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FOUR SERMONS.

I. BY THE REV. JOHN TAYLOR, LL.D.

AT BISHOP-STORTFORD SCHOOL-FEAST, 1745 ;

WITH NOTES BY THE REV. SAMUEL PARR, LL.D.

II. BY DR. TAYLOR,

BEFORE THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, 1757 ;

III. BY BISHOP LOWTH,

WHEN PREBENDARY OF DURHAM, 1758 ;

AND

IV. BY BISHOP HAYTER,

BEFORE THE HOUSE OF PEERS, JAN. 30, 1740-50.

L O N D O N :

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1822.



ADVERTISEMENT

The Four Sermons now submitted to the attention of the Publick require little introduction.

It may be sufficient to say, that Dr. PARR thinks very highly of the good sense and good writing which adorn Dr. TAYLOR's Discourses.

To use the Doctor's own words, " Taylor's Sermons are masterly indeed, both in the matter and in the composition; and shew the goodness of his heart, the soundness of his judgment, and the elegance and vigour of his English style*."

From profound respect for the memory of Dr. TAYLOR, he wished these two Discourses to be preserved by re-publication; and, from his friendship for the present Editor, he has furnished a few notes on the Discourse delivered at Bishop-Stortford.

The copy from which they are re-printed has been borrowed, by the interposition of that excellent Scholar, and the consent of the learned Dr. SAMUEL BUTLER, from *the Library of Shrewsbury School*, in which Seminary TAYLOR had been educated. And it may here very justly be observed, that TAYLOR, if living, would set a high value on the sagacity of the present Master, who, as Editor of *Æschylus*,

* See Dr. Parr's Appendix to the Memoirs of Dr. Taylor, p. xlv.

+ *Bishop of Hereford*^{a2}. 1858.

holds a high rank in the Republick of Letters; who, like Dr. TAYLOR, had a Fellowship in St. John's College, Cambridge, and who has sent to that University many young men successful in their attempts to gain Academical Prizes and Honours.

On the literary talents of Dr. TAYLOR it would be superfluous here to enlarge, as I have so recently prefixed some ample Memoirs of him to his "Music Speech at Cambridge," re-published in 1819 at the suggestion of the benevolent Friend by whose recommendation the present Sermons are edited, and enriched by him with a small Appendix of "pleasing recollections and critical remarks."

Dr. PARR is also highly pleased with Bishop LOWTH'S Sermon at Durham; which, though once very celebrated, has now become scarce, and therefore, in the judgment of Dr. PARR, might with great propriety be subjoined to TAYLOR'S Discourses.

Scarcely any vestige remains of the opinions and talents of the amiable and venerable Bishop HAYTER, who for a time was Preceptor to King GEORGE the Third. The Sermon now re-published strongly marks the correctness of his judgment, the delicacy of his taste, the candour of his spirit, and the soundness of his principles in Morals, Politics, and Religion. Bishop Hayter has stated with great precision both the rights and the duties of Sovereigns and Subjects. The Sermon was added to the present collection by Dr. PARR'S advice, as peculiarly proper at a season when so many novel and perilous opinions have gone abroad.

May 11, 1822.

J. NICHOLS.

A S E R M O N

PREACHED AT BISHOP-STORTFORD

ON

TUESDAY, AUGUST 22, 1749,

THE

ANNIVERSARY OF THE SCHOOL-FEAST;

BY JOHN TAYLOR, LL. D.

CHANCELLOR OF LINCOLN.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
CHARLES LORD MAYNARD,
AND TO
RICHARD FRANKLAND, Esq.
STEWARDS ;
AND TO THE
GENTLEMEN AND CLERGY ASSEMBLED AT BISHOP-
STORTFORD AT THE CELEBRATION OF
THE SCHOOL-FEAST ;
THIS DISCOURSE,
PUBLISHED AT THEIR SOLICITATION,
IS MOST HUMBLY INSCRIBED,
By THE AUTHOR.

A S E R M O N

PREACHED AT

BISHOP-STORTFORD SCHOOL-FEAST,

AUG. 26, 1749.

NUMB. xi. 29.

— *Would God that all the Lord's People were
Prophets.*

WHAT Moses, the leader of Israel, in the humanity of his disposition, wished to be the lot and circumstance of the Lord's people, it has been in some measure, and with some abatement of the expression, the happiness of this age and country to see accomplished; and it is one part of this day's solemnity thankfully to acknowledge and commemorate. For by the Prophets both of the Old and New Testament, though frequently, yet we are not always, to understand those chosen vessels of God's power, who were distinguished by immediate and extraordinary impulses from Heaven, and directed, by the compendious method of illumination, to take a view of the counsels of God, as they lay in the scheme of providence: They were sometimes such as made use of the ordinary and standing methods

of improving the better part of their nature, by the nurture which was to be had in the schools of the Prophets, and by the gradual process of education. It was there, by acquainting themselves with the order of Nature, that they were able to trace appearances into their first causes, and so became qualified, as it were, to bespeak their effects and consequences: Or else, by *considering the years of antient times**, and *what works had been wrought of old*†, they could give an edge to their sagacity, and in some measure be beforehand with events‡: Or lastly (what was not the least or most inconsiderable article of the Prophet's commission) they were such as were enabled, by the course of a proper education, to interpret the will of God, and stand between Him and his people.

Thus circumstanced as we are in the ordinary method of becoming wise and useful, not only those, who, by their liberality, counsel, or authority, ever set forwards this good work, have always been entitled to the blessings of the wise and sober part of mankind; but those also who make the most successful advances in it have, in the same proportion, met with their esteem and reverence. It is to be apprehended, that the original breach in our consti-

* Psal. lxxvii. 5. xliii. 18.

† Psal. xlv. 1.

‡ Est enim vis et natura quædam, quæ tum observatis longo tempore significationibus, tum aliquo instinctu inflatuque divino futura prænuñciat. Cic. de Divin. I. 6.—Non fefellit nos quidem nostra *Divinatio*, quam cum sapientissimorum virorum monumentis atque præceptis, plurimoque — doctrinæ studio, tum magno etiam usu, magnaque temporum — varietate consecuti sumus. Id. VI. Ep. Fam. 6.

tution, occasioned by Adam's trespass, contributed as much to weaken the powers of the understanding, as it did to debauch the principles of the will. And accordingly, in all civil and moral considerations whatsoever, those efforts of the mind on the one hand, and those expressions of the heart on the other, which seem to re-establish our forfeited condition, and are most effectual to recover the dignity and perfection of human nature, have always had the preference in the judgment of mankind; not only as they are the first in order and necessity, but also the fairest in their value and importance. Thus, for instance, to restore the balance of fortune, and to sooth the distresses of our fellow-creatures, which were owing, not to a parsimony or thrift in Providence, but took their rise from the lust of appetite joined to an extent of power, has, in all systems of morality, been esteemed a duty the loveliest in consideration, and the happiest in its influence: And, in like manner, in political constitutions, those arts and improvements of the human mind, which bid the fairest to raise it to its original standard, have been constantly observed to rise and fall, in proportion to the wisdom of the institution, and the equity of the administration.

It is no small credit to the Reformation of the Church of England, that the present plan of education, which is extended to almost all conditions of life indifferently, had so great a share in the attention of it. Till that time, for a period of several centuries, all the learning of the world (and, God knows, that not very considerable) was husbanded

with thrift, and retailed in very moderate quantities : when the mind of man was not able to separate the ideas of *clerk* and *scholar* : and those rude languages which were taught, and those mean sciences which were professed, were never meant to reach beyond the Cloister. So effectually was “ the key of knowledge taken away : *They* entered not in themselves, and them that were entering in, *they* hindered *.”

If we examine the monuments of our own history, far the greatest number of schools for the education of youth, in this kingdom, are owing to the pious care of Edward VI. who may be said to have set forwards the Reformation ; and of that great Princess, his successor, who lived to perfect it. It was about the sixth century, that the Roman method of discipline began to decline, and then took its final leave in the study of the Civil Law, in the East : when “ a nation strong, and without number, and whose teeth were the teeth of a lion †,” seems for some time to have cut off the very memory of letters, and all the favourable means of improving the taste, or even the understanding. And I always thought it a great want of judgment, or at least a great abuse of leisure, to inquire, in those dark ages, as some of our Historians have done with no small impatience, for the precise date of the re-establishment of public schools, particularly that of our two Universities. Whether it was, that the infancy of human learning, like that of other constitutions, was more attentive to securing its settlement, than recording its glory :

* Luke xi. 52.

† Joel i. 6.

Whether the contracted genius of a barbarous age was but little solicitous about the interest they were to have in the regards of posterity: Or, lastly, whether or no the records, if such were left, wanted that salt and seasoning, which was so necessary for their preservation. However, from the eighth or ninth century (when History began again to run clear, and we read of the foundation of schools at Paris under Charlemagne, and by his example in other parts of the West) even to the very dawn of the Reformation, the method of instruction was very rude and very deplorable; as is plain from the monuments which are left us of the education of Erasmus himself, that great patriarch of human learning, who saw the corruption and deluge of the old world, and lived to be the planter and founder of a new.

Upon this view, therefore, of our comparative happiness with that of former ages, give me leave, in the *first* place, to lay before you some observations upon the great advantage of a liberal and ingenuous education, and to consider how greatly it stands connected with the cause and interests of virtue: In the *second*, to point out how much the publick is indebted to those who, by great assiduity and constant application, are successfully instrumental in so good a work: And, *lastly*, to direct such reflections to this audience, as my present subject shall appear most properly to have suggested, and may best suit this occasion of our assembling ourselves together.

I. The present plan of education, in all human appearance, is the most likely method of leading the mind to the contemplation of moral truth, and conducting us to the great masters of reason, by bringing us into an early acquaintance with those Authors who write correctly and elegantly. And great care ought to be taken, that, as the mind by degrees begins to unfold itself, it should be recommended to such Writers as are likely to mend the heart, at the same time that they enlighten or relieve the understanding. And accordingly the natural elegance of those two very considerable languages, which contain all the treasures of the Heathen Wisdom, and in many cases are confessedly very successful in explaining and illustrating the Christian, can never be introduced to our attention too early, or pressed upon us too warmly. By what traces we have left us of the Greek and Roman education, it appears to me almost certain that their School-Authors were chiefly, if not solely, the Poets. And this, perhaps, is the reason why, in the older definitions of a Critic *, before he was branched off from the Grammarian, and whilst he made a part of that profession, the principal ingredient was always a skill or adroitness in explaining and amending the Poets. And indeed a great part of the teacher's art consists in making those things palatable, which the circumstances of our nature have rendered necessary. The

* Eustath. ad Homer. Iliad. B. § 48. edit. Alex. Politi. Quintilian. I. 4. Dionysius Thrax in Grammatica. Theodosius Grammaticus in $\sigma\chi$. MSS. ad Dionysium Thracem. Sueton. de Illustr. Grammat. c. 4. Varro de L. L. c. 4.

inattention of youth must be fixed by bespeaking an interest in their fancy, not in their judgment. Philosophy has its infancy, as well as our constitution. “The grape (to use the words of Isaiah *) is ripening while it is in the flower:” the spring of youth, like that of nature, is florid, not fruitful: and we reserve the expectation of plenty “for the appointed weeks of harvest †.”

If we turn our eyes upon the vicious and profligate, the disturbers of public peace, and the invaders of private property, how many instances are owing to a neglected education! for, though much must be allowed for the malignancy of a bad disposition, yet discipline, and attention to useful knowledge, will in great measure correct a bad habit, and the want of it will corrupt a good one. Just as it fares with Science: the apprehension even of vulgar truths is lost to those who do not contribute their application, and scarce any thing is too hard for those who do.

The instruction we have all of us received, is not given, but lent us.

“ ——— mutantur sæcla animantûm,”

says a great Poet,

“ Et quasi cursores, vitæ lampada tradunt ‡.”

And with the lamp of life it is the duty of us all to convey the lamp of knowledge; to “tell our children, and let our children tell their children, and their children another generation §. Where the

* xviii. 5.

† Jerem. v. 24.

‡ Lucret. ii. 77.

§ Joel i. 3.

means of a regular and standing education are wanting, how few are there *who* of their own accord *apply their hearts to wisdom**! And of those who do, how precarious, how tedious, is the knowledge which comes by trailing the cold scent of experience, in comparison of that which is conveyed by precept and information! And on the other hand, if Philosophy is ready to prescribe the useful lessons of life, and prevent our miscarriages, how wretched is the œconomy, to make the purchase at the dear rate of our own smart and sufferings †?

For want of such proper direction, how many an honest disposition has been betrayed to shame, and how many a noble mind has lain uncultivated! for herein surely lies the great difference between a dark and enlightened age. When a race of men abate in the plenty of happy and useful productions, or in the rich shoots of fancy and imagination, a fair observer will be willing to impute it to a want of culture, not a barrenness of capacity. For to suppose that Nature could either become languid, and unequal to her own executions, or else grudge the world the blessing of a distinguished genius, and break the mould in which she used to cast them: To imagine that there has been not only a great revolution in the fate of Letters, of Arts and Sciences, but also in the minds and abilities of those who profess them, seems

* Psal. xc. 12.

† Ἡμῖν σύνεσιν ὁσημέραι, καὶ μεταδίδωσι τῆς αὐτῆς σοφίας, ἢ σοφωτέρα ἢ καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐστίν. ἀ γὰρ ἐγὼ παθὼν ἰδιδάχθην, ταῦτα πρὶν παθεῖν φυλάττεται σοφία, καὶ οὐχ, ὥσπερ οἱ ἄφρονες, πείρα διδασκόμενος. Æschin. Epist. V.

to have in it more of conceit than philosophy ; though all the Writers that have given their reflections upon this head (and there are some of name and discernment) never once disputed the fact, but differed only in their manner of accounting for it. Science itself, and all human proficiencies in it, are alike shaped to the fashion of time, its interests, and circumstances. The schemes of wisdom and contrivance have their display in the plans of government and the settlement of constitutions : the arts of eloquence are most successfully cultivated in their administration : and the more delicate and ornamental ones are best planted in their repose and tranquillity. At one time a public emulation shall engage the attention of many to a popular and prevailing science : at another the *eclat* of an extraordinary genius shall check the fervour of that very emulation, and seal up that science for hereafter. The success of some depends upon a smartness of the imagination, and happiness of apprehension, whilst others are raised by long deduction, by experiment, and the slow process of observation.

II. I obliged myself in the *second* place to lay before you some reflections upon the importance of that character which is intrusted with the conduct of education : the great duty he owes the publick, and the great obligations which are reciprocally due to him.—He is to reflect, that in this tender age, and in these seeds of time, the publick have reposed their hopes of harvest. He is forming those minds, where the outward community and domestic society, where

public peace and private happiness, are greatly interested in the cultivation. It was well said by Socrates, "that he was of much greater concern to his country by instructing youth, than if he had directed his attention to the affairs of government." There is scarce a character upon the stage of life but takes its colour and complexion from the part it first appeared in here. The next scene we commonly shift into after a school education is, where the modes of government are considerably altered, and the administration by terror and severity gives place to the milder discipline of sober counsel and moderate reproof. And now let those, who have not weighed this before, reflect but for a moment, how rare the skill, how critical the dispensation, so successfully to have administered the arguments of fear, that, when that spring of action is taken off, and the mind is in some degree become its own mistress, it shall be cool, and attentive to the voice of persuasion. Have they reflected, that the execution of that discipline, with which the publick has thought proper to intrust them, is of all others the most nice and delicate? Are they all blessed with such honesty of heart, as to be able to affirm, that the gratification of their passions has never once given an edge to their correction? On the other hand, are they all possessed of that clearness of judgment as to perceive that those terrors were lent them, not for the ordinary means of instruction; but an unwelcome reserve, rather permitted than prescribed, a violent experiment for stubborn and desperate cases, and the last stages of the distemper? The will, the heart, the affec-

tions, must be courted, not subdued. There are some truths of very great importance, which constraint and terror can never teach. Nay farther, it is the great end of a liberal institution, as was well observed by a wise Ancient, to give the mind its proper impressions, and to lead us to a voluntary and rational performance of those duties, which the vulgar and untutored are compelled to by the severity of human constitutions. The ruling principles of life must be insinuated by philosophy, not inculcated by fear. For what is life but a great system of human prudence, formed upon regular principles, conducted by steady notions, and pointed to one uniform purpose; where those, who learn betimes to give a right direction to the motions of the will, are the only people who are sure of living hereafter as they would, and of escaping the shame and discontent of that man who upon every event is forming a new set of resolutions*.

It has been the fate of other professions to have been more popular, and more favourably considered, than this: but none was ever better recommended to our esteem by the patience of the instructor, and the importance of the execution. “*Operum fastigia spectantur: latent fundamenta,*” are the words of a celebrated writer †, and one who has thrown a lustre upon this very profession. And I cannot but ex-

* Θεῖον ἡγεμόνα τῆ βίβη λαμβάνουσι τὸν λόγον, ᾧ τὰς ἐπομένους ἀξίον ἐστὶ μόνως ἐλευθέρας νομίζειν· μόνου γὰρ αὐ δεῖ βέλεισθαι μαθόντες ὡς βυλονται ζῶσι· ταῖς δὲ ἀπαιδεύτοις καὶ παραλόγοις ὄρμαῖς καὶ πράξεσιν ἀγενεῖς ἔνεσι καὶ μικρὸν ἐν πολλῶ τῷ μετανοῦντι τὸ ἐκάσιον. Plutarch. de Auditione, init.

† Quintilian. I. Proœm.

press my astonishment, that two Nations, so confessedly wise and eminent as the Greeks and Romans, should commit so delicate a point to the discharge of those to whom they grudged even the rights and rank of common humanity. And yet these are the very men, if we believe Juvenal,

“ — qui præceptorem sancti voluere parentis
Esse loco. Sat. VII. 209.

* Plutarch, in the Essay by me last cited, calls the Tutors of Youth *μισθωντὲς καὶ ἀργυρωνήτῳς*. And in his first Tract, concerning Education, are these remarkable words: Τῶν γὰρ ΔΟΥΛΩΝ τῶν σπουδαίων τὲς μὲν γεωργὲς ἀποδεικνύουσι, τὲς δὲ—ὄ, τι δ' ἂν εὐρωσιν ἈΝΔΡΑΠΟΔΟΝ οἰνόληπτον καὶ λίχνον πρὸς πᾶσαν πραγματείαν ἄχρηστον, τέτω φέροντες ὑποβάλλουσι τὲς υἱάς. What we read of Augustus, *magna quondam sterilitate, ac difficili remedio, cum venalities et lanistarum familias, peregrinosque omnis, exceptis medicis et præceptoribus, partemque servitorum urbe expulisset.* — Sueton. August. 42. is thus related by Orosius VII. 3. “Adeo dira Romanos fames consecuta est, ut Cæsar lanistarum familias, omnisque peregrinos, servorum quoque maximas copias, *exceptis medicis et præceptoribus, trudi urbe præceperit.*” This will best explain those words of Livy, V. 27. “Mos erat Faliscis eodem magistro liberorum et comite uti.” And though *comes* or *pædagogus* is not necessarily to be restrained to a servile condition (“comitem accipere debemus eum qui comitetur et sequatur, et, ut ait Labeo, *sive liberum sive servum* — Inter comites utique et pædagogi erunt,” l. 15 § 16. D. de injuriis); yet that the state of these *Literatores*, or such who taught the elements of speech, was of the more abject sort, at best but libertine, is very certain from many instances. That famous text of Mæcianus has been often quoted upon this occasion, l. 35. D. fideicom. “Gaii Cassii non est recepta sententia existimantis et heredi et legatario remittendam interdum proprii servi manumittendi necessitatem: si vel usus tam necessarius esset, ut eo carere non expediret, veluti dispensatoris, *pædagogive liberorum.*”

Indeed their interests and offices are greatly connected, and happy is it for the community and the good cause of education, when the natural father is

SEX. POMPEIVS
SEX. L. DAPHNIS
GRAM.

Et

PVDENS M. LEPIDI L. GRAMMATICVS
PROCVRATOR ERAM LEPIDÆ MORESQVE REGEBAM
DVM VIXI MANSIT CÆSARIS ILLA NVRVS
ATTEIVS PHILOLOGVS DISCIPVLVS.

Et

M. METTIVS
EPAPHRODITVS
GRAMMATICVS GRÆCVS
M. METTIVS GERMANVS L. FEC.

Et

DIIS MANIEVS S
TI. CLAVDIO AVG. LIB. GRATIO
PÆDAGOGO PVERORVM CÆRETANORVM, &c.

From Gruter. Add Spon. *Miscell. Erud. Antiq.* sect. vi. p. 227 seq. and Fabrett. *Inscript.* cap. 5. p. 361, 362. And this was the state under Severus. “In prima pueritia literatores habuit Valerium Cordum, et L. Veturium, et Aurelium Philippum libertum patris.” Lampridius in Severo init. Afterwards the profession of grammar learning grew very creditable, and was distinguished with several considerable immunities. See *Cod. lib. XI. tit. 18.* et *lib. XII. tit. 15.* Yet there always seems to have been an exception for those of the lower class, who were concerned in the elementary part of education. “Eos qui primis literis pueros inducunt, non habere vacationem D. Magnus Antoninus rescripsit.” *l. 11. D. de muneribus et honoribus.* And consonant to it is *l. 2. § 8.* of the title immediately following! “Qui pueros primas literas docent, immunitatem à civilibus muneribus non habent.”

possessed of this great truth, and *highly esteems* the other *for his work's sake* *. Of which this place has lately seen a noble instance ; an instance so recent in the memory of all who hear me, that I might have well been spared the mention of it : but withal so worthy of imitation, and administered with that greatness of sentiment, that “ his work is worthy to be praised and had in honour †.”

III. I come now to the *third* and last distribution of my subject ; which was, to address such reflections to the minds of this audience, as the occasion of this day's solemnity might fairly afford us.

One of which you may remember I suggested in the beginning of my discourse ; and that was, to remind you of the proper duty of praise and thanksgiving for the standing means of a liberal and ingenuous institution ; a blessing, which all of you have received, most of you in this place of education. And let it be said (for it may be said with great simplicity, and with great impartiality) that there is no circle of gentry, of equal distinction, whether in regard to circumstance of birth, or plenty of fortune, where the memory of it is so cheerfully supported, and the effects of it are so visibly imprinted, as that of this neighbourhood. But I would be understood to have reserved for this part of my present undertaking another application of this Anniversary, which is, to sanctify this acknowledgment to a happy issue, and to improve the grateful sacrifice of

* 1 Thess. v. 13.

† Psalm cxi. 3.

the heart into an useful lecture upon your lives and practice. Lest we should say with the Prophet: "Their Nobles have sent their little ones to the water, but they themselves came to the pits, and found no water: They returned with their vessels empty *."

The doctrine of brotherly love and Christian friendship so naturally flows from what I have suggested, that I doubt not but every man's expectation has already prevented what I had to apply: and the known unanimity and harmony of this country has in great measure prevented the necessity of the application. Give me leave only to point out to your several reflections the uncommon obligations which attend upon a friendship so liberally and so honourably contracted; which was sown together with the seeds of virtue, and grew up with the advances of an enlarged and an improved understanding. The common and ordinary combinations of mankind, whether civil or accidental, those several modes and expressions of friendship, or of that artificial brotherhood, by which we provide for the necessities or the conveniences of one another, have, according to their nature and occasions, their being and their support in our passions, our humours, and our interests. Fear points out the road to civil establishments and the more general communities; traffic, and an advance of property, collects us into combinations of trade and smaller systems of commerce: some friendships are founded upon a real likeness of

* Jerem. xiv. 3.

manners and temper, and some upon a fantastic and imaginary one. The cement of this assembly is of a very refined and very delicate cast. It is not only to keep alive and refresh that warm union, which was rooted in your tender years, in the honesty and simplicity of your natures: but also to invigorate that great principle of being useful and ornamental to your country, by thus solemnly renewing your acquaintance with that place, and those means which afforded you the first and fairest opportunities of becoming so.

That this, and whatever else is commendable and praiseworthy, may be the effects of all such occasions of assembling ourselves together, may God of his infinite mercy grant, through the merits and mediation of his son Jesus our Lord.

APPENDIX

TO

DR. TAYLOR'S SERMON

AT BISHOP-STORTFORD SCHOOL-FEAST,

CONTAINING

NOTES BY THE REV. SAMUEL PARR, LL.D.

Page 10.—On the Epistles of *Æschines*.

As Dr. Taylor makes no remark upon the passage which he quotes from the Fifth Epistle of *Æschines*, it may be proper to state, that this, and the other Epistles ascribed to *Æschines*, have no better claim to genuineness than the Epistles of *Themistocles*, *Socrates*, *Euripides*, and others, and the Fables of *Æsop*, upon which *Bentley* wrote the Dissertation subjoined to his celebrated work on *Phalaris*. See page 391 of *Bentley* on *Phalaris*, published at London 1777. The same Dissertation is prefixed to the Latin Translation of *Bentley* on *Phalaris* published at *Leipsic* 1781. See page 852, vol. II. of the "*Bibliotheca Græca Fabricii*," by *Harles*. The suppressed Epistles of *Æschines* are in number twelve, and it is proper to subjoin Taylor's opinion about them. "*Quænam sint abjudicandæ, si quæras, sive tanto auctore indignæ; sive nota aliqua inustæ, quæ*

novitatem arguere possit, hoc ex me, inquam, si quæras, aio, prædico, confirmo, et pronuncio omnes XII proscribendas protinus, et eliminandas esse." P. 749, tom. II. of Taylor's edition of Demosthenes and Æschines.

"Doctissimus Gallus, qui, in Actis Literariis Parisiensibus, Æschinis vitam consignavit, primus eas in dubium vocavit, eo monito contentus, neque amplius progressus. Multa vero contulere ad fidem earum levandan, quæ jam cum lectore communicavi, suspicionibus meis, non tamen omnibus, frequenter interspersis, duo eruditi viri, Cl. Jer. Marklandus et Thomas Clerkius." Ibidem, p. 761.

I have ever been accustomed to look with respect and affection upon the merits of Dr. Taylor, because the simplicity of his heart, and the candour of his spirit, were quite worthy of his sound judgment and extensive erudition. The reader then will, I hope, not be offended with me for contrasting the opinions and the example of Taylor with the acrimony which every wise and good man must lament, as he finds it often prevalent in the discussions of verbal critics.

"In hac quoque notularam mantissa pulchram satis opportunitatem mihimet comparasse videor, ut subductis probe rationibus, et pensitato mecum meo commentandi caractere, nonnullorum hominum reprehensiones deprecarer, si qui id, quod in criticorum laboribus maxime sit solenne, in nostris expectarent: nempe, ut quos in eadem palæstra mecum desudasse conspexerim, eos omnis conviciis probrisque proscinderem, malaque ingererem multa. Meus longe aliter fuit animus et sententia, diuque

mecum dolui, humanissima studia profitentes humana omnia à se aliena existimare. Veterum ea fuit sententia, ut Mercurium Gratiis πάρεδρον locarent, ὡς μάλιστα τῆ λόγῳ τὸ συγκεχαρισμένον, καὶ προσφιλέσ ἀιτῆντος. Plutarch, Dissert. Moral. 3. Quosnam ergo decebit magis ab omni acerbitate orationis, abesse, atque (ut Plato de Xenocrate dixit) τᾶις χάρισι θύειν, quam in liberalissimis disciplinis enutritos, in literis cultissimis exercitatos, qui denique in docendo flectendoque animum legis mediocrem artificii sui partem poni viderint? Unum quod adtinet Andream Schottum Antverpiensem, siquid à me intemperanter nimis excidit, siquid ejus in Rep. literaria existimatione indignum, aut mea in eadem novitate, habeto id omne mihi jam defervescente ingenio atque in se redeunte, serio displicuisse." See Taylor's Lysias, quarto edit. page 675.

Markland was the friend of Taylor; and, in justice to the memory of these two excellent men, as well as of their illustrious contemporaries Hemsterhuis and Wesseling, I will subjoin, from the Dedication of his "Supplices Mulieres" a passage which in matter and in spirit harmonizes with the preceding quotation from the Lysias of Taylor.

"Petit a vobis (scil. Tiberio Hemsterhusio et Petro Wesselingio) hujus Dramatis Commentator, ut sine offensâ sibi licuerit vestra nomina, πρόσωπον τηλαυγές, Fabulæ præfixisse;

"Non quòd ob eruditionem, in qua neminem superiorem habetis, beatos vos et prædicandos existimat; neque ob judicium, quod in vobis pari passu cum eruditione incedit. Ea parvi æstimat præ ama-

bilibus istis animi dotibus, quæ non nisi veræ eruditionis, et recti iudicii fructus sunt effectusque, modestiâ, candore, et humanitate; quibus vos præditi, omnibus hominibus prodesse cupitis; neminem læditis; ne obloquio quidem, usitato isto literarum hodiernarum condimento. Sit anima mea vobiscum!

“Quò enim eruditionis nomen, si barbarorum animos retineamus? Quò simulationem rei optimæ, si absit veritas? Quid prodest, si pro mitibus, probis, simplicibus, ingenuis, modestis, benevolis erga omnes homines, quales promittit *Literata Institutio*; ea nos demittat feroces, maledicos, versutos, insolentes, malignos, implacabiles omnibus qui à nobis dissentire ausi fuerint, etiam in nugis?”

“Longè aliter vos, reverà eruditi; non ad famam hominum, neque ad speciem, compositi. Apud vos nihil illiberale, nihil ferox et truculentum: mitia omnia, modesta, ingenua; concordix Mysis, et humanitati convenientia. Quò fit, ut vestrâ disciplinâ exemplisque excitata patria juvenus, ad æmulationem morum atque eruditionis vestræ feliciter succreverit. Utinam exemplum ad vicinos nostros, mari disjunctos, pertineret!”

Upon a subject so interesting to the credit of Literature, I gladly and sincerely profess myself σύμφορα, σύμφωνον, σύμψηφον, with Markland and Taylor.

“Equidem sic mihi persuasi, humanitatis imprimis esse, leniter ferre aliter sentientes; nihilque esse turpius, quam humanitatem professos, in officio, cujus magistri esse volumus, labi et peccare; *et dum sequimur probabilia, in quibus ultra id, quod veri-*

simile occurrerit, progredi non possumus, esse nobis Ciceronem autorem adhibendum, qui et refellere jubet sine pertinaciâ et refelli sine iracundiâ." See page 17 of the Preface to the Reply of Olaus Wormius to the objections which Wolfius had started against the genuineness of the Speech for Marcellus commonly ascribed to Cicero.

This work of Wormius was published Havnix 1803.

Page 13.—On the passage from Plutarch.

The passage quoted by Taylor is to be found, p. 37, vol. II. edit. Xyland. In the Catalogue which Lamprias gave De Scriptis Patris sui Plutarchi, the title is *περὶ τῆ ἀκείνῃ τῶν Φιλοσόφων*. Wytttenbach says, "Quod in Lampriæ Catalogo additur τῶν Φιλοσόφων, probandum est hactenus, quatenus diserte significat libri argumentum, quod non est de *audiendo* universe, sed de *audiendis philosophorum scholis*, iis nimirum quæ ad *moralem doctrinam παινετικὴν* pertinent. An illud τῶν φιλοσόφων ab ipso sit Plutarcho dubitari potest; siquidem hic in ipso libro ejus argumentum simpliciter verbo ἀκείνῃ, vel ἀκροᾶσθαι appellet: veluti in ipso principio, *σχολὴν περὶ τῆ ἀκείνῃ*, tum p. 38 D. E. 39 B. E. 43 E. 44 C. 45 D. 46 B. C. 48 D. et vocabulis, ἀκροᾶσθαι, ἀκροατῆς, ἀκρόασις, p. 38 C. D. F. 39. D. 40, A. C. D. 41, B. C. D. E. 42, E. 42, E. 43, A. B. D. F. 44, A. C. E. 45, B. C. E. F. 48 D. Et simplex ἀκείνῃ de discipulis, qui magistris, præsertim, operam dant, item compositum διακείνῃ. Sed utrumque non nisi genitivo magistri vel do-

centis." Vide Animadvers. Wytttenbach in Plutarch, vol. I. p. 303.

"Hic liber inscribendus erat *de Recitatione*. Agitur enim in eo de veterum recitationibus, et quod in iis agendum sit auditori." Heumannus.

Reiske supposes the work to be written by Plutarch when he was very old. See vol. V. p. 178, of the Bibliotheca Græca Fabricii by Harles.

To Wytttenbach's judicious remarks upon ἀκέειν I may without impropriety subjoin his explanation of the word νέον in his observations de proposito libri πῶς δέι νέον ποιημάτων ἀκέειν. Discentem, quem hoc libro instituit Plutarchus, vocat νέον Juvenem: hoc tanquam honestiore nomine significans eum, quem communi usu παῖδα puerum vocare poterat. Etenim Poetarum lectio, certe initia ejus, erant puerilis institutionis, tradita à Grammaticis. Sed apud Grammaticum puer ad ætatem fere adultam manebat: inde transferebatur ad Rhetorem, qui sua item institutione, cum tractatione optimorum solutæ orationis scriptorum lectionem quoque Poetarum complectebatur: ut et aliunde colligitur, ac diserte prodit Quintilianus Inst. Orat. II. 2. Sed Plutarchus *docentem* universe nominat, nec nominatim Grammaticum, aut Rhetorem, aut Philosophum, discentem vocat νέον." Vide Animadvers. Wytttenbach, vol. I. p. 159.

There was a tradition, when I was a young man, that Cornelius Nepos and Plutarch were highly esteemed by Taylor. His predilection for these excellent Authors does credit, in my opinion, to his sagacity and his taste. I know not how far he was

led to suspect the genuineness of the *Laconica Apothegmata*, the *Treatise de Placitis Philosophorum*, and other works, which in the judgment of very profound critics have been improperly ascribed to Plutarch. But I am sure that he would have assented to the acute and learned reasoning of Wytttenbach in his “*Disputatio quâ ostenditur Scriptorem Libri de Puerorum Educatione non esse Plutarchum Chæronensem.*” The conclusion resembles that good sense and candour which we always find in Taylor: “*Itane, dicat quis,*” says Wytttenbach, “*nullam huic libello laudis, utilitatisque partem relinquis? Non equidem plane abjiciendum censeam.* In spuriis haud postremo est loco: melior et antiquior est illis, *de Nobilitate, de Fluviis Parallelorum Gr. et R. Scriptiunculis.* Habet laudem, ut adolescentis Chreia. See *Animadvers.* vol. I. page 64. Every man of learning must, I think, be convinced by the criticisms of Wytttenbach, as they are to be found from page 29 to page 64 in the above-mentioned *Animadversions.*

I will take this opportunity of recommending to Scholars a book from which I have derived the most valuable information. The title is, “*De Fontibus, et Auctoritate Vitarum Parallelarum Plutarchi Commentationes Quatuor.* Auctore A. H. L. Heeren. Gottingen, 1820.”

Page 14.—*Qui præceptorem sancti voluere parentis
Esse loco.*

We have the same thought in Quintilian. “*Plura de officiis docentium locutus, discipulos id unum in-*

terim moneo: ut præceptores suos non minus, quam ipsa studia ament: et parentes esse, non quidem corporum, sed mentium credant." Quintil. lib. 2. c. 10, par. 9.

A similar, though perhaps not equal honour, was sometimes bestowed upon persons, who in capacities inferior to that of the preceptor, were entrusted with the care of the young.—“ Educator (says Vicat, in his *Vocabularium Juris utriusque*) ita vocatur, qui educat tenellum, alias nutritius, τροφῆς, ut in marmore: *nutricio suo et matri bene merenti*. Tales educatores, parentum honore digni censebantur;” l. i. de Obs. Par. Unde “ Et mater, quæ in hoc marmore nutricio jungitur, nutrix videri potest, uti apud Plaut. in *Menæchm.* Prolog. v. 19.

Ita forma simili pueri, uti mater sua
Non internosse posset quæ mammam dabat,
Neque adeo mater ipsa, quæ illos pepererat.”

See Vicat in Voce EDUCATOR.

Page 14, note.

Dr. Taylor seems to have confounded the Pedagogue with the Preceptor; but it may be worth while to distinguish them.

A Pedagogue is generally used by us in a contemptuous sense;—the word is defined by Johnson, “ one who teaches boys, a pedant.” “ To pedagogue,” he explains, is—“ to teach with superciliousness.” He quotes from Milton the “ tetter of pedagogism that bespeaks him,” and from South’s Sermons on Education he cites, under the word “ pedagogical,” “ those pedagogical Jehus—those furious school-drivers.”

Pedant, according to Johnson, is “a man of no knowledge, awkwardly ostentatious of his literature.” Now it will appear from Quintilian that, among the Romans, the Pedagogue was often a man of very confined learning, and that, like other sciolists, he was extremely conceited. “De pædagogis hoc amplius, ut aut sint eruditi plane, quam primam esse curam velim: aut, se non esse eruditos sciunt. Nihil enim pejus est iis, qui paullum aliquid ultra primas literas progressi, falsam sibi scientiæ persuasionem induerunt. Nam et cedere præcipiendi peritis indignantur, et velut jure quodam potestatis; qua fere hoc genus hominum intumescit, imperiosi atque interim sævientes, stultitiam suam perdocent.” Quintil. lib. I. cap. i. par. 8, page 9, edit. Gesner.

The business of the Pedagogue was for him to be the constant companion of a boy, and, in all probability, before he was placed under the care of a more learned teacher; and while he was under the Pedagogue, his pronunciation was to be watched. “Si non continget quales maxime velim, nutrices pueros habere; pædagogus at unus certe sit assiduus, dicendi non imperitus, qui, si qua erunt ab his præsentem alumno dicta vitiose, corrigat protinus, nec insidere illi sinat.” Quintil. edit. Gesner, vol. I. page 9. The Pedagogue attended his pupils at public spectacles. Hence Suetonius says of Augustus, “Prætextatis cuneum suum et proximum Pædagogis assignavit.” Suet. in Vitâ August. cap. 44. This uninterrupted attendance upon their pupils explains what Suetonius says of Galba: “Regebatur trium arbitrio, quos una et intra palatium habitantes, nec unquam non

adhærentes, Pædagogos vulgo vocabant. Hi erant T. Vinus, Cornelius Laco, et libertus Icelus, Martiani cognomine ornatus." Suet. in Vitâ Galbæ, cap. 14.

The note of Pitiscus runs thus: "Pædagogos quemadmodum dicimus educatores *ductoresque* puerorum, quibus continenter adhærent, ita Pædagogos vulgo vocaverunt, qui instar Pædagogorum rexerunt Galbam."

And upon the word "adhærent" we have in the note two lines from Plautus in a passage which I shall just now quote at large, and also the following words of Petronius :

Ego Pædagogus et custos, etiam quo non jusseris, sequar." Petron. c. 53.

In Petronius we read "Pædagogus et custos," and from Horace we may learn that the office of the "pædagogus" was the same as that of the "custos."

"Imberbis juvenis, tandem custode remoto,
Gaudet equis canibusque." Art. Poet. v. 161.

Of his father Horace says,

"Ipse mihi custos incorruptissimus omnes
Circum Doctores aderat." Sat. VI. b. i. v. 81.

The peculiar duties and power of a Pedagogue may be understood from Plautus. Lydus speaks thus of his own son, and the son of his friend Philoxenus: Non sino, neque equidem illum me vivo corrumpi sinam.

Sed tu, qui tam pro corrupto dicis causam filio,
Eademne erat hæc disciplina tibi, cum tu adolescens eras?

Nego tibi hoc annis viginti fuisse primis copiæ,

Digitum longè a Pædagogopedem ut efferres ædibus;
Ante solem exorientem, nisi in palæstram veneras.

* * * * *

Cum librum legeres, si unam peccavisses syllabam
 Fieret corium tam maculosum, quam est nutricis
 pallium.

PH. Alii, Lyde, nunc sunt mores. LY. Id equidem
 ego certo scio.

Nam olim populi prius honorem capiebat suffragio,
 Quam magistro desinebat esse dicto obediens.
 At nunc priusquam septennis est, si attingaseum manu,
 Extemplo puer Pædagogo tabula dirumpit caput.
 Cum Patrem adeas postulatam, puero sic dicit Pater:
 Noster esto, dum te poteris defensare injuriâ.
 Provocatur Pædagogus: eho senex minimi pretii,
 Ne adtingas puerum istac causâ, quando fecit strenue
 It magister, quasi lucerna uncto expretus linteo.

Bacchid. Act III. sc. 3.

In this passage we see the necessity imposed upon the Pedagogue to be continually attendant upon his young pupil, the humble province of instruction assigned to him, the right he had to correct the offender, and the resistance occasionally made by insolent boys and their indulgent fathers.

In cap. ii. "De Vitâ Tiberii Claudii Drusi Cæsaris," Suetonius says, "Diu, atque etiam post tutelam receptam, alieni arbitrii, et sub Pædagogo fuit." Pitiscus has this note: "Pedagogum describit Clem. Alex. Pædag. 1. 7. ὁ καθηγόμενος τῶν παιδίων παιδαγωγὸς νεόμενος, ὁ τῶν νηπίων κηδεμονικὸς ποιμήν, Pædagogi, olim non liberi, sed servi erant."

V. Plutarch, *περὶ παιδείας*, p. 4. A. Ulpian, Digest. 40. 2. 13.

The reference to Ulpian induces me to state *in transitu*, that in the Roman Law the "Pædagogus" was not only he "qui pueris præerat," but one "qui pueris pædagogianis in principis palatio præfici-batur;" and that the "pædagogiani pueri" were those "qui in palatio principis ministrabant." See Vical. Juris utriusque Vocabularium in VV. Pæda-gogus et Pædagogianus."

It is plain then that Taylor has not sufficiently distinguished between the Preceptor and the Pædagogus; that the qualifications required for the former were more important, and his condition more honourable. Hence Quintilian writes, "Optimus quisque Præceptor frequentiâ gaudet, ac majore se theatro dig-num putat. At vero minores ex conscientiâ suâ infirmitatis hærere singulis, et officio fungi quodam modo Pædagogorum non indignantur." Quintil. lib. i. cap. 2. par. 10.

The inscriptions which Taylor has quoted are to be found in pages 652 and 653 of Gruter's Inscric-tions by Scaliger and Grævius, two vols. folio, Am-sterdam, 1707. It may not be improper to add, that upon Pedagogues there are seven Inscricptions in page 585, one in p. 586, and two in 1111. Some of the Inscricptions are expressive of great affection. Similar expressions of kindness occur upon ancient marbles, to the honour even of Nurses as well as Pe-dagogues; and in the Dramatis Personæ to the Electra of Sophocles we have the words Παιδείας Τροφούς.

I will produce an instance or two of Inscriptions to Nurses :

L. Trebonivs
 Philetvs
 Lictor
 Ivniae
 Glaphyrae
 Nvtrici
 Karissimae
 Ivniivs Ivlianvs.

V. Muratorius, p. CMLXXXI.

D. M.
 Veneriae
 Nvtrici
 B. M.
 Conservae
 Adjectvs
 Posvit
 H. S. E.

V. Muratorius, page CMLXXXII.

There is an Inscription of the Nurse to the Alumnus in Muratorius, page CMLXXXII.

There is an Inscription of the Nurse, Parents, and Avia to the Child in page MCXXXII.

There is an Inscription of Nurse and Avia to the Alumnus in page MCLXXXI.

In Muratorius there are Inscriptions to Pædagogi in pages 936, 955, 956, 961, 972, and 1036.

Page 16.

The "noble instance" alluded to by Dr. Taylor will be illustrated by the extract transcribed

below * from that valuable treasure-house of Literary Anecdotes, the well-received “Memoirs of Bowyer;”

* Dr. Thomas Tooke was educated at St. Paul's School, under the learned Dr. Gale, and more especially under the care of Mr. Fox, to whom he owed many obligations, and to whose family he was a constant and generous benefactor. He was admitted in Bene't College, Cambridge, under the tuition of Dr. Cory, 12 Oct. 1685; B. A. 1689; and, the learned Dr. Spencer with the body having a just regard to his talents and improvement, he was chosen a Fellow 20 Nov. 1690, upon the cession of Mr. Jolland. He took the degree of M. A. 1693; having about that period been appointed Master of the ancient Grammar School at Bishop's-Stortford, at a time when its reputation was quite in ruins, and had nothing to recommend it but the name of Leigh (father and son) not even yet out of mind; but he raised it to a great degree of fame, as the numbers sent by him to his own and other Colleges attested; and considerably increased the trade of the town by such a beneficial concourse. The gentlemen of Hertfordshire and Essex having, at his earnest request and intreaty, re-built the school, he took great pains to procure the sums necessary for completing it, from those who had been educated in that town. The new school stood in the High-street, with the West front to the church-yard, consisting of three rooms, which, with the stair-case, made a square building, one of which was the Grammar-school, and took up the half of it, all the front to the street; the other two were a Library and Writing-school. These were upon arches, under which were a market and shops, the property of the parish. June 23, 1699, on his marriage with Anne, one of the daughters of Richard Lydal, M. D. Warden of Merton College, Oxford, he resigned his Fellowship; and having, by honest application and industry, raised the school to great repute, and acquired a large fortune, he purchased, in 1701, the manor of Bumpstead Hall in Essex. He took the degree of D. D. in 1702; by which time the Library was well furnished by his diligence; as he continually added to it at his own expence, and procured a great number of valuable authors from gentlemen who had been his scholars. By his interest also and care, the gallery in the church for the use of the school was erected. He revived the annual School-feast, charging his estate with a yearly present to the Preacher on that occasion; and gave, by his will, 10*l.* for books to be added to the Library, and to the church a chalice of 20*l.* value. [The books of this Library, to the amount of some thousand volumes, together with two fine original portraits in oil, the one of Dr. Leigh, the venerable Founder, and the other of the no less meritorious Dr. Thomas Tooke, the Re-founder of the School, lie now thrown together in a hired room at Bishops-Stortford, under the custody of Dr. Robert Dimsdale, brother to the late, and uncle to the present, Baron Dimsdale, the only surviving Trustee. What

where may be seen some other interesting particulars respecting Dr. THOMAS TOOKE, and the School at

is to be their destiny hereafter it is not possible to divine. Perhaps, upon application to the Lord High Chancellor, a decree might be obtained for incorporating them with some other Public Library, or, at least, for disposing of them in such way as to be of permanent service to the community.]—June 17, 1707, Dr. Tooke was presented by John Sandford, esq. to the Rectory of Lamborn in that county; in 1712 he bought the advowson of Lamborn; and in the same year he purchased Manuden Hall in the same county from Mr. William Calvert. In 1713 he sold Bumpstead Hall, and bought the Manor of Priors, in the parish of Lamborn. He gave in his life-time 20*l.* to Bene't College, towards the increase of their Library, and providing an Oration in the Hall on the 29th of May; and, by his will, gave them in present the perpetual advowson of the Rectory of Great Brackstead, which he had purchased some time before of the Duke of Norfolk; and the reversion of that of Lamborn, which they were not to have till 50 years after his death. And it was thought by his friends that he would have been a more considerable benefactor to the Society, had they elected him their Master, or gratified him by the choice of his friend Dean Moss.

Dr. Tooke died May 24, 1721, aged 54, after more than 30 years' intent and successful labours; and was buried in Lamborn church, where the following inscription, written by his friend Dean Moss, was placed on his monument:

“ Qui pedem huc infers, Æternitatis Contemplator,
imprudens ne calces eruditos Cineres.
Astas ad Tumulum THOMÆ TOOKE, S.T.P.
Vir is Linguarum, Artium, Rerum peritissimus,
sed præter cætera egregiè natus atque aptus fuit
ad puerilem ætatem plectandam et formandam,
frænis calcaribusque indoli cujusque accommodatis:
Ingeniorum sagacissimus Inspector et Judex,
idemque lenissimus Dux et Moderator:
In docendo tam patiens, aded non iracundus:
ut personam irati pro re natâ induerit,
ne Disciplinæ habenas nimis laxas haberet:
Morum tamen tum vigilantissimus Custos,
tum rigidus ubi opus esset Castigator et Corrector:
Hoc quippe Magistro præcipuè cavendum duxit,
ne Discipuli sui è Scholâ ac Tyrocinio egressi,
bonas literas vitis turpiter inquinatas,
quasi pestem Ecclesiæ et Reipublicæ importarent.
Quod ad privatas laudes, priscâ fuit pietate et fide,
pectoris omninè aperti, candidi, honesto incocti,
humanitate conditi, referti benevolentia,
eâque in amicos effusissima, officiosissima.”

Bishop-Stortford, over which he for many years most creditably presided *.

* In the archives of Bishop-Stortford School he thus appears :

“ D. Thomas Tooke, S.T.P. Collegii Corporis Christi quondam socius, postea ecclesiæ parochialis de Lambourn in agro Essex rector, scholæ de Stortford Ep'i per xxx & amplius ann. archididascalus dignissimus simul ac felicissimus ; qui cum literis & moribus bonis juventutæ erudiendæ & formandæ ætatem contriverit, ut post mortem etiam rei literariæ consuleret & studiosis prodesset, decem libras ad augendum armarium scholæ suæ, & viginti solidis quotannis pro concione ad annum festum scholarium habendâ extremis testamentis legavit; quam quidem summam si quo anno nullum festum agerent scholares libris coëmendis in usum bibliothecæ scholæ suæ impendi jussit. Quâ donatione coëmpta sunt, 1738, Phavorini Lexicon Græc. fol. ; Cyrilli, Philoxeni, aliorumque Glossaria.”

The learned Mr. Thomas Baker, in a Letter to his friend Hearne, observes, that the character given of him in a Sermon by the same Gentleman, is justly his due ; viz. “ Should I undertake to tell you how much that worthy person deserves, who for many years has bestowed his labours so usefully amongst you, you are witnesses and judges of this too ; and I am loth to make his praise his penance. And indeed he will leave so many living monuments of learned pains and care in the neighbourhood and the whole country ; that there can be no need of doing justice to his reputation, or preserving his memory any other way.” And Dr. Knight, who places him among the eminent Scholars of St. Paul's, says, “ that such was his reputation as a Schoolmaster, that he had the refusal of both the Public Schools of Norwich and St. Edmund's Bury.”

In Knight's Life of Dean Colet, I find the following paragraph:

“ Thomas Tooke, D. D. born at Dover in Kent, was bred under Dr. Thomas Gale, Master of St. Paul's School ; from under whose care he was removed to Corpus Christi, or Bene't College, in Cambridge ; where he became Fellow of that Society, and continued so many years. He afterwards became Master of Bishop-Stortford School, in Hertfordshire ; which, by his great industry, and happy way of teaching and governing, he raised to very great fame : so that for many years it flourished among the very best in the kingdom, and sent out many excellent scholars. It still continues to keep up an anniversary or school-feast for the gentlemen educated therein. The present Archbishop of York [Sir William Dawes], the Rev. Dr. Robert Moss, Dean of Ely, Dr. Nicholas Clagett, now Archdeacon of Bucks, &c. have honoured these meetings by preaching on that occasion.”



A S E R M O N

PREACHED BEFORE THE

HONOURABLE HOUSE OF COMMONS,

AT ST. MARGARET'S, WESTMINSTER,

ON FRIDAY THE 11TH DAY OF FEBRUARY, 1757;

Being the Day appointed by Proclamation for a GENERAL FAST and Humiliation before Almighty God, to be observed in a most devout and solemn manner, by sending up our Prayers and Supplications to the Divine Majesty: for obtaining Pardon of our Sins, and for averting those heavy Judgments which our manifold Provocations have most justly deserved; and imploring His Blessing and Assistance on the Arms of His Majesty by Sea and Land, and for restoring and perpetuating Peace, Safety, and Prosperity to Himself, and to His Kingdoms.

BY JOHN TAYLOR, LL. D.

CHANCELLOR OF THE DIOCESE OF LINCOLN.



A S E R M O N

PREACHED BEFORE

THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,

FEBRUARY 11, 1757.

Judges xx. 23.

And the children of Israel went up, and wept before the Lord until even, and asked counsel of the Lord, saying, Shall I go up again to battle against the children of Benjamin, my brother? and the Lord said, Go up against him.

THE present occasion of our assembling ourselves together may not in all respects agree with the circumstances of the children of Israel, at that period of their history, from whence the words of my text are taken: We may not exactly represent them in the nature of their dispute, or in the condition of the adversary; but their behaviour in that situation draws us somewhat near together. They “wept” and fasted “until even, and asked counsel of the Lord, saying, Shall I go up to battle” against my enemy? And God grant, that the seriousness of

this day's devotion may warrant me to draw the remaining lines of the resemblance, and give me assurance to finish the picture in the words and authority of the Lord, "Go up against him!"

But whatever shall be thought of the likeness, the lesson to be drawn from their circumstances is worth our attention. Common experience and a small acquaintance with history will assure us, that the event of every battle is not always with the wisdom of counsels, or the arm of strength; and the particular history before us will inform us also, that it is not always the justice of the quarrel. For though the children of Israel acted upon the fairest principles, and moreover seemed to go up to battle under the engagement of Providence, yet God, who knows the proper season of accomplishing his purpose, and of making good his word, for a while withheld his countenance, till after forty thousand of those that drew the sword were slain, even of those to whom He had given a commission to draw it.

And this should lead us, therefore, to consider and lament that unhappy situation, where the duty we owe to ourselves and our country, and the preservation of our justest rights, may possibly be attended with the most unwelcome circumstances. For victory, with all its blessings in the conclusion, will sometimes, like old age, which is accounted to have its blessings also, make us look back with a hollow eye upon those means, which have impoverished our spirits, have drained our blood, and shaken the sinews of our strength.

It is upon these reflections, that we are conducted from distress to duty ; and from the doubtful issues of war, and the certain effects of its calamity, to call upon God, in the most serious manner, that in the abundance of his loving-kindness, He would be pleased to fashion the event of the one, and soften the rigours of the other. And for this purpose we are commanded by authority to examine every one the secrets of his own bosom, to bewail the many articles of our private transgressions, which have now swelled to a popular account, and to restrain, if possible, that deluge of ungodliness, which has risen above measure, and covered the face of the land.

It has been a subject of inquiry, how, and with what propriety, a whole nation can be said to sin and to suffer ; how the faults of private people can mix with the fate and interests of government ; and with what degree of justice the enormities of one age shall be avenged upon another : not prosecuted with the eagerness of human judgments, but treasured up for a third or fourth generation. In which speculations, though much has been well observed, yet much must be left also for the discoveries of that day, when God will not only disclose the secrets of men's hearts, but also those of his own just and gracious administration.

Civil society, says a great Writer of Antiquity *, in words not unlike those I make use of, however complicated in its texture and materials, yet preserves all the ideas of unity and continuity with the most phi-

* Plutarch, de sera Numinis vindicta.

losophical exactness. He observes moreover, that one and the same person, in the compass of a very few years, when viewed in the different lights of youth and age, after passions and infirmities shall have altered the complexion of his blood, and follies and irresolutions have unsettled the basis of his temper, such an one shall discontinue insensibly all the notions of sameness, and be set at a greater distance from himself than many times can be apprehended in the lineaments of a public body, which has maintained its system for a course of many centuries. Several nations of the world are not better understood or remembered by the frame of the constitution, than by the complexion of their manners; those national ethics, which attend them as a people, and contribute to form a public character. I should perhaps be more easily understood, if I was to instance in the constitutional courage of a great nation of the old world, which has raised them high in the esteem and judgment of posterity, and then observe a remarkable contrast in some of those nations they subdued, whose effeminacy of manners and indolence of temper were the only features by which they chose, and by which they continue, to be remembered. And not to go wide, for example, the restless ambition of some of our neighbours, the jealousy of one nation, and the insincerity of another, are titles interwoven into their public consideration. And, in consequence of these reflections, who cannot figure to himself an industrious people, acting under all the care and circumspection of a private man, who manages a small revenue to a good

advantage; and raising itself, upon the maxims of thrift and economy, into credit and respect: or has not read, or remembered the large dominions of others, either through a canker which eats into an ill-gotten fortune, or through the waste which attends a neglected one, mouldering away by degrees, and the house they inhabited divided among strangers.

To pursue this scheme of public, or political identity; it is a principle, not only fair in its conclusions, but a proper basis, on which many acts of a public nature are founded. To this we owe the distinction of families, the descent of honours, and the ennobling of blood. The man who serves his country by his public virtues, connects himself in a secret manner with the perpetuity and continuance of that society which his arms protected, or his councils administered: but since, through the condition of mortality, and the frail state of human nature, that single character is allowed only to act his part, and then is heard no more; the streams of civil society, while they keep on their course down the valley of time, carry with them the sense and memory of their benefactors, and reflect the lustre upon those who are left to represent them. In like manner the wisest governments have dealt with crimes of a public nature and consideration, and entailed upon families the blot of infamy and reprobation, and all the severities of confiscation and attainders. It is fitting the stain of dishonour should remain somewhere, while that polity remains, which bears in its body the wounds and bruises, the marks and circumstances of the offence.

But public societies, moreover, as they act like men in their single separate capacities, may in like manner with them be affected also. The political body, like the natural, may be said to enjoy the comforts of health, when it stands clear of all those foul and unhappy humours, which contribute to the weakening or convulsing, or any way endangering the constitution from within: and states must feel, like individuals, when unavoidable disputes shall tend to interrupt a correspondence, which their wants or inclinations, the circumstance of situation, or the terms of friendship, shall lead them to cultivate from without.

But above all the instances which connect the considerations of man and society, I come now to observe upon one which is perhaps of all the most striking. Though there is an apparent stability or perpetuity in the frame of most governments that we are acquainted with, yet there is a period beyond which they cannot pass, and, in this instance at least, they do not differ from the condition of individuals, but must “die like men *,” and fall as one of the frail subjects of mortality.

And here let me rest for a moment, whilst every man that hears me shall put this serious question to his conscience and his apprehensions, *What reason he has to conclude, that this period is not wound up, nor this day approaching?* The vulgar and the hardened, the dissipated and the thoughtless, may make light of these fears; but to a sober judgment we seem to stand upon the precipice of a

* Psalm lxxxii. 7.

whole nation's guilt, upon an eminence to which we have been raised insensibly, by improving upon the sins and wickednesses of those who went before us. How bitter is the reflection, to look upon ourselves as a people, who in some degree may appear to have worn out the patience and long-suffering of God Almighty; and to consider, that possibly the last wheel in the great machine of Providence, which disposes of the kingdoms of the earth, that levels one and raises another, has now begun its motions? It may be reasonable to imagine, that the complicated scenes of God's judgments, under which this nation groans at present, may not be meant, as they sometimes are, for the acts of tenderness, to call us to amendment, but the strokes of justice to correct, and cut us off for our insensibility. The rebukes, with which the history of this nation so plentifully abounds, are so many vials of God's wrath poured upon us in a steady course of discipline: we have been delivered over from fear to fear, and distinguished by the number, as well as measure, of public calamities. Every visitation looked terrible, till we found it the prelude only of another more terrible than the former. The Lord hath not delayed to execute his fierce anger, "as some men count slackness *," but our judgments, as well as our sins, have been brought to account, and our *life*, in the language of the Psalmist, may be said to have "waxen old with heaviness †." "Ita feri, ut se mori sentiat ‡," was the wantonness of

* 2 Pet. iii. 9.

† Psalm xxxi. 11.

‡ Sueton. Calig. c. xxx.

power in a Roman Emperor, who punished all offenders alike: and God grant that the sins of this people may not have made something like this sentence appear as an act of justice now.

To pass by the melancholy recital of the last age, I need not mention how we became a bye-word among the nations for trampling upon the honours of the Crown, and all the rights of majesty in the person of a suffering Prince: or how God raised up an instrument of vengeance in the person of one of his sons and successors, to threaten the liberties of the people. It was in that age that God's judgments began to go forth in the words of the Prophet, like "the canker-worm and the catterpillar*," and the fire destroyed what the pestilence had left. And lastly, the memory of thousands, almost the same generation of men, could recollect, that they had been twice upon the brink of popery and perdition. But to wave the beginning of sorrows, the present century set out in a bloody and expensive war with the same restless enemy we are engaged with now: and before it could finish half its course, thrice we have been insulted with invasions, and as often disturbed with rebellions; twice, and each time for a long continuance, have we felt the apprehensions of famine, when God Almighty "smote" us in our herds and our cattle, the labourer "in the labour of his hands †," and the whole kingdom in the means of their sustenance. Nay, even while I am speaking, how many of the "poor" are there that "cry" for want, and "there is no helper ‡:"

* Joel i. 4.

† Hag. xi. 17.

‡ Psalm xviii. 41.

that "eat" their "bread," I will not ask by what kind of "weight, and drink up water with astonishment *?" Who can forget that memorable year, which brought a reproach upon the faith of commerce, when our credit and our morals almost became bankrupt together, when the seeds of gaming, which have so miserably distinguished us since, seem to have taken root, and avarice and luxury were inflamed to a degree, unknown to former ages the most luxurious and avaricious? How often have we been alarmed with the apprehensions of pestilence at our very gates? And very lately, when God "arose to shake terribly the earth †," "and all faces gathered blackness ‡," it was then, I am loth to say for the first time, the spirit of devotion seemed to rise high among us, and our sorrows kept some measure with our sins; and yet, when the danger began to wear away in appearance, I fear to ask the question, did not this people return to their vices with the same appetite as before, and make their sins as memorable as their repentance? Our behaviour under one judgment has called down the vengeance of a second: we have trod the melancholy round of suffering, repenting, and sinning: in every stage of our afflictions the hardness of our hearts has kept pace with God's judgments, and (not to press upon the sorrow of Princes, which should be as sacred as their crowns,) the arm of God has been raised at least to teach us in a tender part, and smote an offending people in the *first-born* of the kingdom.

* Ezek. iv. 6.

† Isaiah ii. 19.

‡ Joel ii. 6.

But as if the chastisement of God was not meant for reproof; as if the sword was only drawn as a common and necessary expedient between nations, and no edge was given it, but what the parties in dispute were willing to allow it; no warning seems able to affect us: but the sins of this people have the best title to be esteemed national, as any I ever heard of: are either epidemic in the practice on the one hand, or on the other, so black and corrosive, that no wonder, if, “when one member suffers, all the members should suffer with it*,” “the whole head” should be “sick,” and “the whole heart be faint †.”

Of the former sort is that excessive love of gaming, which, like a rust, devours the substance of those who rejoice in a good fortune, and is the scandalous profession of many who have none. It has been improved into lesson and system by men of skill and experience: and with the men of leisure, has past from innocent amusement into all the depth and refinement of abstraction. It has filled the streets and highways with violence, effaced all the principles of honour, except some ideal ones of its own creation, and with an insult upon all laws both human and divine, and with some relish of idolatry, has broken in upon the seasons of devotion: and lest it should not look heaven in the face with an air of defiance, it is made a necessary part of education in those who are to take our places. The continued circle of pleasure in the easier part of the world, looks as if they affected or cared for no life

* 1 Cor. xii. 26.

† Isaiah i. 5.

but this ; and the lamentable hardness and despair in the lower part of the people would make us believe, that “ God was never in their thoughts *.” Have no imported sins of darkness, the abhorrence of nature, gained ground upon our morals : offences that carry with the very mention of the pollution (if God’s word be true) the sound and record of the very fiercest of God’s judgments ? Or shall we conclude with the scorner, that inspiration is a jest, and all the records, which convey to us the terms of salvation, an imposture ? For is not blasphemy and profaneness become almost the language of the people ? And I would ask this question, with what face we can tax the Church of Rome with grafting human conceits upon the word of God, while many among us are “ laying the axe to the very root †” of all Religion ? And how striking must the reflection be, that this country, the glory and perfection of reformed Christianity, has produced more shocking insults upon Revelation, more rancorous in their malice, and more daring in their attack, than all the nations of the Christian World, when put together !

But the authority, which calls upon us to-day to lament and put away our offences, reminds us also to implore the favour of that Being whose “ mercy rejoiceth against judgment ‡ ;” and that, not with the ceremonious and perhaps unsubstantial circumstances of one day’s humiliation, but with a new heart, and new purposes of obedience ; not with that unavailing sorrow and dejection, which grieves for our afflictions, and feels the sting of our trans-

* Psalm x. 4.

† Matt. iii. 10.

‡ James xi. 13.

gressions, but with the courage and resolution of a people determined to forsake them.

This day we ask the Lord to go up with us to battle, and give success to our arms. We ask it for the sake of a whole people; for the sake of that pure Religion which God has planted among us; and for the sake of that Prince who was sent to bless us, and has continued to bless us, through the course of a mild and gracious administration: that God would be pleased to make the evening of his days as calm and serene as the course of them has been great and illustrious: a Prince who never drew the sword for the purposes of ambition, but to maintain the liberties of Europe: who has despised danger, and neglected his own safety for the safety of his people; and never found an enemy but in the enemies of his country: who was called to a Crown for our preservation, who has worn it with lustre to himself, and conveys it with the fairest expectations to posterity: who has seen his years increasing with the wishes of his people for their continuance: and having relieved us from the doubts of a broken succession, and the apprehensions of a fatal one, has lived to “see his children’s children †,” and, like a great Patriarch, is become “the father of many nations †.”

* Psalm cxxviii. 7.

† Gen. xvii. 4.

A SERMON

PREACHED AT

THE VISITATION

OF THE

HON. AND RIGHT REV. RICHARD TREVOR,
LORD BISHOP OF DURHAM,

HELD IN THE

PARISH CHURCH OF ST. MARY LE BOW IN DURHAM,
ON THURSDAY, JULY 27, 1758.

BY ROBERT LOWTH, D. D.

PREBENDARY OF DURHAM, RECTOR OF SEDGEFIELD,
AND CHAPLAIN IN ORDINARY TO HIS MAJESTY.

PUBLISHED AT HIS LORDSHIP'S REQUEST.

A VISITATION SERMON, 1758.

Matth. vi. 10.

Thy Kingdom come.

THE kingdom of God, or the kingdom of Heaven, according to its most usual and almost constant acceptance throughout the several histories of the Evangelists, signifies the state of the Gospel, or the Church of Christ upon earth, first begun and established by the preaching of our blessed Saviour and his Apostles. When our Saviour commands his disciples to pray that this kingdom may come; his meaning is, that we should make it a constant and perpetual subject of our petitions to Almighty God, that this Gospel-state, or Church of Christ, so begun and established upon earth, may, through his grace, be still advanced and carried on, till at length it arrive at that maturity and completion, that universality, unity, and spiritual perfection, which he hath decreed and promised that it shall in time attain.

Without further supporting or enlarging upon this explication of the words, or discoursing on the nature of the Gospel-state considered as a kingdom, I

shall endeavour to carry your thoughts to a general view of the past, the present, and the future condition of Christianity in the world; in order to shew, how much reason the disciples of Christ ever had, and still have, to offer up this petition for its advancement: what we may be allowed to hope, from God's gracious promises in this respect, in times to come; how much it is the duty of every subject, and more especially of every minister of this heavenly kingdom, to aim at promoting, by his most earnest endeavours, as well as his prayers, the perfect and universal establishment of it.

Our Saviour, commanding his disciples perpetually to offer up their prayers to God for the advancement of his kingdom on earth, may well be understood by this very command to intimate to them, that the state of Christianity would long be incomplete, its progress gradual, its advances towards perfection and universality oftentimes slow and imperceptible; and that it would not arrive at its full maturity till the end of the age, till the last scene of this great dispensation. And this he has more fully explained to them in several of his discourses, particularly in some of his parables. "The kingdom of Heaven is likened to a man which sowed good seed in his field; but, while men slept, his enemy came and sowed tares among the wheat; which appeared together with the wheat, and were suffered to grow together with it till the harvest*." And again, "So is the kingdom of God, as if a man

* Matth. xiii. 24.

should cast seed into the ground, and should sleep and rise, night and day, and the seed should spring and grow up, he knoweth not how. For the earth bringeth forth fruit of herself; first the blade, then the ear, after that the full corn in the ear. But when the fruit is brought forth, immediately he putteth in the sickle, because the harvest is come*." Such is the prediction of our Saviour: the event hitherto will be found intirely conformable to it.

If we take a view of Christianity in the first ages, we shall find it mightily increasing from very small beginnings, spreading and extending itself far and wide with a quick progress; and "like leaven," as our Saviour very expressively represents it †, "hid in a large quantity of meal, working and fermenting by degrees, till the whole was leavened." We first hear ‡, "that the number of the names of the disciples together was about an hundred and twenty." Soon after, "in one day there were added unto them about three thousand souls. Next, the number of them that heard the word, which Peter spoke to them, and believed, was about five thousand. And believers were still added to the Lord, multitudes both of men and women." At the same time they abounded in charity, in faith, and in good works: "the multitude of them, that believed, were of one heart, and of one soul: they continued steadfastly in the Apostle's doctrine and fellowship: they had all things common, and sold their possessions and goods, and parted them to all men, as every

* Mark iv. 26.

† Matth. xiii. 33.

‡ Acts i. ii. iv. v.

man had need." Such was the state of the Church at its very first establishment, and as yet confined to Jerusalem: small in extent, and few in number; but full of grace and of power, perfect in every good work, and rich in all the fruits of the spirit.

But no sooner had the persecution which arose about Stephen against the Church at Jerusalem scattered abroad the disciples, than the Gospel was, together with them, spread through all the regions round about. And in a few years, by the preaching of the Apostles and teachers, and principally by the labours of the great Apostle of the Gentiles, it was carried through almost all the parts, and even beyond the limits, of the Roman Empire. If we give credit to a tradition* that prevailed antiently in the Church, it was established in Parthia, and even in India, by the Apostle St. Thomas: so that, if the state of communication subsisting at that time between the several nations be considered, it might truly be said, that "their sound had gone out through all the earth, and their words unto the ends of the world." Thus was the seed of the word widely and abundantly sown, even in the apostolical age: let us consider the increase and the produce of it.

The rapid progress and plentiful increase of Christianity in the first age, in spite of all the opposition it had to struggle with, from the prejudice of the world supported by all the power of it, in the midst of dangers, distresses, reproach, and persecution, has been deservedly considered as the immediate

* Euseb. Hist. Eccl. III. 1. Greg. Naz. Orat. xxv.

effect of a divine power co-operating with it; and as a more stupendous miracle in itself, than any of the several wonders by which it was promoted. By the accounts* of the heathens themselves, it appears, that as early as the time of Nero the Christians at Rome were become very numerous: in the time of Trajan we find, by the testimony † of the governor of one of the provinces, that Christianity had so far prevailed in those parts, that the temples of the gods were almost desolated, their sacred rites long intermitted, and that there were very few who would buy sacrifices. Justin Martyr ‡ soon informs us, that there was no nation in the known world, not even the most barbarous and uncivilized, where some did not offer up prayers and thanksgivings to God in the name of Jesus Christ. Tertullian §, in the next age, says, that every part of the empire, every place and station, was full of Christians; and that they began to rival the heathens in number. Next to the especial providence of God, and the signs that gave witness to the first preachers of the Gospel, — Christianity owed its success to the graces and virtues that shone forth in the lives of its professors. The sincerity and stedfastness of their faith, their courage and constancy in suffering the most cruel tortures in defence of it, were fully exhibited and approved to the world in numberless examples of all ages, sexes, and condi-

* Tacit. Annal. xv. 44. † Plin. lib. x. epist. 97. A. D. civ.

‡ Dialog. cum Tryphone; pars 2. p. 368. edit. Thirlby. circa A. D. cl.

§ Apologet. xxxvii. et Advers. Judæos, vii. circa A. D. cc.

tions. The advocates for Christianity, who undertook to plead its cause before the rulers of the world, could in their apologies boldly appeal even to their enemies and persecutors, not only for the holiness and purity of its doctrines, but also for the sanctity and innocence of those that professed it; their blameless and inoffensive conversation, the simplicity and integrity of their manners, their piety to God, their union among themselves, and their peaceable and charitable disposition towards all mankind. This, perhaps, may pass for a just account of the state of the Christian Church, under persecution, for the three first centuries: continually increasing in numbers, and enlarged in extent; nor even in the end greatly fallen off from its original integrity, with regard either to sanctity of manners, or purity of faith.

But it must be allowed that, from the very times of the Apostles, the Church was troubled by heretics of various denominations; who from time to time attempted to introduce the most absurd doctrines, and the most abominable practices. They appear to have been for the most part either hypocrites, or enthusiasts, of the grossest sort. Their usual method was to endeavour to corrupt and falsify the Holy Scripture, so as to make it countenance their wild imaginations and ungodly doings. They seem to have had no sort of title to the name of Christians, which they took upon themselves. Accordingly St. Jude * speaks of them, as "men that

* Verse 4.

had crept in unawares ; ungodly men, that turned the grace of our Lord God into lasciviousness, and denied the only Lord God, and our Lord Jesus Christ." St. John * calls them Antichrists ; and says of them, " they went out from us, but they were not of us." Such in general were the heretics of the first ages ; rejected of the Church, and condemned of themselves ; who, though they professed that they knew God, yet in works denied him, being abominable, and disobedient, and to every good work reprobate." And such are the absurdities, blasphemies, and abominations, of which these filthy dreamers are accused : that we might perhaps hardly give credit to the charge, though supported by the concurrent testimony of the writers of that age, were there not even at this time a sect † crept in unawares likewise among us, who have adopted and openly avowed them. Though these men might dishonour the Christian name, by falsely taking it upon themselves : though the converts from Judaism at first were always endeavouring to adulterate the doctrine of Christ, by grafting on it their own superstitions ; and those of the Gentiles afterwards, by introducing into it their own impure philosophy : yet the Church still acquitted herself of the charge committed to her, and kept entire the sacred deposit of " the faith, which was once delivered to the saints."

At length, " the grain of mustard-seed, though the least of all seeds, was grown and become a great

* 1 Epist. ii. 18, 19.

† See " The Moravians compared, and detected."

tree; and the fowls of the air came and lodged under the shadow of it." Constantine embraced the Christian faith: he became the nursing father of the Church; which, now at rest from persecution, and set above her adversary, increased mightily under the favour of her great protector, and was established in safety, prosperity, and honour. It might now be expected, that "the mountain of the Lord's house being established in the top of the mountains, all nations should flow unto it; and that all being gathered together under one head in Christ, they might be presented to God a glorious church, holy and without blemish." But, alas! from this very æra of the security, prosperity, and splendour of the Christian Church, we must date the decay of the true spirit of Christianity. It still continued, indeed, to increase for some time outwardly, in extent and numbers; but daily suffered within a much greater loss, in the visible diminution of faith, holiness, humility, and charity. Honour, wealth, and power, soon excited pride, avarice, and ambition; and the contest for these worldly advantages was but too often carried on, and with the greater animosity, under pretence of contending for the faith. Christianity began now to be treated as a science, or an art; and its doctrines to be opposed and defended with much acuteness of wit, and more keenness of passion: while the simplicity and purity of faith was perplexed and corrupted by the subtilty of debate, and charity quite lost in the vehemence of contention. A false, or at best an indiscreet, zeal stood ever upon the watch, ready to

combat every idle speculation that happened to be advanced ; thus giving occasion to perpetual debate, and generally improving every debate into an irreconcilable dissention. Many an absurd opinion, many an over-curious theory and bold decision in matters of doubtful disputation, that would otherwise have sunk in oblivion, and died with its author, gained strength and importance by opposition ; till, being dignified with the title of Heresy, and perpetuated by an anathema, it was in a manner consecrated, and delivered down as a never-failing subject of strife and division to posterity. Some, indeed, of the novelties then introduced were in themselves of greater consequence, and more pernicious tendency ; striking at the fundamentals of the Christian faith : but even these perhaps, if they had been at first treated with more moderation, or at last condemned and pursued with less severity, might never have survived to divide the Christian world for ages against itself. But the rage of debate, and opposition of science, falsely so called, seems to have been the epidemical distemper of those times ; and the certain consequences of it were wrath, envy, hatred, strife, faction : and to the great disgrace of the Christian name, while her own sufferings under the heathen powers were yet fresh in remembrance, persecution was adopted by the Church, and began to be exercised by Christians against Christians. It had been in a former age a common observation of the heathens *, See, how

* Tertullian. Apologet. xxxix.

these Christians love one another ! See, how these Christians hate one another ! was the more just and obvious remark. A candid Heathen Historian * speaks of it as a maxim of the Emperor Julian, founded on experience, That no wild beasts were so cruel and inveterate enemies to men, as most Christians were to one another ; and on this maxim that able and determined adversary of the Gospel very judiciously projected the utter destruction of Christianity. He sheathed the sword of Heathen persecution : and fomented the spirit of discord, already preying on the vitals of the Christian Church. Where so little regard was paid to the great commandment of brotherly love, it is not to be expected that the love of God should continue its perfect work. Let it suffice to observe, that piety began to be infected with superstition ; that purity of life began to be estimated by an affected abstinence ; by unbidden and extravagant austerities : saints and martyrs were regarded with a reverence, that by degrees approached to adoration, and at last ended in idolatry ; and those only were thought to serve God in perfection who retired into desarts and cloisters, to become a torment to themselves, and useless to the world. Superstition, contention, and division, still increased within ; and gave great advantages to Mahommedism, that assaulted Christianity from without, and at length laid waste the Eastern Church. The Western Church was indeed on the other hand much enlarged by the accession

* Ammian. Marcell. xxii. 5.

of the Northern nations, which had overrun that part of the Roman Empire : but barbarism and ignorance were introduced with them, under whose influence every error that had been before sown was fostered and nourished, and new errors were from time to time propagated. The ambition of the Church of Rome made use of every opportunity which these dark ages afforded, of completing her great scheme of spiritual tyranny, and temporal dominion : every superstition that served to help it forward, or support it, was made an article of faith : in a word, that deep system of worldly policy, founded in the corruption and perversion of all the great principles of the Gospel ; that mystery of iniquity, properly enough called Popery, but which might more properly be called Anti-christianism, was devised, improved, and brought to perfection.

To rescue Christianity from this miserable state of depravation and oppression ; to restore it to its original purity, and to replace it on its true foundation ; to put an end to the insolent usurpation of human authority upon the rights of private judgment, of reason, and of conscience, and upon the divine authority of the Holy Scriptures themselves ; this was the great design of the Reformation. A fair prospect was now opened for the re-establishment of the kingdom of God in purity and truth ; such a prospect as never had offered itself since the first ages of Christianity. But the fulness of the time was not yet come : it pleased God in his unsearchable wisdom to suffer the progress of this great work to be stopped in the midway, and the

effects of it to be greatly weakened by many unhappy divisions among the reformed. Yet hath it been, notwithstanding its imperfection, of most effectual service to the cause of true religion; and herein seems to be laid the foundation for executing the great plan of divine wisdom, for raising the superstructure of universal Christianity. It has shewn to the world what the Gospel really is; it has laid open the Holy Scriptures, and introduced a more accurate and judicious study, and a more perfect understanding of them: and, in consequence, the great principles of our religion have not only been rationally explained, and fully vindicated; but a more enlarged view of the Gospel-dispensation, a more complete system of divine knowledge, has been given to the world, than ever it was blessed with since the days of inspiration. And though the Reformation may seem to have been at a stand for nearly two centuries; though in a political view it has manifestly lost ground, and many considerable advantages have been gained against it; though among ourselves we frequently hear complaints, and probably not without cause, of the success of Popish emissaries, who compass sea and land to make proselytes: notwithstanding this, I think we may be assured, that, upon the whole, the Reformation is every day acquiring new strength, and that its principles prevail in the world more and more. Learning, and knowledge of all kinds, and a spirit of inquiry, are still evidently increasing; and even in those countries where they are most discouraged, they are continually spreading themselves silently

and secretly, in spite of all the vigilance of policy, and all the efforts of power : and where knowledge increases, it is a plain and infallible consequence, that Popery must diminish.

This view of the state of Christianity through the several ages down to our own times, short and very imperfect as it is, may however furnish sufficient occasion for observing, that the kingdom of God has never hitherto, in its most pure or flourishing condition, seemed to make any near approach, or any effectual advances, toward that perfection and universality, to which it is decreed that it shall in time arrive. While it was in its most exalted state of purity, it laboured under oppression and persecution ; when it flourished most in outward prosperity, and was strengthened in numbers, and enlarged in extent, it proportionably decayed in its inward graces : and, even in its most enlarged extent, never possessed more than about a sixth part of the present known world. Whereas it is decreed *, that “ the kingdoms of the world shall become the kingdoms of the Lord, and of his Christ ; that all people, nations, and languages shall serve Him ; that the fullness of the Gentiles shall come in ; and that all Israel shall turn unto the Lord, and be saved,” The time is not yet come for the accomplishment of these predictions : neither can we rely upon the authority of some, who, by a plausible interpretation of certain prophecies, confessedly very obscure, have presumed to determine the seasons which God had put

* Rev. xi. 15. Dan. vii. 14. Rom. xi. 25, 26.

in his own power, so far as to conclude that it is near at hand. Yet we may be allowed to observe, that the present state of mankind, and the circumstances of the world in general, seem to indicate a preparation for this wonderful event, and a tendency towards this important period, however distant it may be. The great progress which learning and useful knowledge of all sorts have made within these two last centuries, particularly in the cultivation of human reason, and the study of divine revelation; the prodigious advances that have been made in navigation and commerce, vastly enlarging the bounds of the known habitable world, yet at the same time drawing nearer to one another the several nations, by opening a free and easy communication between the most distant; the great numbers of Christian colonies that have been sent into every part, and planted in the most corners of the earth: all these circumstances continually increasing and multiplying, and the daily improvements which, with unwearied diligence, and evident success, are still pursued in all; though we see not the fruit as yet formed, nor so much as the blossom unfolded, yet seem to point out to us the seed-time and the spring, which is already preparing, and will in its due season bring forth a plenteous harvest. This particular sign of the times seems to be pointed out by the Angel to the prophet Daniel*: "But thou, O Daniel, shut up the words, and seal the book even to the time of the end: many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased."

* xii. 4.

But, whatever be the secret determination of Almighty God, with regard to the particular time destined for the completion of these gracious promises, it certainly behoves us to be always intent upon making the best advantage of every opportunity that shall seem to offer itself, of promoting this great end; to keep it ever in view, and to pursue it by every method that shall appear in the least conducive thereto. As we make it the daily subject of our prayers, so it ought to be the constant object of our most earnest endeavours. It is the duty of every Christian, as the glory of God and the salvation of mankind are highly concerned in it; it is more especially the duty of every Minister of Christ, as the dispensation of the Gospel is committed to him, and he is appointed to attend continually upon this very thing. I shall beg leave to mention one or two of the principal means by which the Gospel of Christ may be best promoted, both among ourselves, and more at large in the world.

In the first place, we ought to promote and encourage the advancement of religious knowledge, and the only means by which it can be advanced, freedom of inquiry.

Christianity itself was published to the world in the most enlightened age; it invited and challenged the examination of the ablest judgés, and stood the test of the severest scrutiny: the more it is brought to the light, to the greater advantage will it appear. When on the other hand the dark ages of barbarism came on, as every art and science was almost extinguished, so was Christianity in proportion oppressed

and overwhelmed by error and superstition: and they that pretended to defend it from the assaults of its enemies, by prohibiting examination and free inquiry, took the surest method of cutting off all hopes of its recovery. Again, when letters revived, and reason regained her liberty; when a spirit of inquiry began to prevail, and was kept up and promoted by a happy invention, by which the communication of knowledge was wonderfully facilitated; Christianity immediately emerged out of darkness, and was in a manner republished to the world in its native simplicity. It hath always flourished, or decayed, together with learning, and liberty: it will ever stand or fall with them. It is therefore of the utmost importance to the cause of true religion, that it be submitted to an open and impartial examination; that every disquisition concerning it be allowed its free course; that even the malice of its enemies should have its full scope, and try its utmost strength of argument against it. Let no man be alarmed at the attempts of atheists or infidels: let them produce their cause; let them bring forth their strong reasons, to their own confusion: afford them not the advantage of restraint; the only advantage which their cause admits of: let them not boast the false credit of supposed arguments, and pretended demonstrations, which they are forced to suppress. What has been the consequence of all that licentious contradiction with which the Gospel hath been received, in these our times, and in this nation? hath it not given birth to such irrefragable apologies and convincing illustrations of our most holy religion, as

no other age, or nation, ever produced? What, in particular, hath been the effect of unrestrained opposition in a very recent instance, prepared with much labour and study, and supported with all the art and eloquence of a late celebrated genius? hath not the very weakness and impotence of the assault given the most signal and decisive victory to the cause of truth? and do not the arms of this mighty champion of infidelity stand as a trophy, erected by himself, to display and to perpetuate the triumph? Let no one lightly entertain suspicions of any serious proposal for the advancement of religious knowledge; nor, out of unreasonable prejudice, endeavour to obstruct any inquiry, that professes to aim at the further illustration of the great scheme of the Gospel in general, or the removal of error in any part, in faith, in doctrine, in practice, or in worship. An opinion is not therefore false, because it contradicts received notions: but, whether true or false, let it be submitted to a fair examination; truth must in the end be a gainer by it, and appear with the greater evidence. Where freedom of inquiry is maintained and exercised under the direction of the sincere word of God, falsehood may perhaps triumph for a day; but to-morrow truth will certainly prevail, and every succeeding day will confirm her superiority.

The light that arose upon the Christian world at the Reformation hath still continued to increase, and we trust will “ shine more and more unto the perfect day.” The labours of the learned have from that time, by the blessing of God upon the free

exercise of reason and private judgment, been greatly successful in promoting religious knowledge; and particularly in laying open the hidden treasures of divine wisdom contained in the Holy Scriptures. Much hath been done in this important work; and much still remains to be done. Those heavenly stores are inexhaustible: every new acquisition still leads on to further discoveries; and the most careful search will still leave enough to invite, and to reward, the repeated searches of the pious and industrious to the latest ages. This is a work that demands our first and most earnest regard; the studies and assistance, the favour and encouragement, of all. To confirm and illustrate these holy writings, to evince their truth, to shew their consistency, to explain their meaning, to make them more generally known and studied, more easily and perfectly understood by all; to remove the difficulties that discourage the honest endeavours of the unlearned, and provoke the malicious cavils of the half-learned. This is the most worthy object that can engage our attention; the most important end to which our labours in the search of truth can be directed. And here I cannot but mention, what hath often been represented, and I hope will not always be represented in vain,—that nothing would more effectually conduce to this end than the exhibiting of the Holy Scriptures themselves to the people in a more advantageous and just light, by an accurate revisal of our vulgar translation by public authority. It is now a century and a half since this translation was made; in which time a much greater progress hath been

made in the knowledge of the Scriptures than in fifteen centuries preceding. Knowledge of all sorts hath, since that time, been greatly advanced; of which there is scarce any sort that hath not some connexion with the knowledge of Holy Scripture; in particular, and, what is more immediately connected with it, the knowledge of the original languages, of the Hebrew especially, and its several remaining dialects; the knowledge of antiquity, of civil history, of natural history, of genuine logic, of sound criticism. Many ancient monuments, both texts and versions *, of venerable authority, have been either newly discovered, or more openly communicated to the publick, and set forth in a most advantageous and useful manner. And, as we enjoy many assistances which the learned of that age wanted, so likewise many impediments which lay in their way are now removed. The rubbish of false science is in a great measure cleared away; the obscure subtilty of scholastic theology is dispelled. The great prejudice of authority is in many instances happily diminished; the despotic power of antiquity is reduced within its proper limits. With regard to the Old Testament, the Church of Christ is no longer a slave to the Synagogue; nor does the Christian Interpreter blindly follow those blind guides, the Jewish Teachers. Their infallible Masora, boasted to have been an edifice raised by wise master-builders on the rock of divine authority, proves to have been framed by unskilful hands, and built

* Samaritan Pentateuch, both text and version; Old Syriac Version; Alexandrine MS.; Paris and London Polyglotts, &c.

on the sand: its foundations have long since been shaken, and it now totters to its fall. The defects of the Hebrew text itself, for it cannot be denied that it hath its defects, nor, as it hath been transmitted to us by human means, could it possibly be without defects; these have been pointed out, and remedies have in part been applied to them, and may be further applied, by an accurate collation of ancient versions, and of various copies. The latter source is but newly opened*; and the supplies that may be derived from it, if not very considerable in themselves, will yet be greatly important in their consequences. All this (and more might be added to this) shews evidently how much room there is for improvement; it promises undoubted success to the undertaking, and warrants abundant advantages from it to our own immediately, and in consequence to the whole Christian Church.

Secondly, Let us make it our constant aim and

* See Houbigant. Prolegom. in Biblia Hebraica, cap. III. art. 2. and, for more full satisfaction, "The State of the Printed Hebrew Text of the Old Testament considered," by the learned Dr. Kennicott; from whom further light into this curious and important subject may shortly be expected.

P. S. Soon after this was written, "A Second Dissertation on the State of the Printed Hebrew Text of the Old Testament" was published; and the Collation of the Hebrew MSS. hath been since undertaken, and carried on with great labour, and at great expence, by the same learned person; encouraged and supported in it by a public subscription, which does honour to our country. The completion of this Work, which now draws towards a conclusion, seems to mark the proper time for the undertaking above recommended.

study to restore, to maintain, and to promote true Christian charity.

The Church of Christ hath in almost every age suffered much less by all the rage and malice of its enemies, than by strife and faction within itself, and divisions among its own members. The worst consequence of some of the worst of heresies hath been discord, wrath, hatred, persecution: and, in reality, the most pernicious of all heresies hath been the maintaining and defending of breach of charity itself, in such cases, as a duty. An unhappy persuasion hath too generally prevailed, that church communion demands unity of sentiment in the strictest sense; and that all of the same profession should think just alike, not only as to a few plain fundamental articles, but as to many other particulars neither necessarily required, nor clearly revealed; the consequence of which is, that there must be almost as many sects in the world as there are men. And this in effect hath for many ages most miserably distracted the Church of Christ; hath divided it against itself, and again subdivided every part of it into new factions and schisms: it hath been the cause of seditions, slaughters, massacres; of the peculiar cruelties and barbarities that are always the effects of false zeal; to the reproach of the Christian name, and even to the disgrace of human nature. It is not to be wondered that Christianity hath made no greater progress; while, instead of being exhibited to the world in its native beauty, as the most amiable religion that ever was, it hath been exposed in such a horrible disguise, as the cause of the

greatest mischiefs ; as the parent of strife, and confusion, and every evil work. But, thanks be to God, we seem at present to have a better prospect before us ; whatever other reasons we may have to complain of our own age, yet it must be allowed, that a spirit of true Christian charity, and benevolence, and moderation, hath of late prevailed among us, beyond the example of former times. A more liberal and generous way of thinking and acting, with regard to those that differ from us, is every day gaining ground ; and hath already had visible effects, in allaying former animosities and jealousies, and seems making way for reconciliation and unity. The different sects of Protestants seem to have lost much of that bitterness and distaste which hath so long most unreasonably reigned between them, and to be every day drawing nearer to one another. Even those of the Church of Rome, though they do not give up their horrid principle of persecution, yet begin at least to be ashamed of it ; and, while they have no power or opportunity of acting to the contrary, can say, “ If we had been in the days of our fathers, we would not have been partakers with them in the blood of the prophets.” If this happy temper of meekness, forbearance, and charity, should continue to increase, and should diffuse itself more widely through the Christian Church, one great offence will be removed, which hath ever hindered the progress of the Gospel : the gainsayer and unbeliever, when they shall observe the true spirit of Christianity to prevail among Christians, will be more easily induced to glorify God, “ and “ to con-

fess, that God is in us of a truth." The prophet Isaiah seems to represent the increase of universal charity and religious knowledge in the Christian Church, as the preparation and prelude of the conversion of the Gentiles, and of the restoration of the Jews; in that remarkable prophecy, which certainly hath not yet been fully accomplished*: "The wolf shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid:—they shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain: for the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea. † And it shall come to pass in that day, the root of Jesse, which standeth for an ensign to the people; to it shall the Gentiles seek, and his resting-place shall be glorious. And it shall come to pass in that day, that the Lord shall set his hand again the second time to recover the remnant of his people, which shall be left:—and he shall set up an ensign for the nations, and shall assemble the outcasts of Israel, and gather together the dispersed of Judah, from the four corners of the earth."

* Isaiah. xi. 6.

† וחיח כיום חזוא שרש ישי אשר עמר וגן. Our Translation, by departing from the Masoretical pointing, and the obvious grammatical construction, hath obscured this passage. The frequent necessity we are under, of appealing from it to the original, sufficiently shews the expediency of the revisal above proposed: and I beg leave here to add, that the present time offers a favourable opportunity, which ought not to be neglected; when the station, to which the chief direction of such a work properly belongs, is filled with a person endowed, beyond any other of this age, with all the abilities and qualifications requisite for bringing it to that degree of perfection, of which it is at present capable.

Lastly, and above all, Let us endeavour to recommend still more effectually our most holy religion by holiness and purity of life.

We live in an enlightened age, in which knowledge is still increasing; in which continual approaches are made towards a more perfect comprehension of the Gospel-scheme in its full extent; in which new accessions of light are every day thrown on the Holy Scriptures: the true Christian spirit of charity, moderation, and forbearance, prevails more and more, softening by degrees our mutual distates, and healing our divisions: may we not hope that these improvements will have their proper and natural effect, though we do not yet perceive it, in introducing a reformation of another nature, and infusing more and more of the true spirit of our religion into our manners and our lives? Greater knowledge should reasonably be attended with more perfect obedience; and the love of our brethren is closely connected with the love of God. How bad soever therefore in this respect the present appearance of things may be, let us not be discouraged in our endeavours to promote the practice of true religion. And it is indeed more in our power to promote it than we are generally apt to think. Every one, according to his station, may have his proper share in it: some by their skill and abilities, others by their influence and authority; some by their exhortations, all by their example. More especially is it the duty and peculiar province of the Ministers of the Gospel, as workers together with Christ, to pursue it by every method; "by pureness, by knowledge, by

kindness, by love unfeigned, by the word of truth, by the power of God." As many of us therefore as have received this ministry, or have it by any means in our power to contribute to this great work, "let us not faint, neither let us be wearied in it; still looking for that blessed hope, and the glorious appearing of the great God, and our Saviour Jesus Christ, when every man shall have his due praise of God, and every man shall receive his own reward, according to his own labour: when they that make others wise unto salvation shall shine as the brightness of the firmament; and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars for ever and ever."

A S E R M O N

PREACHED BEFORE THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE
LORDS SPIRITUAL AND TEMPORAL,
IN PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED,

IN THE
ABBHEY-CHURCH, WESTMINSTER,

ON TUESDAY, JAN. 30, 1749-50,

Being the Day appointed to be observed as the Day of the
Martyrdom of King CHARLES I.

BY
T H O M A S H A Y T E R,
LORD BISHOP OF NORWICH.

Die Mercurii, 31^{mo} Januarii, 1749.

ORDERED,

By the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in Parliament assembled: That the Thanks of this House be and are given to the Lord Bishop of Norwich, for the Sermon by him preached before this House yesterday, in the Abbey Church, Westminster; and he is hereby desired to cause the same to be printed and published.

ASHLEY COWPER,

Cler. Parliamentor.

A S E R M O N

PREACHED BEFORE

THE LORDS SPIRITUAL AND TEMPORAL,

JAN. 30, 1749-50.

1 PETER, ii. 17. latter part.

Fear God. Honour the King.

THESE precepts stand single and independent of one another in the text: but, as all moral duties are more or less connected with each other, in the reason and order of things, there is an immediate intimate connexion between the two duties which the Apostle here enjoins us: since the second is directly deducible from the first, which both enforces and limits the subordinate obligation. For the fear of God, if we are conscientiously influenced by it, will engage us to pay all the honour which is due to the King, whom his Providence hath set over us, so far as is consistent with that honour which is due to God only.

But, though the honour due to the King takes its rise from the person of the King, and is in the most eminent degree to be paid to his person, the object of the duty is his authority.

To honour the King is to obey him with that awful sense of the regal character, which the Majesty of it impresses upon our mind. By parity

of reason, and upon the same principle that we "submit to the King as supreme," we are required to pay a suitable submission to all who are appointed by him to bear any share in the great work of Government.

The Supreme Power, thus diffused, and operating through the whole extent of a community, creates that public authority, which is necessary to maintain general peace and order, and which constitutes the real internal strength of every government. All the obligations to obedience which are laid upon us, as subjects, are calculated to secure a proper deference to public authority : but all those obligations, however enforced by the joint power of civil society, are ultimately rendered effectual by the sanctions of Religion, and can obtain their full operation and effect from the motives of Religion only. The influence of Religion, therefore, is the last resort, is the fundamental support of every government.

From hence, in a general view, it is evident that every community must be proportionably stronger or weaker, as this influence prevails more or less ; and a total disregard of this influence must gradually weaken, and, in the end, destroy the best constituted frame of Government.

The anniversary which now assembles us together affords us a dreadful illustration of the truth of what I have been observing ; for, in those scenes of violence and distraction which preceded the decisive stroke of iniquity, the national fences of religion were first broken down, and the true sense

of it almost totally extinguished, before cruel and blood-thirsty men, as on this day, murdered their Sovereign.

The crime itself is too notorious to need any illustration; the guilt of those who committed it is of too deep a dye to admit of any aggravation: but the instructive example of the Royal Sufferer demands our peculiar attention, as it contains a lesson of the most universal importance; for it demonstrates to us the never-failing comforts and supports which a true sense of Religion furnishes in the day of trial and distress. It was from hence alone that this Christian Hero derived that patience and fortitude which made him superior to the cruelty and insolence of his murderers. "He feared God, and therefore did not fear what Man could do unto him."

We cannot but lament that a king, disposed by so many personal virtues to rule justly, should be led, by the prejudices in which it was his misfortune to be educated, to think he had a right to govern a free people arbitrarily; and we shall be unjust to the virtues which he unquestionably had, if we omit to take notice from what source the worst faults imputed to him naturally sprang: for they may all be accounted for, without charging him with any bad principle in his temper, or defect in his judgment, if we recollect that false and narrow notions of the nature and reciprocal obligations of Government, which were generally embraced in those times as settled national opinions, which were urged as maxims of law, and sanctified as the language of Scripture, gradually prepared the Royal

ear for the poison that was instilled into it by flatterers of every denomination. These notions, which, without any other insinuating recommendation, are too apt to gain an ascendant over the mind, betrayed this unhappy misguided Prince into such measures as were irreconcilable to the character of a limited Monarch, and the independent rights of a mixed Constitution; measures which many, who were the friends of the Constitution, without being, or designing to be, his enemies, thought it their duty to oppose, because they knew them to be unconstitutional, and saw them to be dangerous.

But men of this complexion soon lost all share in directing the opposition, all power of confining it within constitutional limits; and then the contest degenerated into all the rage of civil war. For when the worst of men, after a long and bloody struggle, gained a strength sufficient to make good their own schemes of oppression, they showed as little mercy to their Country as they did to their King.

More than a century hath now passed since this virtuous unfortunate king fell a sacrifice to the cruelty of those, who by one and the same blow put a temporary end to Monarchy itself. At so great a distance of time, to enter minutely into this reproachful period of our history is more the province of the historian than of the preacher.

The Preacher will sufficiently discharge his office, if he draws from it such general instruction as every one may concur in, who honours his King, and loves the Constitution of his Country. It behoves him to attend to the present situation of things; and, in whatever shape, or from whatever quarter,

the Community is threatened with the like calamities, to give public and solemn warning to his hearers, to arm themselves against them.

If with this view we examine our present situation, it will be found that the danger which now hangs over us does not arise, as it formerly did, from arbitrary exertions of the Prerogative; for against these the Revolution provided an effectual remedy, a remedy which, give me leave to observe, had never become necessary, if all the Monarchs who have filled the British Throne had been as faithful patrons of the Constitution, and as watchful guardians of the liberties of their people, as that gracious Sovereign who now reigns over us.

The danger now arises from a contrary cause: from a profligate abuse of these very blessings of which the Revolution gave us full possession, civil and religious liberty. And to such lengths hath this abuse been carried, as hath produced an open disregard to all authority, both divine and human.

Against this abuse, which is eventually owing to the excellence of a free Constitution, the Constitution itself can provide no remedy. To find it, we must look higher: we must fly to the authority of God, and that influence of Religion, which, if it be once generally established, will secure to us the enjoyment of those blessings with which we are surrounded; will protect us against our own follies and vices, and prevent our running into these excesses, which must, in the end, be subversive of public peace, and good government.

To this purpose, having first briefly explained

the force and import of the two precepts of fearing God, and honouring the King; I shall proceed to shew, what the state of any Government will be, as the influence of Religion respectively prevails, or is disregarded.

To "fear God," is an expression of such peculiar energy, that, in the language of Scripture, it denotes the "whole of Religion:" for, in the sense in which the fear of God is there to be understood, it is a prevailing practical motive to engage us to discharge all the duties which Religion enjoins us.

The passion of Fear, which prevails more or less in every Creature, in proportion to the weakness of its nature, and the circumstances of danger in which it is placed, is of course excited, as often as we apprehend ourselves exposed to the attack of any Being superior in strength to ourselves: And, whenever the most powerful of all Beings, upon whom our existence itself depends, and who can, in an instant, overwhelm us with insupportable misery, is made the object of our thoughts: this passion will naturally be raised to the highest pitch. But Fear, as a passion, hath nothing moral in it: and, in a mere literal sense, to be afraid of God; that is, to consider him only as an object of terror, is so far from being an act of Religion, that it implies nothing but a consciousness of guilt, and a dread of punishment. But the "fear of God," which the Scripture declares to be Wisdom or Virtue (for their opposites, Folly and Vice, are, in sacred Writ and the truth of things, words of the same meaning,) denotes that moral awe and veneration of God, with which the mind is affected, when it contemplates

him under the attributes of Power, Wisdom, Justice, and Goodness, with which Religion represents him to us: for the fear of God, which results from this contemplation, is not a slavish superstitious fear, but a fear founded on Love, strengthened by Reason, and productive of all Goodness: a Fear, that adds fortitude to the mind; and enables it to despise all those vain terrors, which would otherwise perpetually disturb our peace, stagger our virtue, or endanger our final happiness.

From "the Fear of God," so understood, results that religious frame of mind, which makes God habitually present to us; and, under the sense of his presence, renders us solicitous to know his Will, and keeps us steady in obeying it. Thus the "Fear of God," enforces upon us all the duties of Religion, by setting before us that tremendous Being, from whom all the obligations of Religion originally receive their sanction; and who is intimately privy to our most concealed intentions of violating them.

Unlimited obedience, in doing whatever is commanded with readiness, and suffering whatever is inflicted upon us with resignation, is due to this Almighty, All-perfect Governor of the Universe; and it is due to him alone: For he, and he only, cannot possibly prescribe any instance of obedience to his Creatures, with which it is not equally their duty and their interest to comply.

In this precept of "fearing God," Kings are no less included than the meanest of their subjects; and they never appear with more majesty, than when they prostrate themselves before the King of

Kings, from whom they derive all their authority ; and to whom they must be finally accountable, for the glorious and sacred charge of governing nations righteously, by the encouragement of public virtue, and the protection of true Religion. Their great and good actions will accompany them beyond the grave ; but “ their pomp will follow them ” only to their funeral.

From this short explanation of the first precept, it is evident that we do not truly discharge the duty enjoined by it, unless we are habitually disposed to conform our whole behaviour to the Will of God, from a moral awe of the Divine nature and perfections.

I have already observed that, in the honour or obedience which we are commanded to pay the King by the second precept ; the submission due to all who act under him is included. This takes in the whole extent of civil authority : and it will from hence be easy, in a few words, to illustrate the dependance of the second precept upon the first ; and to show how necessary the Fear of God is to secure obedience to Government.

Particular forms of Government are so undoubtedly the invention and contrivance of Man, that we are apt to overlook a truth equally clear, and much more important ; that Government in general must be the Ordinance of God : for it is the natural consequence of that social nature which God hath given us ; and of that state of things which his providence hath established.

Notwithstanding, therefore, the measures of obedience, in each particular form of Government, must

be determined by the particular Laws of each Community; Obedience to Government in general is enjoined by the immediate authority of God himself: for, without obedience, there can be no Government.

We are liable to confound the idea of Power, with the idea of Authority, which is totally distinct from Power: for Authority always stands in need of Power to enforce it; and a Man clothed with the highest degree of authority receives no new accession of natural strength from the character of Supreme Ruler, with which he is invested. In God alone, Authority and Power are, in effect, the same thing: for he alone hath, in himself, infinite Power to support his own Authority, and the Authority of those who act under it.

In all human Governments, how wisely soever they may be framed, or how prudentially soever they may be guarded against insults; so as to give the utmost weight and security to that public authority by which they are maintained; a superiority of power must always reside collectively in the bulk of the people.

If this power should be all at once exerted by any sudden unforeseen combination of the multitude, it will instantly dissolve the best established Government: and, if exerted with an inferior degree of violence, will shake it.

The Sanctions of human Laws, *i. e.* the punishments annexed by Men to disobedience, will be of no service, when those whose office it is to execute the Laws are so overpowered, that they cannot in-

flict the sanctions. What is there then that will be sufficient, upon every possible supposition, to awe the multitude, and effectually prevent this case from happening? Whatever can do this, will certainly be the proper security of human Governments, and this can be done by the "Fear of God" only. Against infinite Power "there is no Strength:" And who will dare to wrest, out of the hands of the supreme Magistrate, the Sword which he is convinced God hath put into them, "for the punishment of evil-doers?" Who will provoke a vengeance that he can neither resist nor escape? Who will not dread the complicated guilt of attempting to introduce "Confusion, and every evil Work," by over-setting the Supreme Authority of a person whom he views under the most awful affecting character, as appointed by God himself, to dispense and secure to a whole people the advantages of Government, and the blessings of Society?

A King, considered in this light, and acting suitably to it, will always be able to controul a virtuous religious people, with a force and firmness which nothing else can give him.

Government thus founded stands upon its natural and true basis. Every other provision of strength, which human policy can invent or collect, to fix dominion over Men; who are neither animated by the hopes, nor checked by the fears, of futurity; will ever grow to be more precarious in its direction, and more dangerous to authority, in proportion as it becomes more mighty, and consequently less manageable, in operation.

From what hath been said, it is evident that true Religion, however it may at any time have been misapplied through mistake, or perverted through design, is as far from requiring us to be the slaves of lawless power, as it is severe in condemning us, if we resist just authority. Between these two extremes, it instructs and commands us to observe an exact medium ; prescribing that rational obedience to subjects, which communicates peace, and order, and stability, to the publick, from the same conduct which naturally produces the happiness of each individual.

I shall now proceed to show more distinctly what the state of any Government will be, as the “ Influence of Religion,” arising from the fear of God, respectively prevails, or is disregarded.

We must not expect to find in History any Society of Men universally ruled, and obeying in the Fear of God. This is a state of perfection, which no human Government can reach : But it is the true policy, and should be the constant bent and aim of every Government, to approach towards it ; for every nearer approach produces an increase of public strength and welfare.

But though we have no instance, in fact, by which this important truth can be illustrated in its full extent ; we may describe the circumstances in which any state or kingdom would be, upon a supposition that the influence of Religion became universal, and the conduct and obedience of subjects was constantly directed and governed by that influence ; for moral causes, though they do not ne-

cessarily produce their proper effects, have a regular uniform operation.

Suppose then a Society of Men actually existing, among whom this influence does, in fact, prevail without exception, and model the conduct of every individual member into an exact conformity to the rules of true Religion.

It is certain, in the first place, that the Laws of the Community will be obeyed in every instance; for good Laws can require nothing to be done, or omitted, which Religion does not equally approve or prohibit.

By the practice, therefore, of every social virtue, such a Society will enjoy universal tranquillity; and, by abstaining from every vice, they will be freed from the apprehension of every thing that might create the least public disturbance.

As Religion sets before them the common means of future happiness, and those means are equally productive of common social good, they will all conspire in promoting the same end.

The result of this will be a perfect state of union, founded in an interest liable to no variation; and stable and uniform as the principles of Virtue and Religion, from whence it flows.

Ambition, the most turbulent of all our passions, by which so many flourishing States and Kingdoms have been overthrown, will be here the most active instrument of public utility: for the members of this society will be excited to aspire to posts of rank and consequence, from no motive but that honest one, of desiring to fill them with integrity, to their

own honour, and the emolument of the community.

The same conscientious principle, which regulates the pretensions of subjects, will determine the choice of their Governors, in placing each man in that station of the society, for which they judge his capacity peculiarly fits him.

Thus superiority of rank will be impartially adjusted by superiority of merit ; and the necessary subordination of Government will be kept up, by proportioning and adapting various degrees of honour and power, to that diversity of gifts and talents, with which Providence hath prepared men for the respective parts of life, and marked them out for the several offices of society.

By this means, the authority of such a society will be inviolably maintained ; for it will be universally “ obeyed, not for wrath, but conscience sake ;” under a constant regard to the supreme Authority and Will of God.—Such a Government can have no domestic Enemies : And if foreign ones should wickedly conspire together, and make an attempt against it, the whole Society will defend itself with an union that nothing can break, and with a strength springing from that union, which nothing can over-power. For can we form to ourselves an idea of national self-defence so firm and animated, so full of force and energy in its own nature, and so likely to call down the blessings of God upon its endeavours ; as the combined efforts of righteous men, in the support and maintenance of a righteous cause ?

This is an imperfect sketch of such a Society as I am sensible can never exist among men ; for men are not perfect. But the description shadows out to us what would be the genuine effects of Religion upon Society and Government, if the influence of Religion operated universally : If it was not weakened by the imperfections of our nature, which we cannot cure ; and still more obstructed by our vices ; for which our imperfections afford us no excuse.

Let us consider in the next place what will naturally happen, if we suppose a different Society of Men, living under a well-constituted form of Government, and outwardly professing the true Religion ; but inwardly paying no regard to it.

Now such Men, by the supposition, having set aside the motives and prospects of Religion, can practise virtue only upon such principles as the natural reason of their own mind suggests to them. Their virtue must, therefore, be very precarious at the best : And as they have no views before them, but enjoying, as far as they can, the advantages of the present life, their reason will soon be overpowered by passion and appetite. The more these are indulged, the more impetuous they will grow ; and the allurements of pleasure will easily seduce Men into a violation of every duty that stands in the way of the desired gratification. This is saying that such a Society of Men will soon be very vicious : Vices will render them necessitous, and necessity desperate ; and they will, without scruple, sacrifice the common good of the whole, to relieve

the necessity that presses hard upon them. They will aim at rank without capacity; and, having no idea of public utility, or no inclination to consult it; they will serve, or not serve, the publick, as they do, or do not, find their own particular advantage in the service: for, as interest invites, or danger alarms them, they will be ready to depreciate and desert a good King, or to flatter and take up arms for a Tyrant.

The violation of social duties in private life will set them at variance with one another: And these divisions will perpetually grow, because there is in here no fixed common bond of union.

As Religion condemns such a conduct, and denounces the most dreadful threatnings against it; they will wish Religion to be false, without examination; and speak of it as if they were really convinced it was false, *i. e.* They will ridicule it.

Being impatient of restraint, and unawed by the authority of God himself, they will, of course, “despise Dominion, and speak Evil of Dignities.” Hence the authority of Government will have no effect, any further than it is enforced by the power of the Government; which, in such a state of things, will be every day decreasing; and at last be scarce able to support itself, though no external violence is offered to it. This weakness of Government will bring on direct attempts to overthrow it, when it hath least force to exert in its own defence.

A Government under these circumstances, though it was originally well constituted, and the constitution of it still remains unaltered, is like the house of

the "foolish Man" in the Gospel. The edifice may have been exquisitely planned by the skill of the Architect, and fashioned and wrought in all the parts of it, by the just beauties of proportion, and the laboured finishings of Art: But it hath no foundation to stand upon; and "when the Floods come, and the Winds blow, and beat against such a House;" when the storms of domestic faction, or foreign violence, assault the fabrick of a Government so circumstanced, it must fall; and "great, and sudden, will be the Fall of it."

Let us now apply the general instruction with which we are furnished, by the subject I have been explaining, to ourselves, and the present situation of things among us.

It hath been shown, that all human Governments have an essential defect and weakness, which can be remedied by nothing but the influence of Religion: And this remedy appears to be most requisite in those Governments which are the best-constituted. For as the civil and religious freedom of individuals is more enlarged, the state is more liable to be endangered by excesses which it cannot punish: and irregularities of the most pernicious tendency will be more frequently committed, of which the Laws can take no cognizance.

The natural consequences, which will respectively follow in any State or Kingdom, as the Influence of Religion prevails, or is disregarded, have been set forth as moral effects, regularly proceeding from their proper moral causes. The reasoning, therefore, being general, and not drawn from any *particular*

Nation or Government, is applicable to All: And we may conclude that every Nation or Government, in the like circumstances, will feel the same effects from them.

To exemplify and confirm this conclusion from an instance in fact, we need only attend to that state of things which a disregard of the influence of Religion hath actually produced in our own country: a state of things, which threatens us with the most extensive mischief, at a time when we seem, as a Nation, to be furthest removed from danger.

On the part of our Governors, we have all the protection that good Government can afford us: for we are constitutionally governed by them. And, as far as an impartial execution of the Laws can secure to us the rights and privileges of free subjects, we are in a state of full security.

But, with all these flattering appearances of national safety, one thing is wanting, which alone can make us safe as a Nation, or strong as a Government. The "Fear of God" is wanting: And what we experience must convince us how precarious every other guard of public security is without it. For the efficacy of this sacred check upon our minds being in a great measure lost and deadened among us as a people, such a spirit of irreligion and licentiousness is broke forth, as must, if it continues to prevail and increase, gradually break down all the national fences of Authority, and let loose the unbridled rage and power of the multitude upon us.

Whoever "is not for Religion," is, of course, "against it:" for such as are not influenced by the

truths of Religion, will endeavour not to believe those truths themselves, and to create the same heart of unbelief in others.

Accordingly our Holy Religion, which bears all the marks and characters of Divinity upon it that can prove any Religion to be from God, or render it useful and beneficial to Men, both in their private and social capacity, hath been made a mark of derision ; *i. e.* it hath met with that treatment which it must always expect from those “ who have not the Fear of God before their eyes.” For to ridicule sacred truths, and try how much they are capable of being distorted, by being placed in false lights, and shewn under ludicrous images, is but the effort of an impious mind, struggling to avoid conviction, and screen itself from the impression of truths which it dares not examine soberly.

All who thus deride Religion do not only weaken Government in general, but directly strike at the support of this Protestant Government: For Religion, as reformed from the errors and corruptions of Popery, is interwoven with the constitution of our Country, and made the foundation upon which the Throne itself is established.

Popery, that determined enemy of Truth and Liberty, seeing us grown indifferent about the best Religion, lays hold of the favourable juncture, and labours with indefatigable zeal to bring back the worst ; whilst the Emissaries of that communion, having been long banished from the Cabinets of our Princes, under various shapes and disguises, mix with the dregs of the people, to corrupt their Faith, and poison their Loyalty.

This profane disregard of Divine Authority hath produced, what it will always produce, such a contempt of human Governors ; that nothing, almost, but the dread of punishment, procures obedience to them. Even Government itself, however rightly administered, is submitted to with reluctance : And any artificial interested clamour raises popular discontent against it. Hence it is that a spirit of disaffection, without any grievance, works among us already ; though the terrors of the late Rebellion are fresh upon our minds, and the distresses occasioned by it are still felt by the public. But we are not to wonder that this event hath happened, when men are for the most part grown so impatient of controul, that every legal restraint is complained of, as an infringement of Liberty ; and the execution of just Laws murmured against, as an undue stretch of authority.

Thus, by the ordinary progress of things, the necessary subordination of society is looked upon as a kind of grievance. Superiority itself, as such, is become rather a ground of disgust to inferiors, than a motive of respect from them ; so that, in the language of the Apostle, the “ Feet say to the Head we have no need of thee.”

Private vices, the product of this ungovernable spirit, have multiplied in proportion. For when were the Laws less able to protect our property from the open violence of the Robber ? When were they so frequently made the means and instruments of depriving us of it, by the perjured witness ? The most abominable wickedness may, in all times, have

been practised in private ; but when was the public modesty so openly insulted from the press, as it hath been of late, with such an abandoned profligacy, as must shock every virtuous Man, and ought to alarm every Parent ?

The ravages of Civil War, which this solemnity brings into our thoughts, do not overspread the face of a country with more desolation, than universal Dissoluteness tends to bring upon society. The effects of arbitrary power itself are scarce more terrible : and there is certainly a more reasonable prospect of being delivered from them : for a virtuous people will, sooner or later, shake off a lawless oppressive Governor. But neither the wisdom nor goodness of a Governor can protect a vicious people from the fatal consequences of their own vices : for vices, and their consequences, are connected together in the constitution of things, and necessarily attend each other, by the appointment of God himself.

Such a state of things as this calls upon every Member of Society to exert himself in the cause of Religion and Virtue. And if all, who, I trust, have this cause at heart, duly exert themselves, our case is not yet desperate. A good man, in the lowest station, will have some weight in bringing about the necessary reformation. For goodness, wherever we see it, attracts our love and esteem ; and if we view it without prejudice, it will excite our imitation.

Those who are exalted in rank, and clothed with authority, have a more extensive power of encouraging goodness : And it particularly concerns

them, to act with all the weight and advantage which their situation gives them, in forwarding and effecting this blessed work : For Vice is a great leveller, and aims at destroying all distinction, because it hates all authority.

To animate us to the attempt, let this reflection be ever present to our minds, that the same endeavours which revive the national influence of Religion will also restore authority to the Laws, reverence to Governors, and stability to Government. We have a certain hope, that God will prosper those our labours here, which he hath promised to reward hereafter : And if God be, assuredly, with Us, who that we ought to fear, who that we ought not to despise, can be against Us ?

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