχον βίον διάγουμεν, αὐτοὶ δὲ πάντα τὰ κεκελευσμένα περὶ δόμῳς ὑπακούωμεν. Athenag. Legat. pro Christ. p. 40.

Theophilus Antiochenus putting a difference between *God* and the *King*, expresses himself to this effect, *scil.*

God we Adore, the King we Honour and Obey as a Man set over us

(2) Τιμίσω by (a) God, and by so doing, we fulfill the Will of God.
 τὴν Βασιλείαν, ἡ προσκυνοῦν αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ
 εὐχόμεθα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶ. Θεῷ δὲ τῷ ὄντι Θεῷ, καὶ ἀληθεῖ προσκυνοῦ
 οἶδ' ὅτι ὁ Βασιλεὺς, ὑπ' οὗτος γιγνόμενος τὸν Βασιλεῖα τίμα, τίμα
 εὐνοῶν αὐτῷ, ὑποτασσόμεθα αὐτῷ. εὐχόμεθα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶ, ὅτι τοῦτο ποιεῖ,
 ποιεῖς τὸ θέλημα Θεοῦ. Theoph. Antioch. ad Autol.

Tatianus the Assyrian adviseth all Christians to be Obedient to their King. And (says he) if the King requires of his Subjects Tribute and Custome, they must pay it; if he Commands (b) their Obedience and Service, they must yield it: But if he Commands things absolutely unlawfull, such as to deny the true God, then they must chuse rather humbly and meekly to suffer Death it self, than actively to obey his unjust Command.

(b) Προσάψει
 ὁ Βασιλεὺς,
 ἐπιμὲν πα-
 ρέχειν, δε-
 λεύειν ὁ Θε-
 σπότης καὶ ὑπὸ
 ρετὴν, τὴν δε-
 λείαν γινώσ-
 κωι— τὸ πρ
 μόνον ἀρνέ-
 σαι κελεύο-
 μεθα, ὃ πειθίσματα, περὶ νήσομαι δὴ μᾶλλον, ἵνα μὴ φεύσῃς καὶ ἀχα-
 ρειτῶ ἀποδείχῃ, &c. Tatian. contr. Græc.

Tertullian writes (as did Justin Mar- tyr) that the Primitive Christians lived so exactly innocent and inoffensively, towards all in Authority, as that their Enemies could find no fault in

in (a) them, except that of their Religion: And therefore although they were persecuted even to Death, yet it was not for any *Disobedience* to their *Emperour*, and *Governours*, nor for any *Moral wickedness* and *vice* found in them, but onely for the *Name* of *Christian*.

(a) *Intelligere potestis non scelus aliquod in causa esse, sed Nomen, quod quadam ratio emulae operationis insequitur, &c. Tertul Apol. adv. Gent. c. 2.*

St. *Cyprian* most earnestly exhorts all the *Clergy* and *Layity*, dutifully to obey the *Emperour*, and by no means, upon the account of Religion, Oppression, or of any other pretence whatever, to raise any Tumults or Sedition, or to make any Resistance, no, not in case they were by the *Emperour* and his *Judges* Sentenced to dye for their Religion. And for their Pattern and Exemplar, they should take Him their *Diocesan*, who preached and practised nothing more than Piety towards God, Loyalty towards the *Emperour*, and peace and quietness to the *Commonwealth*, and (b) was ready to

Cyprian ad Demetrianum,

(b) *Expectamus in secessus abditos constituti ad ventum Pro-Consulis Carthaginiem redeuntis, audituri ab eo, quid Imperatores super*

Christianorum Laicorum & Episcoporum Nomine Mandaverint, & dicturi quod ad horam Dominus dici voluerit: Vos autem pro Disciplina, quam de mandatis Dominicis à me semper accepistis, & secundum quod, me tractante, sapissime didicistis, quietem & tranquillitatem tenete; nè quisquam vestrum aliquem tumultum de fratribus moveat, &c. Cypri. Epist. 83. § 2.

dye,

dye, onely he patiently waited the Emperour's Pleasure and Order for his Martyrdom.

Irenæus discoursing on the Original of *Kingly* Government, in opposition to the *Gnosticks* and *Valentinians*, who affirmed, that all Civil Magistracy was of the Devil's, and not of God's Institution:

He tells his Reader, that,

Cujus jussu Homines nascuntur, hujus jussu & Reges constituuntur.

As God onely made Man, so God onely constituted and made Kings: And he gives a very good Reason, wherefore God made Kings, and Instituted the *Secular* Powers, and Com-manded strict Obedience to be render'd to them, to wit,

(a) Quoniam enim absistens à Deo homo, in tantum effe-

Because, when Man fell and Apostatized from (a) God, He and his Posterity grew outrageous and ungovern-

am consanguineum Hostem sibi putaret, & omni inquietudine, & homicidio, & avaritiâ sine timore versaretur, imposuit illi Deus humanum timorem ut potestati hominum subiecti, & lege eorum astricti, aliquid assequantur justitiæ, & moderentur ad invicem in manifesto positum gladium timentes, &c. ad utilitatem ergo Gentilium, terrenum regnum positum est à Deo; sed non à Diabolo, qui nunquam omnino quietus est, imò qui nec ipsas quidem Gentes vult in tranquillo agere, &c. *Irenæ.* l. 5. c. 24.

ble:

ble: And therefore to prevent farther disorders among Men, God wisely Ordained *Kings* and Governours, who by strict Laws of Morality, Justice and Equity should restrain, and reclaim Apostatized *Mankind*, and as God's *Vicegerents*, should reward Vertue, and punish Vice: Thus, says *Irenæus*, God was the first *Authour* of all Order and Government, and not the *Devil*, who was the first *Incendiary* of all Sedition and Rebellion: And that God set *Kings* over the *Gentiles* for their good and profit, to govern them, to protect and defend them from all Injuries, Tyranny and Oppressions.

Clement Alexandrinus, urging from Scripture many necessary *Duties* upon his *Scholars*, when he treats of Government, περί πολιτείας—Ἀπόδοτε τὰ Καίσαρι & Καίσαρι.

Clem. Alex.
Pedag. l. 3.

He briefly tells them their great *Duty* of Obedience to the *Secular Powers*, in our *Saviour's* words, Give unto *Cæsar* the things that are *Cæsar's*.

Celsus the Heathen, that he might, with greater colour of Reason, oppose the spreading of the *Gospel* of *Christ*,

Does

Does object, That (according to *Christ's* own saying) *Christians* cannot be Obedient to *Emperours* and *Kings*, nor to any in *Civil* Authority: And that because, *Christ* (says He) has taught them this *Factionous* Lesson, *scil.*

That they *cannot* (and therefore, ought not) *serve two Masters*, such as, *God* and the *King*: For, says *Christ*, *they will love the one, and hate the other, &c.*

And therefore from thence does *Celsus* plead (though very falsely)

(a) Τὸ πρὸς ὧς οἴεται, χάσι-
ως εἶναι φωνήν, τῶν ἀποτε-
χάζοντων ἑαυτοὺς, καὶ ἀπο-
ρηγνύντων ἀπὸ τῶν λοιπῶν
ἀνθρώπων, &c. Orig. contr.
Cels. l. 8.

that *Christianity* lays (a) a foundation for *Resistance* of the *Civil Powers*, and for *Rebellion* against their *Lawfull Princes*, inasmuch as (according to their Lord and Master *Christ's* words)

St. Matth. 6. 24. No man can serve two Masters; for either he will hate the one, and love the other: or else, he will hold to the one, and despise the other.

To this long Harangue and Objection, *Origen* replies, ὁ χάσιως ἐν φωνῇ ἐπὶ τοῖς νοήσασιν τὰ τοιαῦτα, &c. that the

the above-mentioned words of *Christ* do not in the least countenance *Rebellion* :

For, says *Origen*,

Although there be many *Gods* and many *Lords*, yet there is but one, Θεὸς Θεῶν, *God of Gods*, who is, Βασιλεὺς τῶν Βασιλευμένων, *King of Kings*, and all the other *Gods* and *Kings* are Subordinate to *him* the *Supreme*.

And therefore, to obey lawfull *Kings* on *Earth*, is to obey *God* in *Heaven*, for the *King* is *God*, that is, *God's Vicegerent* and *Representative* upon *Earth*;

So that, in the point of *Obedience*, *God* and the *King* are but *One Master*, onely the one is *Invisible*, the other *Visible*; the one *God* by *Essence*, the other *God* by *Deputation* and *Office* :

And as *God* and the *King* are *One Master*, so they both are carefully and duely to be *Worhipped* and *Reverenced*; onely the *One* with *Divine*, the *Other* with, *Civil*, *Honour* and *Obedience*.

And, ἀγωνιζόμενοι δὴ διὰ τῶν πρὸς Orig. contr.
Θεὸν εὐχῶν—ὡς τῷ δικαίῳ Βασιλεὺς—Cell. l. 8.
οντος, &c.

As

As we are always to pray unto *God*, so we are always to pray to him, for the *King*, that *God* would bless and prosper Him in his *Govern-ment*.

Origen pressed due Obedience unto *Heathen Kings* in all things *Lawfull*: But if any thing *Unlawfull* was Com-manded, then he advised all *Christi-ans*, not to obey *Actively* by doing what was Com-manded; but *Passively*, by suffering patiently whatever should be inflicted upon them.

And because *Origen* was of opinion, That it was a *sin*, for any *Christian* to fight under the *Banner* of an *Heathen* Prince; Therefore it was, that He dis-suaded the *Christians* from going into the *Wars*, and from fighting under their *Lawfull Emperour*, which was *Origen's* great failing, and gave *Cel-sus* occasion to Revile the *Christi-ans*, and to Stigmatize them, as *Stubborn, Disobedient* and *Sediti-ous*:

However, although *Origen* was a-
gainst the *Christians* fighting under an
Heathenish Banner;

Yet

Yet He himself did, and advised all *Christians*, to pray (a) for the *Emperour's* safety and success in all his *Lawfull Wars and Enterprises*.

(a) 'Εν τῷ κρυπτῷ ἡμῶν κατ' αὐτὸ τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν εὐχαί

εἶσιν, ἀναπειπόμενα ὡς ἀπὸ ἱερέων, ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν τῇ πατρίδι ὑμῶν, &c. *ibid.* p. 427.

Gregory Nazianzen in his *Oration* to *Julian* the *Collector* of the *Emperour's* *Tribute*, exhorts all people to keep their own *Station*, and not to walk disorderly, for *God* is a *God of Order and Peace*:

And therefore, says he,

Μὴ κλίνετε τὰς κριτὰς, μηδὲ νομοθετεῖτε τοῖς νομοθέταις, &c.

That it is not *Lawfull* for *Subjects* to *Censure* their *Governours*, nor to *pre- scribe* *Laws* and *Rules* to their *Legis- latours*: Ἄλλ' ἕκαστος ἐν ἡ ἐκλήθῃ τάξει Ἀδελφοί, ἐν ταύτῃ μενέτω, καὶ ἡ τῆς κρείττονος ἀξίας, &c.

But every man ought to be content with his own condition, and ought to live and act peaceably in his own private sphere, although possibly he may *deserve* to be promoted *higher*:

And thus, as he would not have the *Lazity* to *Usurp* the *Jurisdiction* and *Office*

Office of the *Bishops* and *Priests*, lest they should make a *Schism* and *Faction* in the *Church* :

So neither, would he have the *Subjects* to entrench upon the *Prerogative* of their *Superiours*, lest they should cause *Sedition* and *Rebellion* in the *State*.

And therefore, upon the whole, he concludes, that all *Christians* ought to imitate their *Lord* and *Head*, *Jesus Christ*, who render'd to *God* what was *God's*, and to *Cæsar* what was *Cæsar's*, such as, τὸ τέλος, τὸν φόβον, &c. *Tribute*, *Fear*, *Honour* and *Obedience*.

Naz. ad Julian. Orat. 9.

And when the said *Gregory Nazianzen* was accused by the *Arians*, ὡς τινα παραχῶν καὶ σάσεων αἰτιον, &c. for a *Factionous*, *Troublesome* and *Seditious* person: *Gregory* cleared himself of that *Scandal* and foul *Aspersions*, by appealing to his own *Doctrine* and known *Conversation*, He having ever been, ὁ τῆς εἰρήνης βασιλευτῆς, a constant promoter of *Obedience* to the *Government*, and of peace in the *Commonwealth*.

Gregor. Presb. Vit. Naz.

And although, this Holy *Father*, *Greg. Nazianzen*, wrote very *Satyrical*

cally against *Julian* the *Apostate*. And, as we humbly conceive, he did too unworthily (if not too *unchristian-like*) inveigh against the said *Julian* for his *Apostacy*, especially considering, (a) He had been *Emperour*, and a very *Learned* one :

(a) *Vir cetera egregii animi, regendique imperii*

callentissimus. Lodovic. Vives, in *Civ. Dei*, l. 5. c. 21.

Yet this is to be noted, that whilst *Julian* was living, and was the undoubted Right *Heir* to the *Throne*, no body opposed his *Succession*, notwithstanding many *Enormities* committed by him, before he was Crowned *Emperour* : And all the time that *Julian* Reigned, the afore said *Gregory Nazianzen* lived quietly and peaceably under his *Government*, and never wrote one syllable (as we know of) against him : But on the contrary, *Gregory* did, upon all occasions, shew the said *Julian* (when living) due *Honour* and *Reverence* : And when *Gregory Nazianzen* had occasion to reflect upon *Julian's* miscarriages, He did modestly Vail all over, with a *Δύσφημον Σιωπῶμεναι*, *Let us Bury them in silence.*

Greg. Naz. Orat. 9.

H

Though

Though, it is too true, and must be acknowledged (in our opinion) as a great fault in so good a Man, as was Gregory Nazianzen, That after Julian the Apostate was dead, he did too undutifully, not to say, too inhumanely, expose His Dread Sovereign's Nakedness to the whole World, & *μὴδὲ λόγον ἔστιν εὐγεῖν ἀξίον*, &c. in worse Language than ever Michael the Arch-Angel brought against the Devil, when he
Orat. 3.
Jud. Ep. v. 9. *disputed about the Body of Moses.*

But yet, this is to be said for Gregory (as was hinted before) that he wrote his *Invective* against Julian, not as an Orator whilst Julian was Living; but, rather, as a *Passionate Historian*, after he was Dead.

St. Augustine pleading for Obedience to Kings and Emperours, Answers the Grand Question, scil.

Quest. Whether a Christian may Lawfully obey an Heathen Emperour, and may harmlesly Fight under his Banner?

Ans. He determines the Controversie in the Affirmative, contrary to Origen;

gen; and declares, That it is the *Christian Souldiers* bounden Duty to Obey his Lawfull *Prince*, although he be an *Heathen*, and to fight faithfully and courageously under his Command; yea, this the *Christian* ought to doe, although the Grounds and Occasion of the said *War* be probably unjust on (a) the *King's* side.

(a) Cum ergo
Vir justus, si
forte sub Rege
homine etiam

sacrilego militet, rectè possit, illo jubente bellare civica pacis ordinem servans; Cui quod jubetur, vel non esse contra Dei præceptum certum est, vel utrum sit, certum non est, ita ut reum Regem faciat iniquitas imperandi, innocentem autem Militem ostendat ordo imperandi. Aug. contr. Faust. Manich. l. 21. c. 75.

And his Reason for it is this, *scil.* Because, *God* will punish the *King* or *Emperour* for Commencing an unjust *War*, but He will amply reward the innocent and dutifull *Souldier* for his hearty and sincere Obedience unto his *Lord the King*.

And elsewhere *St. Augustine* adds, *Rex semper Honorandus, si non propter se, attamen propter Ordinem, &c.* That a *King* is always to be Honour- ed, if not for his own personal Ex- cellencies, yet, for his *Kingly Order* and *Dignity*.

St. Aug.
quest. 35.
Vet. & Nov.
Test.

And in his most Incomparable Book, *de Civ. Dei*, He informs the People, That although *Nero* was a *Tyrant* and the worst of men as to his *Personal Immoralities*; *Cujus fuit tanta Luxuries ut nihil ab eo putaretur virile metuendum, &c.*

* *Talibus tamen dominandi potestas non datur, nisi summi Dei Providentiâ, &c. Civ. Dei, l. 5. c. 19.*

Yet, because *Divine Providence* * had raised up the said *Nero*, and made him to be *Cæsar*, their *King* and *Governour*, therefore the *People* ought to Obey Him.

And *St. Augustine* glancing on the Question, *scil.* Whether *Dominion* be founded onely in *Grace*?

He says, that in *Heaven* it is so; for no man can inherit a *Throne* of *Glory*, but onely He that is truly *Gratious* and *Holy*.

Ibid. c. 21.

But on *Earth*, it is not so; for, *Regnum Terrenum, & piis & impiis, sicut ei placet, cui nihil injustè placet.*

God disposes of these *Earthly Kingdoms* to *Good* and *Bad*, according to his own pleasure, for *Reasons* best known to himself.

And therefore the *Subjects* are obliged in *Duty* to obey *Nero*, as well

as (a) *Augustus*; Cruel *Domitian*, as (a) *Qui Reg-*
 well as Kind and Mercifull *Vespasian*; *num dedit Au-*
 the Apostate and Idolatrous *Julian*, as *gusto, ipse &*
 well as the Pious and Orthodox *Con-* *Neroni, qui*
stantine; for the one as well as the o- *Vespasianis,*
ther, is God's *Vicegerent*, and the Sub- *vel Patri, vel*
jects Lawfull Prince and Sovereign. *Filio, suavis-*
simis Impera-
toribus, ipse
& Dimitiano
crudelissimo,

& qui Constantino Christiano, ipse & Apostate Juliano. Aug. Civ.
Dei, l. 5. c. 21.

Optatus the Famous Bishop of *Mile-*
vis taught the same Doctrine of Loy-
 alty and Obedience, declaring, that all
Kings are to be obeyed:

And although *Kings* should some-
 times Command things which are in
 themselves *unlawfull* to be Comman-
 ded, yet it may be *Lawfull* for the
Subjects in many cases, *actively* to per-
 form the said unlawfull Commands of
 their said *Kings*.

For thus,

The pious *Jews*, when perempto-
 rily Commanded by *Antiochus* to sur-
 render up their *Bibles* to be burnt by
 the *Officers*, *They* (though with great
 grief of heart) readily obeyed.

And the aforesaid *Optatus* blames very much the *Emperour* for imposing so ungodly a Command, but he highly (a) applauds the *Obedience* of the said dutifull and Loyal *Jews*.

(a) *Peccatum imperantis & minantis, non populi, cum do-*

lore & tremore secundantis, &c. Optat. l. 7.

It is most certain, that the *Popes* of *Rome*, before they became *Rebellious* to the *Secular* Powers, humbly and peaceably obeyed their *Emperours*, and that not onely in things Lawfull, or Indifferent, nor onely in things *Secular* and *Civil*, but also in things that have seemed, in the *Popes* own judgment, to be in their own Nature, *unlawfull*; and, which is more, the *Pope* of *Rome*, has obeyed the *Emperour*, in things *Spiritual* and *Ecclesiastical*, as well as *Temporal*.

As for Instance,

When *Mauritius* the *Emperour* had made a *Decree*, that no *Souldiers* should be admitted into any *Monastery*, and sent the said *Edict* unto *Pope Gregory*, surnamed the *Great*, to be forthwith published by *Him* and his *Clergy*.

The

The said *Pope* obeyed the *Emperour's* Commands, and immediately caused the same to be dispersed throughout all his *Diocese* and *Eccliesiastick* Dominions; And the said *Pope Gregory* gave this Reason for his so doing, to wit,

* *Quia erat Subjectus ejus Jussionibus, &c.* * *Gregor. Magn. l. 2. Epist. 61.*

Because He (though *Pope*) ought to be subject and obedient unto the *Emperour's* Commands, though in his own judgment, He conceived the said *Edict* to be in it self *unlawfull*, and prejudicial unto many persons, as well in reference to their *Spiritual*, as their *Temporal* Benefit.

Heyl. in Vit. Laud. p. 311.

S E C T. V.

Modern Authours for Obedience to Princes: Of two sorts.

1. Some Conditionally; as *All Recusants*.
2. Some Absolutely; as *All Protestants*.

I. *Modern Authours, who are for Conditional Obedience.*

Among our *Modern Writers*, we find none, who deny the King's *Supremacy*, and by so doing, Declare themselves to be *Recusants* and *No Protestants*.

Among such *Modern Authours*, we find none that are for *Absolute Obedience* to *Princes*, whether *Good* or *Bad*, *Papists* or *Protestants*: For, All the *Recusant* and *Anti-Protestant Writers*, such as the *Papists*, and the *Classical*, and the *Congregational Authours*, according to their several *Principles*, are

are onely for *Obedience* to *Princes* and the *Civil Magistracy*, with a *Condition* and *Limitation*.

Thus the *Papists* * strongly urge *Obedience to Kings*:

* Tho. Aquinas Sum. 22a. quest. 10.
a. 1. R. Bel-

larm. Prefat. in Barcl.

But it is onely in *Temporals*, and that too, with Submission to the *Pope's* *Supremacy*.

Concil. Trid. sess. 22. c. XI.

But if a *King* shall meddle with matters *Spiritual* and *Ecclesiastick*, without the *Pope's* Laws, the said *King* shall be *Excommunicated*, and all his *Subjects* discharged from their *Allegiance*, and from paying *Homage* and *Obedience* to him their *King*.

In like manner *Calvin* and all the *Classical Divines*, commonly called *Presbyterians*, write much for *Obedience to Kings*, and to *All in Authority*;

But it is with a *Jesuitical Proviso*, to wit, That their *Kings* and *Governours* be *Godly*: And it is also with submission to their *Presbyterian Classis*, and *Consistorian* Power, which they set above the *King*, especially in matters *Spiritual* and *Ecclesiastick*.

And

And not unlike, do the *Congregational* Divines, commonly called *Independents*, talk much for, and preach up, *Obedience* to the *Civil Magistrates*. But it is with the same forementioned *Provifo*, scil.

That their *Magistrates* be endued with *Grace*, and do Govern the *People* according to *God's Word*, and with a submission to their *Independent Congregational-Churche's* Power and Censures.

As is plainly, and sufficiently proved in a late *Book*, intituled

BEAUFRONS,

Chap. 2. *Presbyterians*, No *Protestants*.

Chap. 3. *Independents*, No *Protestants*.

Chap. 6. p. 56, 57. "Impossible for
" *Papists* and *Dissenters*, whilst
" they are true to their own Prin-
" ciples, to be *Obedient* and *Good*
" *Subjects* to the *King*.

Unto which *Book* and *Chapters*, above mentioned, we refer the *Reader*.

And

And by the way, we cannot but Advise all young Men, especially the young Divine, whether in the University or elsewhere, to be very cautious how he reades, and understands, and follows the Modern Authours, especially Calvin, Beza, Peter Martyr, Rolloc, Polanus, Frederick Baldwin, Cursellæus, &c. Hugo Grotius, de jure Belli & Pa. For they, and others of their Party, together with the Papists and Jesuists, plead and argue stiffly for Obedience unto the King and the Secular Powers; but yet, they All have their several Mental Reservations, and cunningly distinguish * between the King's Person and his Power; And in the close of their arguings, they All declare it to be Lawfull for the Subjects to Resist the King and the Civil Magistrates, even with force of Arms, in Defence of the true Religion, and in the Suppression of Tyranny and Oppression: Thus (a) Si Rex re ipsa etiam tradere regnum aut sub-

* Rolloc. and
Fred. Baldw.
in Rom. 13.1.

(a) Si Rex
re ipsa etiam
tradere reg-
num aut sub-

dicere molitur, quin ei Resisti in hoc possit non dubito, aliud est enim imperium, aliud habendi modus, qui ne mutetur obstare potest populus. Grot. de jur. Bel. & Pa. l. 1. c. 4. §. 10.

This

This they all affirm to be Lawfull, contrary to *Primitive Christianity*, and directly contrary to the sound and Loyal Doctrine and Practice of the *Protestant Church of England*:

And therefore, it will be of little force and validity to bring the Testimony of Modern *Writers* to confirm the Doctrine of *Obedience to Princes*, both *Good* and *Bad*, *Papists* and *Protestants*, unless it be that of the *Episcopal Protestants*, who own and plead for the King's *Supremacy*,

And therefore are the *Onely Protestants* in the World.

However, to gratifie the *Reader*, we will present him with a few *Sayings* of some of the *Anti-Protestant Modern Writers*, as to the point of *Obedience to all in Authority*.

Jo. Calvin,
Serm. 131.
on Job. 34.

Ja. Calvin in his *French Comment* and Sermons on *Job*, c. 34. v. 17, 18. has these words, as they are Translated by *Arthur Golding*, out of *French*, into *English*, to wit,

“ We must *Obey* and *Honour* all in
“ *Authority*, because they are not set
“ up

“ up by chance, or hap-hazard, but by

“ God and his Providence.

“ And if God sets over us a Tyrant,

“ it is for the punishment of sin, and

“ it is the Duty of all men meekly

“ to bear their punishment, and to

“ take it as a Scourge of God; and if

“ we Resist, we strive not against

“ Mortal Men, but against the Hea-

“ venly Judge, p. 675.

To the same purpose writes Peter

(a) Martyr, how that all men ought

to be Obedient to the Civil Powers;

and if any offend, then it is the Magi-

strate's Duty to punish the Offenders,

according to the Merit of their Delin-

quency.

(a) *Dua sunt
subjectiones,
una Politica
& Civilis, cui
subjiciuntur
omnes homi-
nes: qui si
quid offende-
rint in Leges,*

*expectant à justis Magistratibus carcerem, multam pecuniariam, exi-
lia, mortes, & externas penas, &c. Pet. Mart. loc. Com. de Magi-
strat. p. 1018. §. 10.*

And, speaking against the Pope's
Supremacy, he adds —

That a King (b) has power to De-

pose a wicked Bishop: But no Bishop

whatever has power to Depose a King,

although wicked.

(b) *Quamvis
Rex possit re-
move inuti-
lem ac noxi-
um
Episcopum, non
tamen Episco-*

puz potest vicissim Regem, si peccaverit, dejicere, &c. ibid. §. 12.

And

And *Polanus* is of opinion,

That all *Hereditary Monarchs* ought

(a) *Si absolutam Monarchiam habet, est in fide ejus perstandum, etiamsi Tyrannus evasit, etiamsi nihil minus præstet quàm quod ex officio erat Regum & Principum, &c.* *Polan. Syntag. l. 10. c. 62.* to Reign and (a) Govern, although they should be *Tyrants*, and that the People ought to persevere on in their *Allegiance and Obedience* to them.

II. *Modern Authours*, who are for *Absolute Obedience to Princes*, whether *Morally Good or Bad*, *Orthodox or Erroneous*, *Papists or Protestants*.

Gerhard treating on the *Question*,

Q. Whether, *He* ought to Reign and Govern, who has *Apostatized* from the *true Religion*?

A. Answers in the *Affirmative*:

(b) *Si jure Successionis juxta Leges fundamenta-*

les & pacta conventa, ad eum pertinent Imperii Fasces qui à verâ Religione alienus est, tum propter Religionis diversitatem non est privandus suo jure, quia Religio & Ecclesia non abolet Politias ac jura Politica, &c. *Gerhard de Magistratu Pol. Sect. 106.*

And positively asserts, "That (b) He to whom the *Crown* belongs by

"Right

“ Right of Succession, ought to Reign
 “ and Govern, notwithstanding his A-
 “ postacy and Alienation from the true
 “ Religion; And that, because Diver-
 “ sity of Religion deprives no man of
 “ his Right.

To this *Foreign* Authour, we will
 add the Judgment of the *Church of*
England, as now Established, and as
 it is delivered to us in Her *Homily of*
Obedience, Second Part.

The words of the *Homily* are these:

Scil. “ All Subjects are bound to
 “ obey them (that is, Kings and Ma-
 “ gistrates) as God’s Ministers, yea,
 “ although they be evil, not onely
 “ for Fear, but also for Conscience-
 “ sake, &c. Our Saviour Christ him-
 “ self, and his Apostles, received many
 “ and divers injuries of the *unfaithfull*,
 “ and wicked men in *Authority*; yet
 “ we never reade, that they, or any
 “ of them caused any *Sedition* or *Re-*
 “ *bellion* against *Authority*; we reade
 “ oft, that they patiently suffered all
 “ troubles, vexations, slanders, pangs
 “ and

Hom. of Obe-
 dience, 2d
 Part. p. 72.

“ and pains, and Death it self obedi-
 “ ently without Tumult or *Resistance*.
 “ They knew, that the *Authority* of
 “ the *Powers*, was *God's Ordinance*,
 “ and therefore, both in their Words
 “ and Deeds, they taught ever *Obedi-*
 “ *ence* to it, and never taught, nor
 “ did, the contrary, &c.

Ibid. p. 74.

“ We may not obey *King, Magi-*
 “ *strates*, or any other (though they
 “ be our own *Fathers*) if they would
 “ Command us to doe any thing con-
 “ trary to *God's Commandments*. In
 “ such a case, we ought to say with
 “ the *Apostle*, *We must rather obey*
 “ *God than Man*. But nevertheless in
 “ that case we may not in any-wise
 “ *withstand* violently, or *Rebell* a-
 “ gainst Rulers, or make any Insur-
 “ rection, Sedition, or Tumults, ei-
 “ ther *by force of Arms*, or otherwise,
 “ against the *Anointed* of the *Lord*,
 “ or any of his *Officers*: But we
 “ must in such cases *patiently suffer*
 “ all wrongs and injuries, referring
 “ the judgment of our Cause onely
 “ to *God*.

F. 75.

And

And elsewhere, our *Church* says—

“ What shall *Subjects* doe then? shall
 “ they obey valiant, stout, wise and
 “ good *Princes*, and condemn, diso- *Serm. against*
 “ bey, and rebell against *Children*, be- *Rebellion,*
 “ ing their *Princes*, or against undif- *1 Part.*
 “ creet, and evil *Governours*?
 “ *God forbid!*
 “ For what a *perillous* thing were
 “ it to commit unto the *Subjects* the
 “ judgment, which *Prince* is *Wise*,
 “ and *Godly*, and his *Government good*,
 “ and which is *otherwise*? as though,
 “ the *Foot* must judge of the *Head*:
 “ An enterprize very heinous, and
 “ must needs breed *Rebellion*. *Serm.*
 against *Wilfull Rebellion*, 1st Part.
 p. 279.

This is, you see, the Pious and Loy-
 al Doctrine of the *Protestant Church*
 of *England*, which she received from
Christ and his *Apostles*, and from the
Primitive Christians, concerning the
Subjects absolute *Obedience* to *Kings*,
 and All in Authority, whether *Good*
 or *Evil*.

I

And

And the said Loyal Doctrine was ever preached and practised by the *Protestants in England*, we mean those, who owned the *King's Supremacy* in opposition unto *Popery* and *Fanaticism*; for there never was, nor are, any other * *Protestants in the World*, but such, who protest for, and defend the *King's Supremacy*.

* *Beaufrons*,
c. 1.

This Doctrine of absolute *Obedience* was practised, as well as preached, by the *Bishops* Martyred in *Queen Mary's* days, and by the most Reverend *Jo. Whitgift* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and by the most Reverend *William Laud* late Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who suffered Death by the late *Rebels*, for nothing more, than for maintaining this *Primitive* Doctrine of absolute *Obedience* to the *King*. And since, it has been urged upon the *Peoples practice* by several Learned Men of this our *Church*; particularly, by *Dr. Faulkner* in his *Christian Loyalty*. And by the Right Reverend *Seth*, Lord Bishop of *Sarum*, in his most Learned Sermon before the *King* on *Nov. 5. 1661.* against *Resistance of Lawfull Powers*.

Some

Some of his *Lordships* words are these——

“ If harsh *Administration* of Power p. 60.

“ will exempt *Men* from *Obedience*;

“ at that time, when *Claudius*, or

“ *Nero* was *Roman* Emperour, why

“ should the *Holy Ghost* move *St. Paul*

“ to write to the *Romans*, scil. *They* Rom. 13. 2.

“ *that resist, shall receive to themselves*

“ *Damnation*?

And p. 67. that other pretence, scil.

“ That after a Lawfull Sovereign is Ibid. p. 67,

“ established, the Power still remains 68.

“ in the People (in the diffused Body

“ of them, or their *Representatives*)

“ to alter the Government, as they

“ please; it is in respect of Policy,

“ and Government, what the *sin* a-

“ gainst the *Holy Ghost* is to *Religion*,

“ it destroys the foundations of the

“ peace, and safety of men, and makes

“ that to be the *Artifice* of *Man*, which

“ is the *Ordinance* of *God*: How much

“ *God* abhorred this *pretence*, will ap-

“ pear in the case of *Corah*, and his

“ *Company*.

The Reverend Dr. Tillotson, Dean of Canterbury, in his *Letter* to the late Lord Russel, has these expressions, to wit,

“ That the *Christian Religion* doth plainly forbid the *Resistance* of *Authority*.

“ That though our *Religion* be established by *Law*, yet in the same *Law* which establishes our *Religion*, it is declared,

“ That it is not *Lawfull* upon any pretence whatsoever to take up *Arms*, &c.

“ Besides that, there is a particular *Law* declaring the Power of the *Militia* to be solely in the *King*; and that ties the hands of *Subjects*, though the *Law* of *Nature* and the General Rules of *Scripture* had left us at *liberty*, which I believe they do not, because the *Government* and *Peace* of *Humane Society* could not well subsist upon those *Terms*.

As thus these abovementioned *Persons*, so indeed, all the learned *Men* of the *Church* of *England*, who have wrote any thing largely of the *Subjects*

ject's Duty towards their *Prince*, have unanimously declared contrary to the *Faction* Authour of *Julian* the *Apostate*, *scil.* That all Lawfull *Kings* and their Lawfull *Heirs* by *Primogeniture*, of what *Religion*, or *Manners* soever, *Good* or *Bad*, they be, ought successively to *Reign* and *Govern*, and to be honoured and obeyed by all their *Subjects*, either *Actively*, by chearfully doing whatever they shall *Command*; or *Passively*, by humbly and peaceably submitting to whatever punishment, their said *Princes* shall think fit to inflict upon them, for not obeying their Royal Commands *Actively*. And if any *Prince* should (after he is seated in the *Throne*) prove *Tyrannical*, we may not *Rebell*, nor plot his *Deposition*; But

Τὸ το μόνον ἔχοντων κατὰ τὴ διάντη πάρε- Nazian. O.
μανον, &c. rat. 1.

Our onely Remedy is, what was *Nazianzen's* and the *Christians*, in the *Reign* of *Julian* the *Apostate*, to wit, *Prayers*, *Fastings* and *Tears*.

This was the practice of the *Primitive* *Christians*, and ever has been the

Profession and Practice of the Protestant Church of England:

And therefore, whoever lives in *Rebellion* against his Lawfull Prince, and dies in and for the same without publick and hearty Repentance, Acknowledgment and Confession to God and to Man, of that his *Rebellion*, or *secret plotting of Rebellion*; Neither does such a man live, nor any true way, can he be said, to dye, in *Communion* with the *Protestant Church of England*;

But as he lived, $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{a Popish} \\ \text{or} \\ \text{a Fanatick} \end{array} \right\}$ So he dies either $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Recusant,} \end{array} \right\}$

And No Protestant.

And thus died most of the late Fanatical *Associatours* and *Rebels*, inas-much as most of them died, without the least expression of their sorrow and penitence for, and without humble and publick *Confession* of, their Horrible *Plot* and *Treason* for which they were Condemned. As appears by their own *Papers* given to the *Sheriffs*, and *Published* by *Authority*.

And

And here it will be requisite, that we (as far as we are able) undeceive the people, and tell the *Naked Truth*, to wit,

That the abovementioned *Persons* abused the *World*, and imposed upon the ignorant people, a notorious falsity, when at their *Executions* they declared, they died *Protestants*, and in *Communion* with the present *Church of England*:

For, no *Rebel* whatever, whilst he *impenitently* continues *such*, is, nor can be, a *Protestant*:

For every wilfull and obstinate *Rebel* and *Plotter* against the *King*, does indeed deny the *King's Supremacy*.

And whoever denies the *King's Supremacy*, is *No Protestant*;

And therefore, being *No Protestant*, he ought not to be admitted into *Communion* and Fellowship with the *Protestant Church of England*, untill such a person shall openly repent of his *Anti-Protestant* Disobedience to the Church's *Canons* and *Orders*, and of his *Rebellion* and *Treason* against the *King*.

And (as we humbly conceive) those *Divines* and *Ministers* did not act *Canonically* (though we believe, *Charitably*) in administering the Holy *Sacrament* of the *Lord's Supper* unto *Persons* Condemned for *High Treason*, in plotting the Murther of the *King* and of his *Royal Highness*, without their *publick Confession* of that their heinous *Sin* and *Treason*.

Their not Confessing *that* their *Guilt*, when clearly proved against them, did apparently argue, not only their *Malice*, but also the *Continuance* of their *Malice* to the very last *Gasp*, against the *King* and the *Duke*.

And therefore to admit such unto the *Sacrament*, was to *harden* them, and *others* of their *Party*, in their *Wickedness* and *Malice* against the *King*, the *Duke*, and the established *Government* in *Church* and *State*, and was a palpable *Breach* of the *Statute*, and of the *Rubrick*,

Which says,

The Order
for Admini-
str. of the
Lord's Sup-
per, Pref.

That if any person be an open and notorious Evil Liver (as surely are all Wilfull Rebels!) or have done any wrong

wrong to his Neighbour by Word and Deed (as surely Traytors have done to the King their Neighbour, by plotting his Death!)

The Curate having knowledge thereof, shall call him and advertise him, that in any wise he presume not to come to the Lord's Table untill he have openly declared himself to have truly repented.

The same Order shall the Curate use with those betwixt whom he perceiveth Malice and Hatred to reign—not suffering them to be partakers of the Lord's Table, untill he know them to be Reconciled—And if one party shall remain still in his Frowardness and Malice—The Minister shall not admit him that is Obstinate.

C H A P. V.

The Doctrine and Practice of Deposing Lawfull Kings, and of Excluding the Right Heir by Primogeniture, from Succeeding in the Throne, for his want of Grace, or for being an Heretick, Idolater, Tyrannical or Wicked, is Grounded upon nothing but Popery and Fanaticism.

S E C T. I.

This wicked Doctrine and Practice of Deposing and Murthering Kings, and of Precluding their Lawfull Heirs, for being Hereticks, &c. is grounded on Popery.

Dr. Lloyd's
Serm. Nov.
3. 1679.

TH E truth of the Assertion is so well known, as, "That there is no Kingdom in our *European*

“ *pæan* World, but the *Pope* hath gi-
 “ ven it away upon the Account of
 “ Religion; No Countrey, but he has King James's Works, p. 503.
 “ made an *Aceldama* upon the ac-
 “ count of Religion. And many
 “ *Kings* hath he kill'd merely for Re-
 “ ligion.

This we will confirm and prove by
 the Authority of the most Eminent
 and most Authentick of their own
Writers.

Such as,

Thomas Aquinas, who says, (a) (a) Nullo modo permittit Ecclesia, quod Infideles acquirant Dominium super fideles, vel qualitercunque eis præsiciantur in aliquo officio, &c.
 That *Infidels* or *Unbelieving Princes*
 are not to be suffered to Govern and
 Reign over *Believers*. And that if
 there be any such *Infidels* and unbe-
 lieving *Princes* (b) then the *Church*
 has Power and Authority to Depose
 and Remove *them* from their Govern-
 ment; and the *Church* ought to doe it;
 and that because (c) a King's *Infidelity*
 forfeits his Right of Dominion and Ju-
 risdiction over *Believers*. (b) Potest tamen justè per sententiam vel ordinationem Ecclesie, auctoritatem Dei habentis, tale

jus Domini, vel praelationis tolli; (c) Quia Infideles merito sua infidelitatis merentur potestatem amittere super fideles, &c. Tho. Aquin. 22a. quest. 10. art. 10. conclus. p. 22.

And

And by, *Infidelis*, an *Infidel*, *Aquinas* plainly tells us, that he means *An Heretick*.

For in his sense,

(a) *Heresis est infidelitatis species ad eos pertinens qui fidem Christi professi sunt, & ejus dogmata corrumpunt, &c. ibid. quest. 11. art. 1. conclus. p. 23.*

An *Heretick* (a) is no *Jew*, *Turk*, or *Pagan*, who absolutely denies *Christ* and *Christianity*. But according to *Aquinas*, An *Heretick* is a *Christian*, that is, one who professes that he *Believes* in *Christ*, and hopes for *Salvation* onely by *Him*, But, he purloins, perverts, and corrupts the *Doctrine* of *Christ*.

Now such an *Heretick*, whether *Prince* or *Peasant*, is not to be tolerated, but after the second *Admonition* he is to be *Excommunicated*, and Delivered up to the *Secular* (b) *Powers* to be put to *Death*; and the *Church* does *Command* all other *Foreign Princes* to give their *Assistance* towards the *Deposition*, and destroying such an *Heretical Prince*, that so, this lower *World* might the sooner be rid of him.

(b) *Qui post secundam correctionem in suo errore obstinati permanent, non modo Excommunicationis sententia, sed etiam Secularibus principibus exterminandi tradendi sunt, & per mortem à Mundo excludi meruerunt, &c. ibid.*

& per mortem à Mundo excludi meruerunt, &c. ibid.

And

And that *Aquinas*, in the foremen-
tioned places, is to be understood of
Heretical *Kings*, as well as of their
Subjects, is evident, in that his Argu-
ment runs chiefly against them, who
have Right to Govern *jure humano* ;
But, says he, because they are turned
Hereticks, therefore *jure Divino*, they
ought not to Reign, but to be, *not one-*
ly Excommunicated, but also, *put to*
Death. For, *Quicumque resistit Aucto-*
ritati Romanæ Ecclesiæ, Hæresim in-
currit; quæ quidem Auctoritas princi-
paliter residet in Summo Pontifice, &c.
Whoever Resists the Authority of the
Church of Rome, that is to say, the
Authority of the Pope and his *Supre-*
macy (as do all *Protestant Princes*) he
is an *Heretick*; and being an *Here-*
tick, he ought to be *destroyed* and
killed.

And although a *King* excommuni-
cated should, in the *Popish* sense, *repent*,
and return to the Church of Rome, yet,
he is to be admitted (a) onely unto
Penitence, and not to be *absolved* from
the sentence of *Death* passed upon him.

Aquin. 22a.
quest. 11. art.
2. resp. 3.

(a) Ideo ulte-
rius radeun-
tes, recipiun-
tur quidem ad
penitentiam,
non tamen

ut liberentur à Sententia Mortis. Aquin. 22a. qu. 11. art. 4. conclus.

All

All *Heretical* Kings are by *Aquinas*, accounted no other than *Tyrants*, and therefore, says he, the *People* may *Lawfully* fight against them, and be no ways guilty (a) of *Sedition* and *Treason*.

(a) Et ideo
perturbatio
Tyranni Re-
giminis non

habet rationem Seditionis. ibid. 2^a. qu. 42. art. 2. 3^m. p. 80.

The *Council of Trent* Decreed all *Emperours* (b) and *Kings* (as well as others) to be *Excommunicated*, who shall, upon any account whatever, sell and alienate any *Church-Lands*, Goods or *Chattels*, without the *Pope's* leave.

(b) Si quem
Clericorum,
vel Laicorum
quacunque is
dignitate, e-
tiam Imperi-
ali, aut Rega-
li, præfulgeat,

in tantum malorum omnium Radix, cupiditas occupaverit, ut alicujus Ecclesie——Bona, census ac jura etiam feudalìa, &c. quacunque arte, aut quocunque quæsito colore in proprios usus convertere——iis Ana-
themati tam diu subiaceat, &c. Sess. 22. c. 11.

And if any *person*, great or small, *King* or *Subject*, shall be found guilty

(c) Sitq; erga
judicem Con-
tumacia; tunc
reos etiam A-
nathematis
mucrone, arbi-
trio suo, præter
alias penas fe-
rire poterit,
&c.

of *Contumacy* against any *Spiritual* and *Ecclesiastical Judge*, then the said *Judge* may, (c) at his pleasure, not onely *Excommunicate* such an *offender*, but also decree *him* to be punished any other ways, as the said *Judge* shall think fit. And if the said *excommu-
nicated*

nicated person (though a *King*, for
 it is, *Quicumque post legitimas admoni-* Concil. Trid.
tiones non resipuerit, &c. Whosoever sess. 25. c. 3.
 shall after legal Admonition continue
obstinate, he shall be punished as an
Heretick, that is, with *Death*. *Con-*
tra eum, tanquam de Hæresi suspectum,
procedi possit. ibid.

Bonaventure declares it for an un-
 doubted Truth, that the *Supreme Power*
 (a) on Earth is in the *Pope*, and that (a) *Fam verò*
 (as he already has often done, so a- *possunt Sacer-*
 gain) he may Remove *Kings*, and *dotes & Pon-*
 Depose *Emperours*, for their Wicked *tifices ex cau-*
 nesses, and that the *Pope* is accounta- *sa amovere*
 ble for so doing, unto no Earthly *Reges, & de-*
 Power whatever, whether Regal, Im- *ponere Impe-*
 perial or otherwise, but onely unto *ratores, sicut*
God. *sepius accidit,*
& visum est,
quando scili-
cet eorum ma-
litia hoc exi-
git, & Rei-

publica necessitas sic requirit: Summus verò Pontifex penes quem in
terris prima residet Auctoritas, non à Rege, non à Principe seculari,
non ab homine judicatur, sed solius Dei judicio reservatur. Bonavent.
lib. de eccles. Hierarch. c. 1.

Cardinal Bellarmine assures his *Rea-*
der, That the *Popes* of *Rome* have
 power not onely to *Excommunicate*,
 but also to *Depose* and Sentence to
Death, *Heretical* and ungodly *Kings*,
 and

(a) *Posse à Romano Pontifice Principes Christianos excommunicari, & principatu privari, eorumque subditos ab obedientia eorum absolvi, &c. Bellarm. de potest. sum. Pontif. præs. p. 6.*

and to give away (a) their Crowns and Lands unto others that are Godly and Catholick, and to absolve their Subjects from all Duty and Allegiance to them; and to confirm the truth of what he asserts, he quotes the Authority and Judgment of Pope Gregory the 7th, of Cajetan, Pet. Ancharanus, Sylvester Prieras, Astensis, and many others, for the same. And he highly applauds and justifies the Pope's excommunicating Hen. 8th, King of England for Heresie; which Heresie, was onely King Henry's Renouncing the Pope's Supremacy, and Defending his own.

The Horrid practice of Assassinating and Murthering Lawfull Kings for want of Grace, and for Heresie, is amply justified and highly commended as a meritorious Act, by Pope Sixtus Quintus in his large Oration made to the Cardinals in Consistory at Rome on Septemb. 11. 1589. upon the Murther and Death of Henry the Third, King of France, who was most barbarously Assassinated and Stab'd to Death, in the midst of his Army, by JAQUES CLEMENT a Popish-Dominican Fryar.

Some

Some of the said *Pope's* own words
are as follow in the *Margin*.

In which you will find *Pope Sixtus* (a) *Quintus* so far from disclaiming
against the *Monk* for that execrable
Murther committed upon the afore-
said *King's* Person, as that, he rather
in high strains of Rhetorick wonder-
fully applauds the said Hellish Fact,
and styles it a *most famous, memorable,*
and *well-nigh incredible Act*, yea, a
work done not without the particular
Providence and disposition of *Almigh-*
ty God; *A Fryar has kill'd a King.*
And for fear his *Auditours* should think
he told them a *Romance*, he repeats it
again, saying, I assure you, *A Monk has*
kill'd a King, not a *King* (b) painted
in *Paper*, or pictured upon a *Wall*, not
a *Jack of Lent*, but a real, living *King*,
even the *French King* in the midst of
his *Army*, whilst encompassed about
with his *Guard*. And although All
Monks by their Holy Order and *Pro-*
fession (c) were forbid to shed *bloud*,
factus, & à sanguine, vitæ suæ instituto, ita abhorrens, ut nec ex vena
incisione fusum cruorem forsan ferre potuerit.

(a) Hoc, de
quo nunc ver-
ba facimus,
& quod his
diebus nostris
evenit, verè
insigne, memo-
rabile, & pe-
nè incredibile
opus est, nec
sine Dei Op.
Max. particu-
lari providen-
tia, perpetra-
tum: Occidit
Monachus
Regem, non
pictum (b) aut
fictum in char-
ta, aut parie-
te; sed Re-
gem Franco-
rum in medio
exercitus sui,
milite & cu-
stodiâ septum.

(c) Iste Mo-
nachus præ-
liis ac pugnis
non erat assue-
tutus, ut nec ex vena

K

yet

yet it was commendable in this *Monk*.

And farther, the *Pope* acquaints the *Cardinals* with what Instrument (a)

(a) *Etiam cum Cultello ad hoc propositum præparato, non in vagina condito*

(unde poterat esse probabilis excusatio) sed nudo, ac in Manicâ abscondito, quem si inveniissent, mox fuisset in crucem actus.

But that which seems most inhumane in this *Pope*, was his Denying the aforesaid *Murthered King*, *Christian Burial*, and his *Holiness* pleaded *Sacred Scripture* for his (b) warrant.

(b) *De persona ergo Regis tantum ista*

eum dolore diximus, cujus infaustus finis eximit quoque ipsum ab iis officiis, quæ solet hæc sancta sedes Imperatoribus & Regibus post mortem exhibere: quæ pro isto libenter fecissemus, nisi id fieri, in hoc casu, Sacre Scripturæ vetarent.

After all this *Barbarity*, any one in pity and charity would have thought, that although the said *Pope* denied the *Massacred King Honourable* and *Christian Burial*, yet he would not have denied him his own, and all compassionate mens *Prayers* for His Majesty's *Souls deliverance*, if not from *Purgatory*, yet from *Hell*; But such was his

his implacable malice against the said King, as that he did not onely decree, that (a) no funeral Rites should be performed for him,

(a) *Decrevimus pro ipso Rege non esse celebrandas exequias.*

But also, that (b) no prayers should be made for him after his Death, he dying in his Heresie, was excluded from all Grace and Mercy hereafter.

(b) *Intelligimus pradic-tum Regem ex hac vita sine pœnitentia, seu impœ-*

nitentem excessisse, nimirum in Consortio Hæreticorum — atque pro tali peccato, seu pro Homine sic peccante, noluit Apostolus, ut post mortem orare-mus. Sixt. Quint. Pont. Max. Serm. Romæ Consist. Sept. 11. 1589.

Jodocus Lorichius assures us also, That it is the constant Doctrine of the Church of Rome, scil.

That the Pope has power not onely to Excommunicate, but also to Depose and Remove all Emperours, (c) Kings, and Secular Magistrates that are Irreligious and Heretical.

(c) *Papa habet dominium seu imperium temporale in omnes homines*

quantacunque eminentiæ ac dignitatis sint: ita ut Imperatores, Reges, & his Inferiores, si Religioni & justitiæ Christianæ adversentur, non solum excommunicare, sed & ab officiis remove-re ac deponere possit, &c. Jod. Lorich. Flagell. Papa. p. 443.

And if such Emperours, Kings and Princes, so excommunicated and deposed, shall resist the Pope's Authority, and endeavour to continue themselves in their Thrones, then the Pope

(a) *Si autem nolint, potest ipsemet Papa conscribere exercitum, & Rebelles pro viribus subjugare, ibid.*
 (a) has power to raise an Army, and by force to subdue the said Rebellious Kings and Princes.

And the said *Lorichius* nominates several *Emperours* and *Princes* that have been *Excommunicated* and *Deposed* by several *Popes*.

For instance,

Leo Isauricus the *Emperour* excommunicated by *Pope Gregory* the Second.

Childeric, King of *France*, Deposed by *Pope Zacharias*, and his Kingdom given away to *Pipin*.

Henry the *Emperour* was Deposed by *Pope Gregory* the 7th.

Frederic the *Emperour* was Deposed by *Innocent* the 4th.

Otto the *Emperour* was Deposed by *Pope Innocent* the 3d.

And as for the rest of *Emperours* and *Kings* deposed by the *Popes*, *Lorichius* refers his *Reader* to *Baronius* his *Annals*, and to *Bellarmino*, de *Pont. Sum.* l. 5. c. 8.

And we will refer our Reader to the
Histories and Lives of

Hen. 8. } Who were all *Excom-*
Edw. 6. } *municated* by the *Pope*,
Qu. Eliz. } though, *God* bethanked,
K. James, } they were all strong e-
 } nough to keep them-
 } selves in their *Thrones*.

Suarez, who is an *Antesignanus* a-
mong the *Jesuits*, declares in several
places of his *Book*, intituled *Defensio*
Fidei,

That the *Pope* has power to depose
(a) any *Heretical King*, and that (a) *Post sen-*
when any *King* is deposed by the *tentiam la-*
Pope, then any private person may law- *tam omnino*
fully kill such an *Heretical King*. *privatur reg-*
no, ita ut non
possit justo ti-
tulo illud pos-

sidere, ergo ex tunc poterit tanquam omnino Tyrannum tractari, & con-
sequenter à quacunque privata persona poterit interfici. Suarez. defens.
fid. l. 6. c. 4.

Lessius and *Filliucius* jointly affirm,
That any private man may for the
propagation of Religion kill any *King*,
or other man, who shall oppose the
Growth of true Religion; though, as

* Lessius, de
jur. & just.
l. 2. c. 9. dub.
8. sect. 47.

the Lord Bishop of St. Asaph well observes, *Lessius* says, *Talis * in Republica bene constituta, ut Homicida plecteretur, &c.* Few men will attempt to doe it, for fear, they should be *hanged* for their pains.

Camp. in Ep.
ad Concil.
Reg. Angl.
p. 22.

And very confidently Father *Campion* declares, That *all the Jesuits throughout the whole World*, are enter'd into a solemn League and Vow, to make away and destroy all *Heretical Kings* in any manner whatsoever, nor will they despair of effecting it, as long as there shall be one *Jesuit* remaining in the World.

We might produce *Paulus de palatio*, and many other Writers of the *Roman Church* to the same purpose; But these are sufficient to prove our Assertion, to wit,

That the Doctrine and Practice of *Deposing and Killing Lawfull Kings*, and of precluding their *Lawfull Heirs* from reigning, for their *Heresie*, or for want of *Grace*, or for their *Moral Wickedness*, is grounded and first founded

Upon Popery,

And

And was preached and practised first of all by the Popes, and Papists of the Church of Rome.

S E C T. II.

The Doctrine and Practice of Resisting Lawfull Kings, and of Deposing and Killing them, and of Excluding their Right Heirs, for want of Grace, or for ill Government, or for being Idolaters, or for being of a different Religion from themselves, is also grounded on Fanaticism.

BY *Fanaticks*, Rodolph Gualter means all those who Deny the King's Supremacy, and set up some other power above the *King*, which may controll him in matters Ecclesiastick and Civil, although they be not *Papists* in profession.

(a) *De Christi Ecclesia* Isai- as vaticinans, Reges ejus nutritios & Reginas nutrices fore pollicetur: sunt hæc observanda non so-

lùm propter Anabaptistas, & horum similes Fanaticos homines, qui omnem cùm Politicum tum Ecclesiasticum ordinem è medio sublatum volunt: verum etiam propter Pontifices, &c. qui in Ecclesia omnem potestatem ad se transtulerunt, & nefas esse clamant, ut Reges atque Principes quicquam in illa constituent, aut ad reformandum cultum Dei manum admoveant. Rod. Gualter. in Div. Luc. Homil. 177. p. 468. And again he says, Fateor tamen hujus mali culpam non minima ex parte, in Phanaticis quibusdam hæere, qui religionis & libertatis Christianæ prætextu abutuntur, ut Ordinem politicum turbent & indignum esse dicunt, Hominem Christianum (puta Regem) gladio armatum esse, quo alios suæ professionis homines coerceat. ibid. Hom. 195. p. 515.

All which, do deny the King's Supremacy; and do set up another power above that of the Kings,

Such as, the Consistorian Power among the Presbyterians:

And the Congregational-Church Power among the Independents.

What is meant by Fanatick, and what by Fanaticism.

These are the men, we mean, by Fanaticks; and their Doctrine and Practice of Deposing and Destroying Kings, for their, supposed, Tyranny, Idolatry, or want of Grace, and of Precluding

ding their Right *Heirs*, for any such Reason,

Is the Sum of what we mean, by *Fanaticism*.

And because, These men pretend to be against *Popery*,

But yet do deny the King's *Supremacy*, and do maintain the *Popish* Doctrine and Practice of *Deposing* and *Killing* Kings, and of *Debarring* their Lawfull *Heirs* from *Reigning*, for their *Tyranny*, *Heresie*, and want of *Grace*,

We therefore call them *Fanatical-Recusants*, and not *Protestants*.

Of this Number of *Anti-Protestants* we cannot but reckon these that follow :

John Calvin, who in his *Sermon* 131, on *Job* 34. writ in *French*, has these words, as they are Translated into *English* by *Arth. Gilding*, Anno Dom. 1573.

“Whereas God hath forbidden private persons to rail upon their Rulers, it is to make us to live in peace, and without trouble, and to yield

Jo. Calvin,
Serm. 131.
in Job. 34.
p. 675.

“ yield some Reverence to the seat of
 “ Justice.— But if there be evil and
 “ wicked Governours, they must be
 “ sharply rebuked, according to their
 “ Deservings.— And we must pull
 “ down all Loftiness that listeth up it
 “ self against our Lord Jesus Christ.
 “ Those then that will needs be spa-
 “ red, and have their Vices untouch-
 “ ed, *because they be in Authority,*
 “ must coin a new Gospel. Of which
 “ number, *are the Kings in our days,*
 “ which will needs be called *Anoin-*
 “ *ted and Holy,* and yet cannot a-
 “ bide to have their soars touched by
 “ any means, *but would have liberty*
 “ *to pervert all things, &c.*

And in his *Institutes*, he speaks more plainly, and says,

“ That although it be not Lawfull
 “ for private men * to rise up against
 “ their King, yet where there are in-
 “ feriour Magistrates elected out of
 “ the people, or where there are three
 “ Orders or States, there the people
 “ ought by their Representatives, to
 “ moderate their King's ill Govern-
 “ ment

* Si qui nunc
 sint populares
 Magistratus
 ad moderan-
 dam Regum
 libidinem con-
 stituti, &c.
 Calv. Instit.
 l. 4. c. 20.
 §. 31. p. 311.

“ ment, to punish his *Vice* and *Tyranny*,
 “ ny, and to over-rule him, as the
 “ *Ephori* did the *Lacedemonian* Kings,
 “ and as the peoples *Tribunes* did the
 “ *Roman Consuls*, whom they *Depo-*
 “ *sed*, when they thought fit; and
 “ that they are *Traytors* to the *Peo-*
 “ *ple* and *Common-wealth*, if they do
 “ not oppose their Prince's *Tyranny*.

Theodore Beza imitates his Master *Calvin*, and writes very unworthily and reproachfully of (a) *Kings*, taxing them generally with *Pride* and *Luxury*, with *Cruelty* and *Covetousness*, with *Folly* and *Ignorance*:

(a) *Cujusmodi*
vitia sunt, im-
pietas, avari-
tia, ambitio,
crudelitas, lu-
xus, libidi-

nes, &c. Beza. de Confes. fid. c. 5.

And therefore *Beza* says,
 That *Kings* ought not to *presede*,
 nor to be *present* in *Oecumenical* or
National Councils and *Synods*;

And thus, he clearly denies the
King's Supremacy, by virtue of which,
Constantine *preseded* in the first *Nicene*
Council.

Beza's

Bez. Conf. fid.
de Eccl. c. 5.

Beza's own words are,
Deinde res ipsa ostendit, periculosissimum esse Principum Auctoritate Concilia subdicere, multis de causis, &c.

And as for *Diocesan Bishops*, he did not onely utterly deny any such Order, but very provokingly, calls them, *Porcorum & Asinorum armentum*, no better than *Hogs* and *Asses*.

And after *Beza* had excluded *Kings* from *Councils*, *Synods* and *Church Affairs*, then he subjugates *Kings* and all *Secular Magistrates* to his *Consistorian Orders* and *Discipline*—*Et vicissim nemo est, qui verbo Dei, ac proinde Ecclesiasticæ Disciplinæ, non subjiciatur, &c.*

Which *Ecclesiastick Orders* and *Cannons* he makes equivalent with the *Word of God*.

After all this, *Beza* goes on to inform his Reader (as did *Calvin*, and he uses many of *Calvin's* own words) to wit,

That the *Parliament States* or *Burgesses* of the *Peopie* may and ought to check and restrain wicked *Kings*, and severely

severely to punish (a) them; and if they do not, then they are *Traytours* to their Countrey. And although it be not lawfull for *private* men to oppose, correct or depose *Kings* when they govern ill, yet the aforesaid *Inferiour Magistrates* may, when their *Kings* are guilty of the above-mentioned vices. And he makes the *Septemviri*, or *Burgesses* and *States* of the People to be the *Superiour Powers* above the *King*.

(a) *Hic igitur quid erit constituendum? respondeo Superioribus Potestatibus cujus modi nunc sunt septem viri in Romano imperio, quos E- lectores vocant, & Regni Status in omnibus fere Monarchiis, hoc onus incumbere, ut*

furentes Tyrannos cohibeant: quod ni faciant, ipsos ut Patriæ Proditores, rationem suæ perfidiæ coram Domino reddituros: quod autem attinet ad privatos homines—tenere illos oportet, plurimum inter se differre, injuriam inferre & injuriam pati, &c. Beza Confess. fid. cap. 5. de Eccles. Edit. Genev. p. 171, 172.

Amandus Polanus, Querying,

Whether the People do sin, in *Conventicling* to hear the Word of God, contrary to the *King's Edicts*? (b) He determines it in the *Negative*, scil. *Non peccant*; they do not sin.

(b) *An subditi peccent contra interdictum Principis Convenientes*

ad audiendum Evangelium? R. Non peccant.

And Querying again,
Whether it be Lawfull to *Resist* a
Tyrannical King? He

(a) *Si Rex
seu Princeps
Monarchiam
habeat limi-
tatam & ad-
strictam cer-
tis condi-
tionibus, in quas
juravit, seu
quas se pro-
misit servatu-
rum, penes sta-
tus aut Primo-
res Regni seu*

*Principatus est, coercere Regis seu Principis Tyrannidem & immanita-
tem, &c.*

He Answers, *scil.* (a)

That if a *King* has taken an *Oath* to govern by *Law*, but contrary to his *Oath*, He governs *Tyrannically*, then it is in the power of the *States*, the *Lords* and *Princes* of the *Kingdom* to punish and correct such a *Prince*, and by force of Arms to suppress his *Tyranny*.

Nay, He says farther,

(b) *In Oppressa Repub-
lica, si quis
Tyrannum Oc-
cideret, huic
tanquam de
Civitate bene
Merito, præ-
mium decerni-
tur. Amand.*

That it is not onely *Lawfull*, but also *Meritorious* (b) for any private person to kill a *Tyrannical King*, who by his undue courses shall afflict and oppress the *Common-wealth*, and that the *City* ought amply to Reward the said *Regicide*.

Polan. Syntag. Theol. l. 10. c. 72. p. 1247, 1248.

Frederic Baldwin a *Lutheran*, and a *Professour* of *Divinity* at *Witteberg*, does very *Fanatically* distinguish between the *King's Person* and his *Office*, and says, That the *Honour* and *Obedience*

dience which the Subjects owe, is due to the (a) King's Office, and not to his Person.

(a) In obedientia, non is qui præst, sed officium

respicendum est. Non Personæ Magistratum gerenti, sed officio, honor debetur. Frid. Baldv. Analys. in Rom. 13. 1.

So that, Subjects may, according to this distinction, take up Arms and fight against the King's Person, and not against his Kingly Office. They may kill the King, as in England did the late Rebels, and yet preserve his Office, and set up another Person in his Office, that is, in his Throne.

And the said Baldwin, Querying, Whether it be Lawfull for Subjects to Resist their King, in case he should prove Tyrannical?

He Answers, (b)

That in those Kingdoms, where there are Inferiour States and Magistrates Representing the People, as in an House of Commons, there the Infe-

(b) Quando

subditi non

omnino priva-

ti sunt, sed in

Inferiori Ma-

gistratu con-

stituti, illi

Resistere pos-

sunt Superiori Magistratui, si degenerat in Tyrannum— Nam & Inferiores Magistratus debent contra vim injustam subditorum vitam & bona defendere— ubi tamen & hoc notandum, inferiori Magistratui omnia prius tentanda, quam ad Arma veniendum, ne videatur Rebel-
lare, &c. Frider. Baldvin. in Ro. 13. v. 1. quest. 3.

riour

riour *Magistrates* may lawfully oppose the said Tyrannical *King* or Supreme *Magistrate*; and may raise an *Army* against him, and may depose, and (if necessity require) kill him, as the *Jews* did Tyrannical *Athaliah*; if he will not yield to the demands of the said Inferiour *Magistrates* and *Representatives* of the People.

Peter Martyr destroys all his former wholesome Doctrine of *Obedience* unto *Kings* and the Supreme *Magistrates*, when he affirms,

That if the *Superiour Powers* shall suffer *Vice* and *Idolatry* to reign, then, as (a) it was a *virtue* in the zealous *Jews* to oppose the *Idolatrous Doings* of the Heathen *Kings* and *Emperours*, by raising Tumults, Seditions and Wars against them, as did the *Macchabees* and others;

(a) *Atqui, superior potestas, inquit, fieri hac imperavit, ad hoc, jam ante multa respondimus, nunc addatur, si eadem pote-*

tas, civitatem perdere, aut privilegia eripere, aut minuire conarentur, id nunquam ferrent, ad Arma potius conclamarent, &c. Pet. Mart. Loc. Com. de Magistr. p. 1029.

So, is it the Duty of all Christian *Subjects* to oppose, and by force of Arms to Suppress the *Idolatry* and *Tyranny* of *Kings*, and of the *Higher Powers*. And

And *Rob. Rolloc* makes the same *Fanatical* Distinction between the *Person* and the *Power* of a *King*, as did *Frider. Baldwin*; and says, that the *Subject* is to shew Obedience (a) rather to the *Power* and *Office* of the *King*, than to the *Person* of the *King*.

(a) Obedientia præstanda est, non tam Homini, quam Potestati; quod

si Homini præstanda sit Obedientia, non aliâ ratione præstanda est quam qua hac potestate armatus est à Deo, quare in obediendo non tam Personas Hominum intueri debemus, quam potestatem illam & Auctoritatem quam gerunt, &c. Rolloc. in Ro. 13. p. 357.

Upon this Distinction (as was hinted before) did the late *Presbyterian* Rebels, both *Scotch* and *English*, raise War against *King Charles the First*, pretending they fought not against the *King* and his *Authority*, but against the *Person* of *Charles Stuart*, who was *King*, and his evil *Counsellours*.

And the *Independents*, when they had *Murthered* Him, said, That they had not *killed* the *King*, but the Man *Charles Stuart*, the last of *English Tyrants*.

Stephanus Cursellæus, as *Fanatically* as any, declares it to be his judgment, That it is an horrible sin and wickedness, for any *King* or *Supreme Magistrate* to make *Laws* to force

L their

(a) *Malam esse omnem in causa fidei co-actionem modo evici: quis pius, & religiosus Princeps vel Magistratus non horresceret ad ejus modi impietatem vel minimum quid conferre? quod si adeo malum & periculi plenum sit etiam ad veram Religionem cogere, quanto magis ad falsam?* Cursellæ. Instit. l. 7. c. 37. §. 8.

And Cursellæus his argument is this, *scil.* Because (in his opinion) Princes cannot bind nor oblige the Consciences of men by any of their Laws.

The Conscience belongs onely unto God, and He onely is the Judge of it, And therefore God onely can make Laws to oblige it.

(b) --- *Miserè perierint, ut sint in exemplum cunctis Regibus & Magistratibus*

qui tale aliquid attentare presumpserint; & terrorem iis incutiant; inde discentes, se Ultrices Dei manus non evasuros, si imperium in Conscientias subditorum, quod sibi soli reservatum voluit, usurpaverint, &c. Cursel. *ibid.*

That

And which is *Anabaptistical* and most *Fanatical* of all, is this, to wit,

That *Cursellæus* will not allow *Christian Kings* so much as to Imprison, Mult or Fine any *Hereticks* or *Schismatics*, upon the account of *Religion* :

And his argument for it is this, *scil.*

For fear (a) *Kings* should persecute, (a) *Fieri posse ut præ immo-*
imprison, mult and punish *Christ* *dico Impios &*
himself, under the notion of *Schism* or *Hereticos ex-*
Hereſie, as did *Saul*, aliàs, *Paul.* *terminandi*
gelo, Chri-
stum ipsum,

quemadmodum Saulus olim, in membris suis persequantur, vinciant, &
trucidant, &c. ibid. §. 9.

In the case of *Idolatry*, the said *Cursellæus* confesses,

That if any *Hereticks* or *Idolaters* should set up their *Idols*, then, the *King* has power (b) to take away and abolish the said *Idols*. But the *King* has no power to make any Law against *Idolatry*, which can affect and oblige the *Conscience* of the *Idolater*.

(b) *Nullam quidem subditorum conscientias vim inferre principi est licitum—Sed tamen potestatem habet*

abolendi idola, &c. ibid. §. 13.

Thus *Cursellæus* disarms all *Christian* Princes, and leaves them, as also the *Church* and *State*, naked and senceless against the turbulent *Hereticks* and *Schismaticks*, and opens the door to all *Anarchy* and *Confusion*, nay to all *Sedition* and *Rebellion*, and will not permit *Kings* by severe (a) *Laws* to suppress *Rebels*, if they should *tumult* and *mutiny* upon the account of *Conscience*.

(a) *Ita ergo debet obviam iri perturbationi Reipublicæ, ut nulla tamen consci-*

entis eorum vis fiat, qui credunt officii sui alios (i. e. Reges & Magistratus) monere de erroribus & abusibus qui obtinent in Ecclesia, & eos placidè emendare contendunt, quamvis enim contingat non raro ut fallantur, & pro erroribus habeant quæ veritati sunt consentanea, præstat tamen iudicio Dei eos relinquere, quàm ullà vi externâ coercere.
Cursel. lib. 7. c. 37. §. 19.

For *Hereticks* and *Schismaticks* never Fight and Rebell, but out of a pretence of *tenderness* of *Conscience*.

Unto these, we may add those expressions of *Grotius*, who in many excellent *Writings* has out-done most men, but in the point of *Resistance* of *Lawfull* *Kings* for their supposed *Tyranny*, He (in our apprehension) miserably errs; And upon his *Authority* many of the late most eminent, and learned

learned *Rebels* justified their taking up Arms against the late *King Charles* of *Blessed Memory* :

For *Grotius* declares, as before, *scil.* (a) *Si Rex* That if a *King* proves (a) *Tyrannical*, *re ipsa etiam* or if a *King* has taken an *Oath* to go- *tradere reg-* vern well according to the *Laws* of *icere molia-* the *Realm*, and breaks that his *Oath*, *tur, quin ei* then the *Subjects* are freed from all O- *resisti in hoc* *bedience* to him their *Prince*, and may *possit, non du-* *bito. Grot. de* *Lawfully Resist Him.* *jur. Bell. l. 1.* *c. 4. §. 10.*

One thing farther is to be noted, That *Grotius* makes *Kings* elected and chosen by the *People*, to be under, and accountable to, the *People* (which is a very false and *Fanatical* notion) and He says (b) that all such *Kings* who (b) *Qui prin-* are thus *sub Populo*, may be punished *cipes sub po-* with *Death* if they offend and trans- *pulo sunt, sive* gress against the *Laws* of the *Common-* *ab initio ta-* *wealth*, and he instances in *King Pau-* *lem acceperunt* *santias* that was put to *Death.* *potestatem, si-* *ve postea ita* *convenit, ut* *Lacedamone,* *si peccent in*

leges ac Rempublicam, non tantum vi repelli possunt, sed, si opus sit, puniri morte: quod Pausaniæ Regi Lacedæmoniorum contigit. ibid. §. 8.

Philip Melancthon is hugely to blame, for justifying the zealous *Bur-*

(a) *Ita nihil
mali contra
Imperatorem
faciebat Ni-
comedensis
Patricius, qui
Edictum pub-
licè propositum,*

concepssit. Melancth. in Dan. c. 6. p. 101.

*geds of Nicomedia in tearing into
pieces, the Emperour's publick (a) E-
dict, although the said Edict was, pos-
sibly, not so good as the generality of
Reformers would have had it.*

For that passionate and rash *Action*
was no other than *Rebellion* against
the Emperour's *Person* and *Authority*.
And the man might as *Lawfully* have
torn into pieces the *Emperour's Person*,
as his *Edict*. And, in truth, the coun-
tenancing such a *Rebellious Action*,
does very much encourage *disaffected*
men unto a *General Rebellion*:

For, if it be Lawfull for One pri-
vate man, then is it Lawfull for eve-
ry man to *Rebell*, and in like manner
to tear the *King's Proclamations, Laws*
and *Edicts* into pieces;

Which to affirm, or to doe, is di-
rectly contrary to the Doctrine of the
Gospel, and to the Profession and Prac-
tice of the *Apostles* and *Primitive*
Christians.

Unto

Unto the above-mentioned *Foreign*
Writers, we will add,

The late, and present, *Covenanters*
and Fanatical *Associatours*, of, both,
Scotland, and *England*,

Whose Disloyal and Factious *Te-*
nents, and *Positions*, the Famous and
Loyal *University of Oxford* have Sum'd
up, and have printed them with the
Authours of them, and have by a *Vote*
of their *Congregation* on *July 24. 1683*,
Decreed,

That *their said Fanatical and Sedi-* *Oxfords De-*
tious Positions and Doctrines, and the *cree.*
Books containing them, be publickly
Burnt by the hand of their *University-*
Marshall in the *Court* of their *Schools*.

Some of which *Seditious Positions*
were these that follow,

1. That if *Lawfull Governours* be-
come *Tyrants*, or Govern *otherwise*
than by the *Laws of God and Man*
they ought to do, they *forfeit* the
Right they had unto their *Govern-*
ment, *Lex Rex*, *Jo. Milton*, *Jo. Good-*
win, *Rich. Baxter*, *H.C.* And we will

add, Ἰωάννης-Μέλανα-Βδέλλα, alias Jo. Blackbdell.

2. That the Sovereignty of *England* is in the *Three Estates*, scil. *King*, *Lords* and *Commons*. The *King* has but a co-ordinate Power, and may be over-ruled by the other two, *Lex Rex*, *Hunton* of limited and mixed power, *Rich. Baxter*, *H. C.* And note, that they took this false Doctrine from *Calvin*, *Beza*, and the rest abovementioned.

3. That *Proximity* of *Bloud* and *Birth-Right* give no Title to Rule or Government, and that it is Lawfull to preclude the next *Heir* from his Right and Succession to the *Crown*, *Lex Rex*, *Doleman*, *Julian Apostate*; and we may add the *Votes* of the late *Associatours* against the present *Duke of York's* Succession to the *Crown* of *England*.

4. That it is Lawfull for the *Subjects*, without the Consent, and against the Command, of the *Supreme Magistrate*, to enter into *Leagues*, *Covenants*, *Associations*, for defence of themselves and their Religion, *Solemn League and Covenant*, and the late *Association*.

5. That

5. That the *Presbyterian* Government is the Sceptre of *Christ's* Kingdom, to which *Kings* as well as others are bound to submit. And the King's *Supremacy* in Ecclesiastical Affairs asserted by the *Church of England*, is injurious to *Christ*, the sole *King* and *Head* of his *Church*. *Altare-Damasce-num*, *Cartwright*, *Travers*; add *Presbyt. General Assembly* in *Scotland*, 1592. *Jam. Guthry's* first Speech to the *Parliament* in *Scotland*.

6. That wicked *Kings* and *Tyrants* ought to be put to death; and if the *Judges* and *Inferiour Magistrates* will not doe their *Office*, the power of the *Sword* devolves to the *People*; if the major part of the people refuse to exercise this power, then the *Ministers* may *excommunicate* such a *King*; after which it is Lawfull for any of the *Subjects* to kill him, as the people did *Athaliah*, and *Jehu Jezabell*; *Buchanan*, *Knox*, *Goodman*, *Gilby*.

7. That *King Charles the First* was Lawfully put to death, and his *Murderers* were the Blessed *Instruments* of *God's* glory in their generation. *Jo. Milton*, *Jo. Goodwin*, *Jo. Owen*; and
we

we will add *John Blackbdell*, aliàs, Ἰω-
άννης-Μέλανα-Βδελλα.

By these and the like *Instances*,
which may be brought, it is proved to
a very *Demonstration*,

That the wicked *Doctrine* and *Prac-
tice* of *Resisting* Lawfull *Kings*, and of
Deposing and *Killing* them, and of *Ex-
cluding* their *Right Heirs* from *Suc-
ceeding* in their *Thrones* for *ill Govern-
ment*, *Heresie*, or *want of Grace*, is
Grounded on

Fanaticism,

And was never preached nor prac-
tised by any *Episcopal Protestants*, but
onely by the *Papists* and *Fanaticks*,
who ever denied,

The *King's Supremacy*,

The *English Church's Episcopacy*.

CHAP.

C H A P. VI.

A Parallel ; or, A Brief and True Account of some Plots and Treasons of Papists and Fanaticks, against the Kings and Queens of England, since the Reformation, and Abrenunciation of Popery.

EVER since the *Abrenunciation* of the *Pope's Jurisdiction in England*, the *Papists* and *Fanaticks* have gone *hand in hand* in plotting and raising *Sedition* and *Rebellion* against our *Kings* and *Queens*, upon the Pretence of *Religion*.

As for instance,

The *Papists*, having *Sir Francis Bygott* for their *General*, raised War against King *Henry the Eighth* for his being a *Protestant*, and for Marrying a *Lutheran*.

The

The *Fanaticks*, having Sir *Thomas Wyatt* for their *Commander*, made War against *Queen Mary*, for her being a *Papist*, and for Marrying a *Papist*.

The *Papists*, *Humfrey Arundell* being their chief *Captain*, Rebelled at *Excester* in *Devonshire*, upon the account of Religion, in *King Edward the Sixth's* Reign, exclaiming bitterly against *Protestantism*.

The *Fanaticks*, *Robert Kett* being their chief *Leader*, made War, and Rebelled at *Norwich* in *Norfolk*, against the same *King Edw. the Sixth*, under the pretence of Religion, exclaiming Loudly against *Popery*.

The *Papists* plotted several times (but were not able to effect) the Deposition and Death of *Queen Elizabeth*, a *Protestant*.

The *Fanaticks* plotted (and effected) the Deposition and Expulsion of *Mary Queen of Scotland*, a *Papist*.

The *Papists* plotted the Alteration of the *Protestant* Religion, that they might introduce *Popery*, in *Queen Elizabeth's* Reign.

The *Fanaticks*, in her Reign, plotted the Alteration of the established
Pro-

Protestant Religion, Some, as *Cartwright*, *Travers*, &c. that they might bring in their *Genevan-Discipline*, Others, as *Hacket*, *Barrow*, *Brown*, *Coppinger*, *Penry*, *Thacker*, &c. that they might usher in their *Libertinism*, *Enthusiasm* and *Donatism*.

The *Papists* plotted to alter Religion, and to destroy *King James* by *Gunpowder*, and other ways.

The *Fanaticks*, particularly *George Brook*, *Henry Brook*, *Lord Cobham*, *Lord Gray of Wilton*, &c. joyning in Conspiracy with the two *Popish Priests*, *Watson* and *Clark*, plotted to destroy *King James*, to alter Religion, to subvert the State, and to procure Foreign Invasion.

The *Papists*, in *Ireland*, upon the account of Religion, openly Rebelled against *King Charles the First*, and most barbarously Massacred thousands of his *Protestant Subjects*, thereby endeavouring to bring in *Popery*.

The *Fanaticks* in *England* and *Scotland*, upon the account of Religion, openly Rebelled against the same *King Charles the First*, and caused a bloody Civil War, in which thousands of the
King's

King's Loyal Subjects were Butchered and Murthered, they hoping thereby to extirpate the established Protestant Religion, and to bring in their *Genevan Presbytery*, or *Belgick Confusion*.

The *Papists* in *France* Murthered King *Henry the Third*, and King *Henry the Fourth* of that Kingdom, and in Print justified the said Murthers.

The *Fanaticks*, in *Scotland*, Murthered King *James the Fifth*; And the *Fanaticks* in *England* most inhumanely Murthered, in the open sight of Heaven and Earth, King *Charles the First*, and in Print they justified the said horrid Murther to be a Lawfull and Meritorious Act.

The *Papists* of *Lombardy* Banished their Lawfull Prince, *Frederick Barbarossa* the Emperour, and at last betrayed him to the *Sultan of Egypt*.

The *Fanaticks* of *England*, by Vote of their *Rump-Parliament*, Banished their Natural Prince, King *Charles the Second*, and all the Royal Family, and did what they could to have betrayed Him into the hands of his Foreign and Domestick Enemies.

Since

Since the *King's* happy *Restoration*, the *Fanaticks* have out-done the *Papists* as to their *Number of Plots*.

We hear but of three *Popish* Plots, and onely two of them fully proved.

The *Papists* Plots, were

1. The *Burning* of *London*, for which *Hubbard* a *Papist* of *Roan* was Executed.

2. *Oates* his *Popish* Plot, for which *Edward Coleman*, and several others, suffered Death.

3. The *Meal-Tub* Plot, for which *Mrs. Celliers* a *Papist* was imprisoned and fined.

Whereas the *Fanaticks* Plots have been Many more, since the *King's Restoration*; such as,

1. *Venner's* Plot, for which he and several others were Executed.

2. The *Disbanded* Officers of *Oliver's* Army and others, plotted the *Burning* of *London* before 1666, and *Killing* the *King*, for which seven or eight of them were hang'd and quartered at *Tyburn*.

3. *Tong's* and other *Fanaticks* Plot in 1662, to Murther the *King* and the *Duke* of *Tork*, &c. was proved against

gainst *Him* and his *Confederates* at *Old-Baily, London*, for which They were Executed.

4. *Mason's Northern-Plot* in 62, and 63. for which about twenty suffered Death in *Yorkshire* and elsewhere.

5. *Rathbone, Tucker, &c.* in 1666, their Plot, to have kill'd the *King*, and to have deposed the *Bishops*, and to have altered *Religion*.

6. *Colledge's Plot*, to have seized on the *King* at *Oxford*, and with his *Protestant-Flail* to have Murthered the *King's Leige-Subjects*; for which he died by the hand of *Justice*, 1681.

7. *Shaftsbury's, Rumbold's, &c.* Plot, at *Rye-House* in *Hertfordshire* to have Murthered the *King* and the *Duke of York*; for which Captain *Walcot* and others, were Executed, 1683. and Sir *Thomas Armstrong* and *Holloway* were Executed for the same Plot, 1684.

We cannot but note, that

The *Papists* in their Plot would have killed the *King*, but have saved the *Duke of York*, the Right *Heir* to the Crown.

The *Fanatics*, in their Plots, would have Murthered both, the *King* and his

his Right Heir, the Duke of York.

The *Papists* had their *Jesuits*, *Whitebread*, *Gavan*, *Hartcourt*, &c. to promote their Plot.

The *Fanaticks* had their Priests, *Lob*, *Ferguson*, *Casteers*, &c. who encouraged their Plot.

The *Papists* engaged several of the Nobility in their Plot against the King, if *Oates*, *Bedloe*, and others may be credited.

The *Fanaticks* engaged many (if not as many) of the discontented Nobility in their Plot, if *Keeling*, *Rumsey*, and the Condemned persons *Confession*, may be believed.

In *Oates* his *Popish* Plot
Were six Lords, Impeached in Parliament, and none fled for it.

Such as
The Earl of *Powis*.
Viscount *Stafford*, who was Executed.

Lord *Petre*.
Lord *Arundell* of *Wardour*.
Lord *Bellasis*.

M

In

In *Keeling's Fanatick Plot* were accused to be, eight *Noble Men* :

Such as

The Earl of *Shaftsbury*, who fled, and died in *Holland*.

The Earl of *Essex*, who destroyed himself in the *Tower*.

The Duke of *Monmouth*, who submitted.

Ford Lord *Gray*, who fled.

William Lord *Russell*, who was Executed.

Lord *Howard* of *Esrick*, a Witness.

Lord *Melvin*, who fled.

Brandon Lord *Gerard*, Bailed.

And be pleased to Note, that

All the *Papists*, both *Nobles* and others, denied the *Popish Plot* to the last, but acknowledged the *Treason*, upon the *Hypothesis*, *Oates* his Plot were true.

The *Fanatics*, both *Noble Men* and others, confessed *Keeling's Plot*, but denied the *Treason*, attending it, although the Plot was true.

And

And which of the *two*, whether *Papist* or *Fanatick*, lived, and died, the better *Christian*, we will leave to the *World* to judge.

And here we may, not impertinently, add *Two Solemn Leagues, Oaths, and Covenants*, one made against the *King* by the *Papists*, the other made against the *King* by the *Fanaticks*:

And in both, they pretend *Loyalty* and *Obedience* to the *King*, *Zeal* for *Religion*, and *Good-will* to the *Common-wealth*.

The Solemn *Oath* and *Covenant* of the *Papists* in *Conspiracy*, against *King Henry the Eighth*.

To wit,

YE shall not enter into this our *Pilgrimage* of *Grace* for the *Common-wealth*, but only for the *Love* that you doe here unto *Al-*

The Popish
Bygot's Co-
venant.

Speed's Hist.
H. 8. c. 21.
p. 787.

M 2

mighty

mighty Godde, his Faith, and to
 Holy Church Militant, the mainte-
 nance thereof, to the preservation of
 the King's Person, his Iſſew, to the
 purifying of the Nobilitie, and to
 expulſe all Unlawfull Blode, and Evil
 Counſellers againſt the Common-
 welthe, from his Grace and the
 Privie Counſell of the ſame, and
 that ye ſhall not enter into our
 ſaid Pilgrimage, for no particular
 profite to your ſelf, nor to doe no
 diſpleaſure to no privie perſon, but
 by Counſell for the Commonwelthe,
 ner Slee, ner Murder for no endye,
 but in your herts put away all fear
 and dread, and take afore you the
 Croſſe of Criſte, and in your herts
 his Faith, the Reſtitution of the
 Church, the Subpreſſion of theſe
 Hereticks, and their Oppynions, by
 all the holle Contents of this Book.

The

The *Fanaticks* Solemn League
and Covenant, against King
Charles the First.

To wit,

YE doe swear, That ye shall
sincerely, really and constant-
ly, thorough the Grace of God, en-
deavour in your severall places and
callings, The REFORMATION
of RELIGION in England and
Ireland, as it is Reformed in Scot-
land. That ye shall, without respect
of persons, endeavour the extirpati-
on of Popery, Prelacy, that is,
Church-Government by Archbishops,
Bishops, Deans, their Chancellours
and Commissaries, and all other Ec-
clesiastical Officers, depending on the
Hierarchy; That ye shall with the
same sincerity, reality and constancy
in your severall Vocations, endea-
bour with your Estates and Lives
mutually to preserve the Rights and
Privileges of the Parliaments, and

The Fana-
ticks Scotch
and English
Covenant.

Full. Hist. ch.
1. lib. 11. c.
21. p. 201.

the due Liberties of the Kingdom, and to Preserve and Defend the King's Majesty his Person and Authority, That the World may bear witness with your Consciences of your Loyalty, and that ye have no thoughts or intentions to diminish his Majesty's just Power and Greatness.

That ye shall also with all faithfulness endeavour the discovery of all such as have been or shall be Incendiaries, Malignants, or evil Instruments by hindring the REFORMATION, dividing the King from his People, that they may be brought to Tryal, and receive condign punishment.

That ye shall assist, and defend what ye can, all those that enter into this Blessed League and Covenant.

That ye profess and declare before God and the World, your unfeigned desire to be humbled for your sins, and for the sins of the Kingdom, and that it is your true and unfeigned purpose to amend your lives.

And

And this Covenant ye make in the presence of Almighty God, the searcher of hearts, with a true intention to perform the same, as ye shall answer it at the Great day, when the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed, most humbly beseeching the Lord to strengthen you by his holy Spirit to this end, and to bless your desires and proceedings with success, as may be deliverance and safety to his People, and encouragement to other Christian Churches groaning under, or in danger of the Yoke of Anti-Christian Tyranny, to join in the same or like ASSOCIATION and Covenant, to the Glory of God, the Enlargement of the Kingdom of Jesus Christ, and the Peace and Tranquillity of Christian Kingdoms and Common-wealths.

So help you God.

NOW, if any, unbyassed, and unprejudiced, *person*, will but compare these two *Covenants* together, He may easily see, and conclude, that *though*, the one be larger than the other, yet, That the *Fanaticks* took the *Plat-form* of their *Covenant* from the *Bygot Papists*.

Onely the *Papists* in their *Covenant*, Swore to Maintain the Ancient *Hierarchy*, and to preserve not onely the *King*, but also his *Heirs* and *Issue*.

Whereas, the *Fanaticks*, swore to extirpate All *Hierarchy*.

And although they swore to preserve the *King*, yet, they did not swear to preserve his Lawfull *Heir*, and *Issue*; for, they do not make the least mention of *them*, in their *Covenant*.

And it is to be noted farther, That although the *Fanaticks*, in their *Covenant*, swore to Preserve and Defend the *King's Person* and *Authority*,

Yet,

Yet, they swore to maintain him
onely, in his *Just* Power and Great-
ness,

And they made themselves the *In-
terpreters* of what was the King's
JUST Power and Greatness.

And farther,

The *Fanaticks*, in their *Covenant*,
swore to Preserve and Defend the
King's *Person* and *Authority*,

Onely, in *Subserviency* to the *Rights*
and *Privileges* of *Parliaments*, and
the *Liberties* of the *People* and King-
dom,

All which, *they*, in their *Covenant*
put before the *Preservation* of the
King, his *Person* and *Authority*.

Whereas the *Truth* is this, *to wit*,
That neither the *Rights* and *Privi-
leges* of *Parliaments*, nor the *Liber-
ties* of the *People*, can possibly be pre-
served and maintained, *Without* the
constant *Preservation* of the King his
Person and *Authority*, his *Heirs* and
Succeffours, in his, and their, full *Rights*
and *Royal Prerogatives*.

For,

The *King* is the *Life* of the *King-
dom*; He alone, by his *Prerogative*,
gives

gives *Life* and *Being* to *Parliaments*,
and with the *Breath* of his *Mouth* can,
and does, *Annihilate* them, at his plea-
sure.

He is the *Spring* and *Fountain Head*
of all the *Peoples Liberties*; they are
all the *Results* and *Effects* of his *Dona-*
tions, upon *Condition* of their *Fealty*
and *Loyalty* to him;

For in *England*, whatever *Lands*, *Im-*
munities and *Privileges*, the *Subjects*
enjoy,

They hold all, *à Capite*, from the
King, and his *Heirs*.

And therefore, to depose and de-
stroy the *King* and his *Heirs*, or to in-
fringe their ancient *Rights* and *Prero-*
gatives, is truly to destroy the *Subjects*
just *Title* to their *Liberties* and *Enfran-*
chisements; All which *Liberties* de-
pend upon their *Allegiance* to the *King*
and his *Lawfull Heirs*.

But we will descant no farther on
these *Rebellious Engagements* and *Co-*
venants either of *Papists* or of *Fana-*
ticks.

Onely, we will take leave to add
this, *scil.*

That,

That, if, according to * *Beaufrons*, * *Beaufr. c. 6.*
the *Protestants*, that is to say, the *E-* p. 52.
piscopal Men of the *Church* of *Eng-*
land, be (as, indeed, they are) like
the *Papists*, in all, that is *Good*, in the
Papists;

Then, we may, on the other hand,
avouch for a *Truth*, that the *Fana-*
ticks, are like the *Papists*, in all, or
most, things, which are † *Bad*, in † *Ibid. p. 46.*
the *Papists*. to p. 51.

And therefore, if *Beaufrons* would
have us to *love* the *Papists* for what
they are *like* unto us,

Then, Reason tells us,

That we ought to *Dissent* from
both, *Papists* and *Fanaticks*, in what,
they are *contrary* to us, and ever to
Abhor their *Treasonable Practices* of
Covenanting against our *Lawfull Prin-*
ces and their *Heirs*, upon pretence
of *Tyranny*, *Idolatry*, want of *Grace*,
or the like, for, *He that hateth Right-* Job 34. 17,
eousness, shall (and ought to) *Govern*; 18.
nor is it Lawfull to say unto a King,
Thou art Wicked, nor unto Princes, Ye
are Ungodly.

C H A P. VII.

The chief Cause of Rebellion among Christians, is a Belief of that false Position, scil. That Temporal Dominion is founded in Grace; Maintained by the Papists and Fanaticks.

Rebellion among *Heathens* and *irreligious Men*, commonly arises from *Pride* and *Ambition*, from * *Lust, Envy and Malice*, from *Discontents, Oppression and Tyranny*:

But *Sedition and Rebellion among Religious Men*, who profess *Christianity*, and pretend to tenderness of Conscience, to *Grace* and *Holiness*, ordinarily, yea, chiefly, if not wholly, arises from a persuasion, and firm belief of that very false Doctrine and Position,

Position, stily maintained both by *Papists* and *Fanaticks*, scil.

Dominium Temporale Fundatur in Gratia.

That, *Temporal Dominion is Founded in Grace*;

And that *onely the Godly* ought to *Reign and Govern upon Earth.*

Before we proceed to disprove the aforesaid *Position*,

It will be necessary to inform the weaker sort of men, what is generally meant by *Grace*; to wit,

The *Gifts and Graces of the Holy Ghost.*

Such as

1. A *Faith in Christ*, a *Belief of the Christian Religion*: Without which *Belief*, every Man is an *Infidel*.

2. All *Moral Vertues*, wrought in us, by the *Holy Ghost* concurring with our own endeavours, such as *Sobriety, Prudence, Justice, Love, Meekness, &c.* *Sanctification and Holiness of Life and Manners*; Without which every Man is *Morally wicked*.

The *Fanaticks*, both *Classical, Congregational* and *Anabaptists* (to doe them

them Right) by *Grace*, do commonly mean,

A *Conversion* unto God, a firm *Faith* in *Christ*, Sanctification and Holiness of Life, and other *Gifts* and *Graces* of the *Holy Ghost*.

And farther, By *Grace* they all mean, A firm *Belief* of the *Truth* of their own several ways of *Church-Government*, in opposition unto the *Hierarchy*.

And whoever is not of their *Way* and *Persuasion*, is looked upon by them, as no better than an *Heathen* and *Publican*, or one *Ungodly*, and wanting *Grace*.

And therefore, if he, that is not of their way and persuasion, Be a *King* or *Magistrate*, and will not come over to them, and Declare that He has *Grace*, and is in the number of the *Godly*, if he will not doe so, then He has no *Right* to Rule and Govern over them, nor to impose *Laws* upon their *Consciences*, but they may Lawfully *Resist* such a *Prince* or *Magistrate*; And that because, according to them,

All Temporal Domintion is founded in Grace.

The

The *Papists*, in like manner, by *Grace* mean not onely a *Faith* in *Jesus Christ*, &c. But also, and primarily, a firm *Belief* of the *Pope's Supremacy*, and of the *Church of Rome's Authority* over all *others*, in the *Christian World*.

And whoever denies the *Pope's Supremacy*, or denies the *particular Church of Rome* to be the *Onely Catholick Church of Christ*, is an *Heretick*, and has no true *Grace*;

And therefore if such an *Heretick* be an *Emperour*, *King*, or *Supreme Magistrate*, He ought not to *Reign* and *Govern* in any *Christian Commonwealth*, untill he shall openly *Repent* and *Return* to the *Church of Rome*; for untill that be done, He (though a *King*) is *adjudged* by them, no other, than a *Graceless Heathen* or *Apostate*, and therefore ought not to *Govern*; for, according to them,

All Temporal Dominion is *founded* in *Grace*; that is, in a *Faith* in *Jesus Christ*, and in a *Belief* of the *Pope's Supremacy*.

The

The first, that we read of, who professed and asserted this *disloyal* Doctrine

Of *Temporal Dominion* being founded in *Grace*,

* Platin. in
Vit. Hildebr.
Davenant. de-
term. quest.
30.

Was Pope * *Hildebrand*, *Qui Satanam imitatus, se hujus Mundi Regna universa pro imperio auferre & dare jactitavit.*

Who, like *Satan*, pretended that all the Kingdoms of this World, were at his Dispose, and that he being *Christ's* Vicegerent, had full power to give or to take them away, as he should think fit.

And thus, since him, the *Popes* of *Rome* have exercised that *Lordly* power, and have given and taken away many *Crowns* from *Kings* and *Emperours*, whom they have judged to be *Heretical*, and to have wanted *Grace*, and have disposed of them unto others, at their pleasure. As we have fully proved out of their own *Writers*, in *chap. 5. sect. 1. p. 147.* of this *Treatise*, to *sect. 2.*

The first *Anti-Papists*, that we meet with, who affirmed, that,

Temporal Dominion was founded in *Grace*,
Were

Were *Wickliff*, *Huss*, and the *Waldenses*, (*si Monachis fas credere*) if the *Monks* are to be credited, which (as *Bishop Davenant* notes) was their great error.

But, as the same *Authour* observes, although those *Good men* were of that opinion, yet their error and mistake was not so great, nor so gross, as that of the *Papists*:

For, *Huss* and the *Waldenses* were absolutely against the *Deposition* of *Princes* for their *Idolatry* or want of *Grace*:

And therefore they did assert,

That if *Providence* had placed any *Prince* in the *Throne*, and if afterward, the said *Prince* should fall from *Grace*, become *Idolatrous* or *Tyrannical*, yet, said * they, it would not be *Lawfull* for any *Subjects*, nor for any other power whatever, to depose such a *Prince* for his *Apostacy*, *Tyranny*, or departure from *Grace*.

* Hussius de
tali Rege de-
ponendo ne co-
gitavit un-
quam. Dar.
qu. 30.

S E C T. I.

Arguments proving, That, Temporal Dominion is not founded in Grace, are such as these, to wit;

I. **B**Ecause it was *Birth-Right*, not *Grace*, which gave *Hereditary* Kings a just *Title* to their *Crowns*, and therefore, it was, That *Infants* have often times been *Crowned Kings*, before they have been capable of declaring to the World, whether they had *Grace*, or no.

It was upon the account of *Birth-Right*, not *Grace*, that *Jehoash*, when
 2 Kings 11.3. but *one year old* was called *King*, and
 12. 17. when but *seven years old* He was *Crowned*, and the *People* solemnly swore *Allegiance* to Him their *King*.

And therefore, although *Jehoash* proved a wicked man, and a *Tyrant*,
 2 Chron. 24. especially to his friend *Jehoiada's Son*.
 21. Yet he did not lose nor forfeit his *Right* to *Reign* and *Govern* as *King*;
 And the Reason for it was this,
 Because he did not lose his *Primogeniture* and *Birth-Right*.

For,

For, as *Gerson* truly notes,
Dominium in subditos non amittitur,
nisi amisso eo in quo fundatur.

As long as any *Hereditary King* retains his *Primogeniture*, on which his just *Title* to the *Crown* is grounded, so long, he is *King*, and ought to Govern.

And, forasmuch as it is impossible for any *Prince* to lose his *Primogeniture* (unless, as *Nicodemus* thought, he may be born again of his *Mother*.)

Therefore is it (in like manner) impossible, He should, by any *equity* or *justice*, lose his *Crown*, or be Rightfully *Deposed*, for any defect whatever, whether, for, want of *Grace*, *Idolatry*, or *Tyranny*.

2. *Heathen Kings* and *Princes* had a *Right* to *Reign* and *Govern*,

And yet, they had not *Grace*, as we know of, in the *Senses* abovementioned; Nay, many of them had not *Common Humanity* and *Civility*, but lived and acted contrary to *Natural Reason* and *Morality*.

And yet, *God* gave, even, *them*, *Temporal Dominion*, and placed some of

them over his own *people*, the *Jews*, and Commanded the *Jews* to be obedient unto those said *Heathen* Princes, such as *Nebuchadnezzar* King of *Assyria*, *Ahasuerus*, *Cyrus* and *Darius*.

Yea, *Christ* himself confirmed *Cæsar's* Title unto Temporal Dominion, although *Cæsar* was then an *Infidel*, this *Christ* did, in that his Command, Give unto *Cæsar* what is *Cæsar's*, as well as, unto *God*, what is *God's*.

It is *Bishop Davenant's* note, worthy our Remembrance, (a) *scil.*

(a) *Apud Infideles & impios modus u-*

tendi hisce temporalibus sit plerunque injustus, Titulus tamen habendi potest esse justissimus. Dav. Deter. quest. 30.

That there is a great difference, between the Right of *Title* to Government,

And the Right *Mode* of Governing, and of using that *Title*.

For, an *Heathen* may have a just *Title* to a *Throne*,

And yet, possibly, not govern well and justly.

However, that personal Act of his ill Government does not destroy his personal *Right* and *Title* to Govern.

of Primogeniture.

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3. The *Apostles* and *Primitive Christians*, in cases of *Right*, and of *Common Equity* and *Justice*, did frequently *Appeal* unto *Heathen* and *Unbelieving Magistrates*; as for instance, *St. Paul*, *Act. 25. 11. Appello Cæsarem, I Appeal unto Cæsar.*

And *v. 12. Then Festus—answered, Hast thou Appealed unto Cæsar? Unto Cæsar shalt thou go.*

And from this very *Appeal* of *Saint Paul's* unto *Augustus* an *Unbeliever*, does the Learned *Geo. Carlton*, argue and conclude, that, *Temporal Dominion is not founded in Grace.*

*Geo. Carl.
Pref. to Ju-
risd. c. 1.
Regal. p. 2.*

4. *God* is well pleased with *Heathen Princes*, for making *War*, and for fighting for their *Right*, when by other *Princes*, they are oppressed, wrong'd and injured; and oft-times *God* gives success and victory to the *Oppressed Princes*, as he did to *Eschol, Aner*, *Gen. 14. 13.* *Mamre*, and *Bera King of Sodom*, by *14.* the hand of *Abram*, against *Chedorlao-mer*, *King of Elam.*

Ergo, *Temporal Dominion is not founded in Grace.*

5. If no Man must Reign and Govern, but onely he, who has *Grace*, Then the *People* will never be assured, nor certainly know, who is their Lawfull *King*, and who is the Right *Heir* to the *Crown*, and whom they are to obey ;

For, the *People* cannot assuredly tell who has *Grace*, and who has not. There are *Hypocrites*, who pretend to have *Grace*, and yet truly have none ; and there are many, who do not publish their *Grace*, and yet have much.

Grace is invisibly resident in the heart, and none knows the *Heart* of *Man*, but onely *God*.

Thus this Position opens the door unto Rebellion: For no men will obey or own *Him* for their *Prince*, whom they do not know, whether He be their *Prince* or no ; for if they should, then they may obey a *Counterfeit*, instead of their true and lawfull *Prince*, and so run themselves into a *Præmunire*.

6. This Doctrine of preventing *Kings* from Reigning and Governing for their want of *Grace*, can be in-

invented by *Christians* for no other end, than to prevent all *Passive Obedience* unto Kings that shall prove *Tyrannical*, and to avoid going to *Heaven* in the fiery *Chariot* of *Martyrdom*:

For, as * *St. Augustine* writes, there will be no need of dying for Religion, if so be, wicked and ungodly Kings, who want *Grace*, may not be suffered to Reign, and by their *evil* Laws to try *Believers* faith whether sound or no, and in such cases to *experiment* their *fear* of *God*, rather than of *Man*; for, according to the *Apostles*, there is a time, when *God* is to be obeyed, rather than *Man*, and when we are to dye for *Christ*, and for the *Faith*. And that can be Lawfully done, onely then, when by the *Supreme Authority*, we are commanded, either to dye the *Death*, or to deny *Christ* and his *Religion*.

* Cum Reges pro falsitate contra veritatem constituent malas leges probantur & coronantur bene credentes. Aug. Epist. 50.

In this case, we are to obey the *Supreme Magistrate Passively*, by dying the *Death*; and not *Actively*, by doing what he Commands; Because, what he Commands is expressly against the known Law and Word of *God*.

From which premisses, we thus argue, *scil.* That if it be (as in truth it is) a bounden *Duty*, and a noble *Virtue*, in us Christians, *Passively* to obey our Lawfull *Princes*, by humbly and meekly submitting our *Necks* (without all *Resistance*) unto the stroke of that *Death* which they shall be pleased to lay upon us;

And if it be (as most certainly it is) a *Sin* in this case, to *Resist* Our *Princes*,

Then from hence we may rationally conclude,

That Our *Princes*, though, supposed to be never so *Wicked* and *Tyrannical*,

Yet, They have a *Right* to Command us, and to Rule and Reign over us, and to doe with our *Bodies* (if we offend them) what they please; Otherwise, there can be no such thing as *Martyrdom*.

And therefore,

Temporal Dominion is not founded in Grace.

SECT.

S E C T. II.

The Evil Effects and Consequences of this Position, That, Temporal Dominion is founded in Grace, are such as these,

1. *Conventicles.*
2. *Rebellion.*
3. *A Confirmation of Heathen Kings and Princes in their Infidelity.*

I. *Conventicles,*
For, from a Belief that the *King* has not *Grace*,

And therefore, ought not to Reign;
From hence is it,

That the *People* do not look upon any Laws which the *King* shall make, to be *valid*, or any ways *Binding* their Consciences, especially, in matters of *Religion*, and of *Church-Government*;

And therefore, it is, that they, declining the established and publick *Ordinances* of the *Realm*, do run into private and unlawfull *Conventicles*, which they (the ignorant, deluded people) deem to be more *Holy* than the other.

Nor

Nor do they believe, they do, in the least, *sin* by *Conventicling*, contrary to the King's Laws;

The Reason is, Because they are of full perswasion,

That it is no *sin*, to violate and break the Laws and Orders of a *King*, who (in their opinion) *wants Grace*.

And from hence also it is,

That the People (who are not better *Catechised* and instructed) do so frequently leave their own *Parish-Churches*, and run abroad to the great *Profanation* of the *Lord's* holy day, either unto *Conventicles*, or unto other *Churches*;

And all is, Because they *fancie*, that their own *Parish Minister* *wants Grace*, at least, that he is not so *Powerfull* in his *Preaching*, nor so *Holy* (though he walks by the *Rubrick*) as is their *Neighbour Minister*.

Which is a very great errour, destructive of all good *Order* and *Conformity* in the *Church*; For the *Minister's* Sacred *Office*, and not his *Person*, obliges the People to a constant Attendance on his *Ministry*, especially, as long as he their *Minister* is Conformable

ble unto the *Orders* and *Canons* of the *Church*, both for *Doctrine* and *Manners*.

And if any *Parish-Minister* be *vitious* in his *Life* (which is a great *Scandal* to the *Gospel*, and is a *crying* sin in a *Man* that is in *Holy Orders*, yet if any be so) then his *Ordinary*, upon complaint and proof, ought to punish him: And not the *People*, as too oft they do, by departing from his *Ministry*, Contrary to *Christ's* Rule,

Which Commanded Attendance on the *Ministry* of the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*, although they were *vitious* and *wicked*:

And *Christ* gave this Reason for it, *scil.* Because *They*, (the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*) *sate in Moses* his *Chair*; *All therefore* (says *Christ*) *whatsoever* Mat. 23. 3. *they bid you observe, that observe and doe: But do not ye after their works; for they say, and doe not.*

II. REBELLION.

For, from a strong *Belief* of this *Position*, *scil.*

That, *Temporal Dominion* is founded in *Grace*,

Have sprung most, if not all, the *Seditions*

Seditions and Rebellions, made against *Christian Princes*, by either *Papists* or *Fanaticks*.

It is evident by *History*, That the *Popes* of *Rome*, never sent out their *Bulls*, nor ever stirred up *Subjects* unto *Rebellion*, against any *Secular Princes* whatever, but onely, against such, as were by them judged to be *Hereticks*, and void of *Grace*, And therefore, not fit to Govern:

Nor ever was there either *King*, *Emperour*, or any *Supreme Magistrate* Deposed or Murthered by the *Papists*,

But it was upon the account of the said *Prince* his want of *Grace*.

Hence arose the *Spanish Invasion* against *Queen Elizabeth*.

The *Gun-powder Plot* against *King James*.

And the *Irish Rebellion* against *King Charles* the First.

And *Oates* his *Popish Plot* against *King Charles* the Second.

All arose from a Belief, That the aforesaid *Princes*, were *Hereticks*, and void of *Grace*, and therefore had no just *Right* unto any *Temporal Dominion*.

In like manner,

All the, above-mentioned, *Plots* of the *Fanaticks*, took their Rise, from this One false *Notion*, scil.

That, *Temporal Dominion is founded in Grace.*

And because, they were of opinion, that the *King* and *Governours* were Wicked, Tyrannical, and void of *Grace*,

That therefore, they had no *Right* to *Govern*,

But it was Lawfull for the *Subjects* to depose and destroy them by force of *Arms*.

The Belief of this false *Notion*, made the *Fanaticks* (as was said before) to wage War against King *Charles* the First, and at last to *Murther* him.

To Banish King *Charles* the Second, and afterward *Rebelliously* to Fight against him at *Worcester*.

This made *Venner* and his *Confederates* to draw the *Sword* against our present most *Gracious King*, under the *Notion*, that he wanted *Grace*, and was an *Enemy* to King *Jesus*.

This made *Stephen Colledge* at *Oxford*, with his *Protestant Flail*, *William Hone*

Hone and his Conspiratours at *Rye-House* with their *Blunderbusses* to Plot the Murther, both of our Dread Sovereign the *King*, and of the Illustrious Prince, *James Duke of York*:

Though, one of them, to wit, *Hone*, thought his Royal *Highness* to have had some, nay more, *Grace*, than His *Majesty*;

And therefore, *Hone* confessed, that at last, he was, for *sparing* the *Duke*, but for *killing* the *King*.

Though for ever blessed and praised be Almighty *God*, who wonderfully spared and delivered them, both, *King* and *Duke*, from the hands of their *bloudy* Enemies;

And we hope, and pray, that He will ever *deliver* them.

And we farther pray, that the *People* may be undeceived, and thoroughly convinced of their aforesaid great error: for untill they be convinced, the *King* has no *Security* from them, whether *Papists* or *Fanaticks*, of either his *Crown* or his *Life*:

For, although the *King* be truly never so *Orthodox*, *Vertuous* and *Pious*,
Yet,

Yet, upon the least *failing*, they will clamour and give out, that he is fallen from *Grace*, and therefore ought to be *Deposed*, and no longer, to have *Dominion* over them; for, according to their Belief,

Temporal Dominion is founded in Grace.

III. A Confirmation of Heathen Kings and Princes in their Infidelity.

For, this pernicious Doctrine,
That, *Temporal Dominion is founded in Grace*,

Discourages *Heathen* and Unbelieving *Princes* from believing in *Christ*, and from embracing *Christianity*,

Because, if they should become *Christians*,

Then they are not sure to hold their *Crowns* long on their *Heads*, no, nor their *Heads*, long on their *Shoulders*,

For although they should not renounce *Christianity*, nor turn *Heathens* again,

Yet, if through natural infirmity, or prevalency of temptation, or excess of *Passion*, they should become *vitious* in their lives,

Or

Or if, through contrary perswasion;
they should not Believe, *as the Papists*
and *Fanaticks* Believe,

Then they must be *adjudged* to
have no *Grace*,

And therefore, to have no Right of
Dominion over their *Subjects*,

But must be *Deposed* and *Dethroned*,
For,

Temporal Dominion is (say they)
founded onely in Grace.

F I N I S.

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