Monarchy as well as the Hierarchy: And like a Queen of true Religion, and prince zeal for both, he pronounced that false were the reflexes of spirits of that faction People, by that quies cent to be excited, posted from them, till they were utterly Suppressed, that this therefore, like a prudent Prince, he did by scholas the Severities; and the Effect was, that by this means the Crown for many Yeares fay easy and flourishing on her Head: But that her Successer, King James, did not follow her wise Politicis, and the Result was as deplorable on his side, as it had been glorious on hers. For by this means, his Sue fell a Martyr to their Fury, his unhappy Offspring suffer'd such disproportions Calamities, as unlike the Royal Family one continued Sacrifice to their Mates. And all this for want of favor to those who shared her fate; sivers which the wise Queen her predecessor had used utterly to supprest that faction People.

This, my Lords, is the Doctor's Narrative, and I have given it you in his own Words. The Application is plain and home. The Diffenters are now again tolerated, as they were heretofore under Queen Elizabeth. There is a perfidious Prelate (perhaps in his Opinion a great many) who, like Archiduch Grimaldi, help to delude another Queen, into the Tolleration of them. These Eight Years past (for the time is remarkable) her Majesty has borne the reflexes of this faction People; and had no Quiet for them. It is now high time for her to alter her Measures, as Queen Elizabeth wisely did. It is the only way to make the Crown sit easy and flourishing upon her Head. And if this be not plainly to speak out what he would have done with the Act of Indulgence, I must depair of ever being able to know any Man's Meaning by his Expressions. Such Examples are not only the most likely to enforce, but the most proper and lively Methods to convey a Man's Sense, even to the dullest Capacity; and make him clearly perceive if not what he ought, yet I am sure what the Prelachers would have him to do.

The Truth is, to plain was his Meaning, that he himself began to fear that he had gone a little too far in what he had said of this Matter. And, for that reason, he added that one poor Sentence which immediately follows, and of which he has made such good use since: That he would not be uneasy as he was intended to scoff the 

Mercy: That they have observed their Indulgence into a Civil Right, and joined the Church out of her Effect and profit, byIP'jning their Soverainty in this,

That they have done by their own admission Hypercritis underrun the Foundation of the Church, and danger'd the Government, by filling it with false 

Majesty: That they have observed their Indulgence into a Civil Right, and joined the Church out of her Effect and profit, by IP'jning their Soverainty in this,

of Euphrates; To which they are accustomed, insomuch that Church-deceiving Malcontents, when no other

Grants or Indulgences canez econ, but the giving up our whole Constitution: That ever since their first

be unhappy Plantation in this Kingdom, they have no

merciful to their demands in so grievous a measure: That Queen Elizabeth, who tolerated them for Eight Years together, was forced at last to depripe them by scholas severities.

That this made her Crown sit easy and flourishing on her Heads; whereas King James by false, by not pursuing the like Methods, ruined the whole

Royal Family: That nothing better could be expected from such Miserents, begot in Rebellion, born in Sedition, and nursed up in Perversity. All this Dr. Sacheverell has said in thee very plain, and emphatic Words. If he did not intend by all this to shew the Necessity of supprest those faction People, their Vipers, who are full ready to fling us all to death, I would be glad to know what it was that he did intend by it. Could he say all this, and with that flagrant Superstition, as he has observed, and yet, not intend to scoff so much as the

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1709. H. L. for High-Crimes and Misdemeanors.

... draw a Scale out of them, contrary to his Meaning. I shall trouble your Lordships but with one part more of it, to the same Effect, Page 24, 25, where he comes to consider, What should be the Result of his long Discourse? I shall read it to your Lordships in his own Words, Page 25. * Let us therefore, says he, as we are unhappy Shavers of St. Paul's Misfortune, to have our Church in Perils among false Brethren, follow his Example and Conduct in a parallel Case. He tells us in his Epistle to the Galatians, c. 2. that he was disannulled, and suffer'd in preaching the Gospel, by false Brethren unwarrantably in, who came privily to spy out your Liberty which he had in Christ Jesus, that they might bring him into Bondage. To whom he gave place by Subjection, not for an Hour, that the Truth of the Gospel might continue with the Church. Doubtless this brave and bold Resolution did the Apostle take by the peculiar Command and Inspiration of the Holy Ghost: And yet if our Dissenters had lived in those times, they would have branded him as an insubordinate, but, furious Sceptic, that wanted to set loose the gentle Spirit of Charity and Moderation forsooth.

Here we have again the Perrons of whom the Preacher speaks: They are our Dissenters, not the Deists, Atheists, Socinians, Hypocrites, of our times. And accordingly what follows, plainly refers to them: For this he goes on, Schism and Faction are things of impudent and increasing Nature; take Permillions for Power, and advance a Toleration (in the Doctt it is fill at liberty) to what is not 1 (by Indulgence) im mediately into an Establishment. Your Lordships will please to observe, by the way, that this was the very thing he had before said of these false Perrons, Page 19, and thereby plainly flew, that he speaks in both places of those Dissenters who have a Right to the Toleration or Indulgence, granted by Law to Protestant Dissenters. Let us now hear what he would have done with them. Why he thought it fit to treat them like author Mifd: chiefs, or infectious Plagues; kept at a distance, left the deadly Contagion forrard. And the Method he proposes in order thereunto, is this, Let us therefore, says he, have no Fellowship with these Works of Darkness; but rather reprieve them. These Works, Schism and Faction; for of these, and these only, he here speaks. This is the People's Part, and the inferior Pators: At first the superior Pators, let them do their Duty, in thunders out their Ecclesiastical knowledge and them. Against whom, my Lords? what Works of Darkness? Still the same he before mentioned: Our Dissenters, these are the Perrons: Their Schism and Faction; those are the Works of Darkness to which he refers. And let any Power on Earth dore rescive a Sentence ratified in Heaven.

This, my Lords, was the last part of the Commons Impeachment upon this second Article: And 'tis so plainly express'd by the Preacher in this Passage, that I confess it am inducement to consider with what Poise he was thought fit to deny that any such thing was meant by him. The Persons whom the superior Pators are summoned to anathematize, are the same with those, whom the other Pators and People are to have no Fellowship withal, but to reprieve. Thence, by the necessary Connection of his Discourse, are our Dissenters: whose Works of Darkness, he states to be Schism and Faction: Those Dissenters to whom he speaks, are granted by the Governing Prince, to himself, in the same Passage, he takes notice. Which being so: I shall leave the Doctor to deny and protest, as he pleases; but when all is done, his own Words will rife up against him, and appear to every impartial Person to plain, and positive, as to put it beyond the Power of any artificial Interpretation to perplex the Meaning of them. And this lets us into the true Application of those Passages of Scripture, with which he concludes his whole Discourse. In which, having flown the Danger of our Church from these false Brethren, and exhorted his Auditory to a steady Courage and Resolution in the Defence of it; he thus at once both invokes his Doctrine, and abuses his Adversaries. That tho' the Church (for to that he applies, what * Zachar. spake of the false Prophets that seduced the People) lies bleeding of the Wounds for has received in the House of her Friends: A Passsge first thrown at my self, for the advantage of the Governing Prince's Authority, when from any of those very Men engaged as vehemently on the side of Liberty, against the Rights of the Crown, as they now pretend to stand up vigorously for it: * That the Woes of Zion may mourn for a Time (to the Doctor glosse upon the Text) and her Gates be deplor'd; her Priests sigh, and cry in bitterness, because (it is the Preacher's Reason, the Text has no such Word) her Adversaries are chief; he means in the Administration under her Majesty: and her Enemies at present prefer; (for he again improves the Text, in hopes, I suppose, that it will not be long before he shall have preach'd them out of their Places:) ** For among all her Lovers she has few (the Prophet complained that Jerualem had none) to comfort her; and many (Jeremiab said all) have dealt treacherously with her, and are become her Enemies; (he refers to those of whom he had before spoken, as are mentioned in Page 20, who there among all the Sons of cibith she hath brought forth; neither are these many to take by the Hand of all the Sons that she hath brought up; (Jeremiah in both places, says none:) The her Enemies cry, Down with her, down with her, even to the Ground: That is, in other Words, tho' (the Preacher, and a few of his Friends, excepted) both the Fathers and Pators of the Church; and the Men who are at present in Power, and Authority, in the State, become false Brethren, and run in with those Enemies of the Church, our Dissenters, against it; 'Tis there is a God that can, and will raise her up, if we forsake her not. It were an easy matter to make many proper Remarks upon these Passages of Scripture, thus applied, or rather abused, by the Preacher: But that would be beside my present Business; and will fall in more properly under the last Article of this Impeachment. It is enough that I have, I hope, fully shown your Lordships how Dr. Scarberwell has treated, if not the Indulgence itself, yet I am sure, those who are entitled to the Benefit of it: And who, if they shall have the Misfortune, by this kind of Preaching, to be once generally thought such wicked, false, and dangerous Enemies to our Church and State as

* Zech. xiii. 6. † See Dr. Maybury's Rights of an Engl. Cons. Titel. Page. ** Levit. i. 2. ¶ 41. Isaiah x. 18. V. Vol. V. 5 Q they
they are here represented, I cannot think that their Indulgence will hold long. If they have Numbers to secure them, it is well for them: But otherwise I am sure as the Cafe is here stated, it must be our Wisdom, as well as Duty, to suppress them.

How criminal such an invidious as this will be accounted in the Eye of the Law, I dare not presume to fagget: Much less shall I pretend to intimate what Cenfure it may deferve. Some-

what I think shoulbe done to put a Stop to such Preaching, as if not timely corrected may kindle such Heats and Animosities among us, as may truly endanger both our Church and State. As for the Preacher himself, I am very willing to come into any Medefor of Favour to him, that are consistent with your Lordships Honour and Justice, and will answer the Ends of the Impeachment that has been brought before us against him.

The Bishop of Norwich's * Speech in the House of Lords, at the opening of the Second Article of Impeachment against Dr. Sacheverell.

My Lords,

I am very sensible under what Disadvantage in the Opinion of many a Bishop must speak against a Glasses, that flounds accused of Crimes committed by him in the seeming Execution of his Office; especially after having been so publicly required to be an Advocate as well as a Judge. And I am the more sensible of this Prejudice lying against me, for having been so lately called into that Order, and for being so unworthy of it.

But I think myself obliged notwithstanding, under all these Disadvantages, to deliver not only my Judgment, but also the Reasons that determine me to it: Which I shall do as I plainly as I can; with that Difference to your Lordships, which I am sure it must upon all Occasions particularly become me to pay: and at the same time with that Freedom which I think the Importance of this Cause does at this time require.

Dr. Sacheverell flounders impeached by the Commons of Great Britain, of High Crimes and Misdemeanors explicated in the several Articles of the Charge exhibited against him: And your Lordships have heard what they have laid in support of that Charge, as well as what has been offered in the Doctor's Defence.

Your Lordships have also debated among yourselves the Merits of the Cause as to the first of these Articles: and have come to a Resolution, that the Commons have made good that part of their Charge: In which Resolution as I did heartily concur, so I was ready to have humbly represented to your Lordships my Reasons for so doing, had there been either room or occasion for it.

Your Lordships are now upon the Second Article; wherein the Doctor is charged for faggeting, and maintaining, that the Toleratation granted by Law is unanswerable, and the Allowance of it unanswerable; with other Particulars that have immediate relation to this general Charge, and which are indeed so many Proofs of it.

In this view therefore, my Lords, I beg leave to consider them: And the Pride of their Influences in support of this Charge, is, that he affirms, that he is a false Brother with relation to God, Religion, or the Church, who deferts Toleratation and Liberty of Conscience; and this, my Lords, the Doctor does affirm in so many Words. It is one of the many Marks he gives whereby we may discern who is a false Brother in those respects; not a small part of one general Mark, as was alleged very in-convincibly, I think, in his Defence. For if it was to be granted, (tho' it cannot be fairly pre-

* Dr. Charles Trinald.

tended) that the Doctor makes the defending of Toleratation and Liberty of Conscience, one Branch only of the Character of a false Brother; I do not see how it could make even a part of that Character, if there was no false Brotherhood in it. And I shall not trouble myself or your Lordships with going about to settle the degrees of false Brotherhood that are in this part of the Character, because I think every degree of it is unanswerable and not to be warranted.

And therefore the Doctor cannot make it so much as a part of the Character of a false Brother to defend Toleratation and Liberty of Conscience, as it is confined that he does, but he must at the same time fagget and maintain that the Toleratation is unanswerable, and the Allowance of it unanswerable. For it can never be any degree of false Brotherhood, to defend what is reasonable and warrantable: Nor would even the Doctor, at in-convinent a Man as several of the Noble Lords that have spoken for him represent him to be, ever have made it one; if he had not himself condemned that which he himself observes for defending.

The Second Influence alleged is, that he calls Archbishop Grindal a false Son of the Church, and a perfidious Prelate, for declaring Queen Elizabeth into the Toleratation of the Genevan Discipline. I shall not, my Lords, go about to add any thing to the full and just Vindication you have heard of that excellent Prelate. But can any of your Lordships believe, that a Priest of the Church of England, professed more than ordinary Zeal for Episcopacy and the Constitution of this Church, should belittle such Language on one who was the first Bishop and the Ornament of it to long; only for disposing that glorious Queen to a mild Treatment of the Puritans of that Time, which is the utmost that is pretended to be laid to his Charge, if he had thought Toleratation a reasonable thing, or what was fit to be established by Law?

This, my Lords, I confess can never enter into my Thoughts, as ready as I am to enlarge them for the admitting of any favourable Connotation that will not that our common Sense.

The Third Influence is his making it the Duty of the Superior Fathers to thunder out their Ecclesiastical Anathema against Persons entitled to the Benefits of the Toleratation. And to shew that he has done this, I need only refer your Lordships to that part of his Sermon where the Superior Fathers are called upon to do so (viz.) the Fourth and last General Head, where he draws the Consequence of all that
that he had spoken before, in the following Words:

* Now what should be the Refulit of this long Discourse, but that if we bear any true Concern for the Interest, Honour, and Safety of our Church and Government, we ought Rattlefily to adhere to those Fundamental Principles of conduct which are the true Members, and not fraudulently cast her Bread, and lay wait for her Ruin, purloin her Revenues, and ungratefully lift up their Heels against her. For then we should be one Fold under one Shepherd; all those invidious Distinctions, that now distract and confound us, left; and we should be terrible like an Army of Banners to our Enemies, who could never break in upon such an uniform and well-compact Body. This indeed would be a True Peace, and Solid Union, where the good Name of one Mind and one Mouth glorify God, and not with a confused diversity of contradictory Opinions, and insufferable Jargon of Wribhip, which the God of Peace, Purity and Order, cannot but abhor.

* As it is a Maxim in Politics, that all Governments are best supported by the same Methods and Councils upon which they are founded; so it will appear undeniably true in its Application to our Constitution, which can be maintain'd by no other Principles, but those upon which it is built, and like their Bases, the Gospel, if there's any Violation, or Breach made in any Branch of it, it shakes and endangers the whole Frame and Body. These things, however little they may be represented by our Adversaries, will be found of the most considerable Consequence. Let us therefore, as we are unhappy Sharers of St. Paul's Misfortune, to have our Church in Peril among false Brethren, follow his Example and Conduct in a parallel Cause. He tells us in his Epistle to the Galatians, c. 2. That he was ob-' fected and pelted in his preaching the Gospel, by false Brethren unwares brought in, who came in subtilly and privately under the colours in which he had in the Apostles, that they might bring him into Bondage: To whom he gave place by Subjection, no not for an Hour, that the Truth of the Gospel might continue with the Church. Doubtless this brave and bold Resolution did the Apostle take by the peculiar Command and Inspiration of the Holy Ghost; and yet if our Difficulties had lived in those Times, they would have branded him, as an impostor, not, furious Zealot, that wanted to be fetter'd by the general Spirit of Charity and Moderation forsooth. Schism and Faction are things of impudent and inconceivable Nature, they arise upon Conceptions, take Permission for Power, and advance a Toleration immediately into an Establishment.

* And are therefore to be treated like growing Milchmen, or infectious Plagues, kept at a distance, left their deadly Contagion spreads. Let us therefore have no Fellowship with those Works of Darkness, but rather reprieve them. Let our superior Patrons do their Duty in thundering out their Ecclesiastical Anathemas, and let any Power on Earth dare reverie a Sentence ratify'd in Heaven.

Can any thing, my Lords, be plainer than that the Difficulties, and they only, are here spoken of? And what does the Doctor say in his own Defence, to avoid it? His Words in his printed Speech are these:

* Schismatics, my Lords, are not the only Persons against whom Ecclesiastical Censures may be denounced: The Works of Darkness which I referred to as to be reproved, in that part of my Sermon where I speak of these Censures, are of the same kind with those mentioned by the Apostle, those Works of Darkness mentioned immediately before; Schism and Faction, which with him go always together.

These are the Sins against which he calls upon his superior Patrons to thunder out their Ecclesiastical Anathema's; nor can the Charge be avoided by that Distinction which was offer'd in his behalf, between a Censure purely Spiritual, and an Ecclesiastical Censure. For admitting there is ground for that Distinction in a Scholastical Consideration of the general Qualification of Christian Critics; yet there is no room to make use of it in this Case, because he calls expressly for Ecclesiastical Anathema's, which can be apply'd to none but such as are part of the Order and Discipline of this Church.

And it is certain, my Lords, that these Censures cannot, from the Act of Toleration, be inflicted upon Difficulties, how much soever their Schism remains; because it is expressly provided by Act of Parliament, (an Act, my Lords, of the whole Christian Society, to which the Superior Patrons were personally concouring) that they shall not be treated as Schismatics in the way of these Ecclesiastical Censures, to which their Separation would otherwise have certainly subjected them.

And tho' I cannot undertake upon Memory to be very particular, yet I dare venture to say, there have antiently been Relaxations of the Discipline of the Church, even when the Crime was thought to deserve the Continuance of it, for Publick Expediency, and better preserving the Peace of the Christian World: And that in such Cases any Prefbyter or Bishop would have been confir'd, if he had not acquiesced in such Relaxations.

* My Lords, a Prefbyter of the Church of England, is the more obliged to acquiesce in all such Relaxations amongst us as are legally made, because he has solemnly promis'd at his Ordination, that he will give his Faithful Diligence always to win the Doctrine, and Sacraments, and the Discipline of Christ, as the Lord beth commanded, and as this Church and Realm beth received the same. I have already obser'd to your Lordships, how the Discipline of the Church stands at present as to the Point in question. And as the Relaxation of it in that particular, was agreeable to that Temper which the Bishops who petitioned King James, gave the

* Vis a Sem. p. 22. I. 4.
the Dilligents ground to expect; so I am very perfidious, that the Church is so far from having been hurt by this Indulgence, that it has received Advantage as well as Credit, from that Modera-
tion which gave way to it. I could give several
Influences of this within my own Observation, while I was Arch-Deacon, under a Reverend Prelate
that sits now before me, and since I have had the
Honour to be on this Bench: In which comports
of Time several Men of Sobriety and Learning,
bred up to be Ministers amongst the Diligents,
have left the Separation, and upon due Trial have
been admitted to Orders in our Church; in which
they have officiated with entire Conformity to our
Rules, and to the Honour of our holy Religion.

These Influences have been so frequent and re-
markable, since the Dilligents have been exempted
from the Ranks of certain Laws, above what
had been observed before; that I think it very ill
becomes any Clergyman to preach against that
Exemption, as the Doctor (norwithstanding his
Reservation truly Jesufulus) has done; and to call
upon his Superiors to act in Contradi-
tion to it. He should have forbore doing this,
at least out of regard to her Majesty, who had
been graciously pleased to declare from the Throne,
that he would preserve the Toleration inviolable:
A Resolution I shall ever think it my Duty, upon
all proper Occasions, to express my Approbation
of, as just and wise and charitable, and every way
agreeable to the Spirit and Genius of the Christian
Religion.

I shall not, my Lords, enter into the Enquiry
of what Sentences are ratified in Heaven: But as
one may venture to say, that all that have been
pronounced on Earth, are not ratified there; so,
by all I have seen of the Doctor’s Spirit in these
Matters, I have great reason to fear, that if the
Power of the Keys was in his Hands, it would
often be very fully abused.

However he has formed an Opinion of his own
Spirit, as to put his Superiors in mind of another
Part of their Duty, immediately after that I have
mentioned; and that is, to promote Men of Pro-
by, Confidence, and Courage; without which, he
thinks, they cannot be fit Members of the Church
Militant; in which I can as little agree with him as
in the former Demand. For if I may judge of the
Proby, Confidence, and Courage he thinks to de-
serving, by what appears in his Sermon, compar’d
with his Speech to your Lordships, I cannot think
them Qualifications for a Minister of the Church
of Christ in any respect; and I hope I shall be fo
happily as to find all the Reverend Prelates, with
whom I have the Honour to sit, agreeing with me
in this.

But tho’ I hope such a Conclave will never re-
commend any Perfon to Favour, yet I do not de-
fire that even that which I heartily blame should
be punished so much as I think it deserves. And
tho’ he, who pleads so warmly for wholesome Se-
verance toward those who differ from him, has the
least Title to your Lordships Compassion; yet I
hope he will find it, as far as the just Concern you
have for the Publick Tranquility will allow you
to shew it.

This I say from that which, I blest God, is the
natural Temper of my Mind, and not from the
Care that has been taken by some to intimidate,
as far as they could, those who were to have the
Cognizance of the Doctor’s Cause, and were not
thought to be favourable to it.

I shall not take upon me to charge the Doctor
or any of his particular Friends with this Practice,
as great a Temptation as one is under to do so from
several Circumstances. And it is not the least,
that occurs in his Prayers, which he has publish’d
upon this Occasion, to represent not so much to
God as to the World, that he is under Perfection,
when he is profecuted for offending against the
Law, by those, who in common Justice ought to be
thought the fairest Accusers; and before your
Lordships, who are jutly acknowledged to be the
most impartial Judges.

However I will never believe, till I cannot a-
vot it, that any Members of the Church of Eng-
land who have acknowledged the Government,
much less any Clergyman who has so often pro-
ced’d his Obedience to it in Church and State,
should have been any way accessory to those
Threatenings that have been given out, particularly
against such Bishops as should happen to condemn
the Doctor’s Proceedings.

As far, my Lords, as I have seen of this Cause,
I am likely to be one of those Bishops; and tho’
I do not pretend to any great Share of Courage, I am
very free to declare to your Lordships, that I am in
no Comparison to the apprehensions of what may befall
myself for condemning this Person, as I am of
what will probably befall the Publick, if your
Lordships should not condemn him.

But that is in your Lordships Judgment, to which
I humbly submit it: And only beg Pardon for ha-
viving detain’d your Lordships so long in giving my
Reasons why I think the Commons have made good
this Second Part of their Charge.

The End of the Fifth Volume.