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THE  
MORALS of a PEOPLE

The best Security of

Good Government :

OR, THE

Support of the SCOTS CLERGY

Inseparably connected with the

BRITISH CONSTITUTION.

[ Price Six Pence. ]



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MORALS of a PEOPLE  
The best Security of  
Good Government :  
OR, THE  
Support of the Scots CLERGY  
Inseparably connected with the  
BRITISH CONSTITUTION.

By a BRITISH WHIG.

Addressed to the RIGHT HONOURABLE  
HENRY PELHAM, Esq;

*Righteousness exalteth a Nation, but Sin is a Reproach  
to any People. PROV. c. xiv. v. 34.*

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L O N D O N :

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1874



T O

The RIGHT HONOURABLE

HENRY PELHAM, Esq;

First Commissioner of the Treasury,  
Chancellor and Under Treasurer  
of the Exchequer, &c.

S I R,



Address this small Per-  
formance to you, be-  
cause your publick Trust  
puts it greatly in your

Power to promote the Intention of  
the

the Author. I have made it small, as your Engagements are many and important. At the same Time, I hope it will be easily understood by one of your Attention. I found myself the more inclined to offer it to your Consideration, as your Desire of advancing the Publick Good seems equal to your Power. Several Things which appear well intended, have been brought about during your Administration, and are likely, if watched over with Honesty and Attention, to turn out of great Benefit to *Britain*.

Sir, as you have the real Welfare of these Lands at Heart, it is not to be imagined that the preserving and reforming the Morals of all Ranks can miss to be in your Eye; for every one may easily see, how much the  
 Security

Security of our Government and all its Advantages depend upon this. That you judge a well instructed laborious and well affected Clergy necessary to this Purpose, will, I am persuaded, appear from your Endeavours to procure some effectual Relief to the Ministers of the Church of *Scotland*, now when they are petitioning the Legislature to support them in their Bread and in their Being. And how happy would it be, could such Measures be fallen upon as might ease the Clergy, and yet be lightly felt by the Landholders in *Scotland* who oppose them? For I am convinced that the Ministers have such a high Regard for many great and good Characters in the Opposition, that they wou'd even abate of their just Expectations, provided they could

( viii )

could obtain something effectual  
with their Favour and Countenance.

I am, Sir,

Your most humble Servant,

A BRITISH WHIG.

*Mr William Steele Sorn*



## INTRODUCTION.

**I** AM abundantly sensible that the prevailing Taste of the Times, is no way favourable to Performances of this kind. There are so many who have their Heads and Hearts, their Money, and their Time engrossed, by Pursuits of what they falsely call Pleasure and Gain, that few are left to read any moral Lessons which are sent abroad for their Benefit; and fewer who regard them when they have read them, or put these very Convictions in Practice which they have received. This, at first sight, may appear extremely discouraging to those whose publick Spirit would labour for the Reformation of the Publick. But upon just Reflection it will be found, that the more common the Depravity becomes, the generous Friends of Mankind, instead of being discouraged, ought to think and write with the greater Ardor and Address, as the faithful Physician, when he ob-

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serves

serves the Disease gathering fatal Power, exerts himself to the utmost to prevent the Death of his Patient ; or as the brave Commander, by his own Dexterity and Courage, adds Strength to his little Army, and engages with the Legions of the Foe. As in many Instances of this Kind, the Success has often greatly exceeded Probability ; even so, I am persuaded, it will be found, if those of a right Spirit, however small their number, would write to tame the Passions and rectify the Heart, they will succeed with some, and may, by the friendly Concurrence of Providence, become the distinguished Instruments of rescuing their fellow Subjects from the spreading Infection of Vice and Folly. It were a happy thing, did some of these able Writers who have so well defended the Christian Doctrines, turn their Pen to the moral Page, and with their whole Capacity recommend the practical Virtues of our holy Religion. In these all Sects are agreed, and the careful Observation of them would, in its own Nature, be a divine Improvement unto all.



## S E C T. I.

*The Morals of a People essential to  
good Government.*

**G**OOD Government is one of the greatest Temporal Privileges that can be enjoyed upon Earth, for it encourages the Subjects to acquire Property, and freely to chuse their Religion, while at the same Time, it secures them in the full enjoyment of both. Such is the happy Constitution of the *British* Government, and who would not wish to see it strengthened and established for ever; that it may remain the Envy of Nations, and the Glory and Welfare of these happy Islands. Incomparable as this Blessing may be esteemed, it can only have a very short Duration if Impiety and Vice continue to spread and prevail, when the licentious Love of Pleasure becomes the common Principle of Action, and buries the Dictates of Reason, the Remonstrances of Con-

B 2 science,

feience, with all the Instructions of revealed Religion ; then our excellent Constitution is in the greatest Danger, and will soon be overturned, its fairest Pillars are shaken by its ungrateful Sons, while the seemly Fabrick will soon be torn to Pieces by its own Inhabitants. Consider the History of Nations distinguished for their Rise, their Figure, and their Fall ; you will find that a strict Regard to all the Branches of moral Virtue was their Rise ; that while Devotion, Truth, Righteousness, and Beneficence, continued to be their Practice, and their Reputation, they were great and free, the Wheels of Government turned softly round, and all Ranks rejoiced in the Administration of their Rulers ; happy within their own Borders, they were at once the Admiration and Terror of rival Powers. But so soon as they begun to lose a just Sense of moral Excellence, and to disregard it in their Behaviour, as soon did their Strength and Glory begin to decline, and while the Infection of Vice was diffusing itself over all, Destruction attended its Progress, till Hand in Hand both were compleated in their Captivity ; in their Captivity to those very Nations who had no Method by which they could conquer them, so long as the Love of Virtue reigned in their Dominions. It is neither the Riches nor the Poverty of a People that brings Ruin upon them ; for while their Morals remain, their

Riches.

Riches will be a part of their Happiness and Strength, and the Poverty of a virtuous Nation, will soon be removed by that Industry which is a Part of Virtue, and always attends it; nay, even the Calamities sent by Providence make a good People better, and the very Persecutions of their Enemies around them increase their Bravery and Fortitude. But Impiety and Vice diffused and persisted in, are Swords in the Bowels of a Nation; it may live and languish for a little, but still it bleeds, and in a little bleeding it must die. Neither Armies by Land nor Fleets by Sea are able to preserve it, when once it is become Prophan and Dissolute. And how is it possible they should? For the Commanders, the Soldiers and Sailors are enervated by the general Contagion; nor is it to be expected that God, the Father and Friend of Virtue, will work Miracles in their Behalf, by teaching their Hands to war, and their Fingers how to fight, that he will cover their Head in the Day of Battle, and make their Enemies fly before them. No, he will leave them, and the Nation they serve, to feel and fall by the want of that Conduct and Fortitude which is the natural Consequence of their own Wickedness. Nay, it is well if he does not join their Enemies and fight against them, that their overthrow may be distinguished, and their Infamy rendered perpetual.

On

On the other Hand, a due Regard to God and his Laws, are the Defence and Glory of a Kingdom ; in these consist that true Religion which is the supreme Felicity of a People, the Walls and Bulwarks of a Nation. And it must be so in the natural Connection of Things, as well as from the moral Government of that God by whom Kings do rule and Princes decree justly. The love of Virtue will not only purify and enlarge the Heart, but will make every Person attend to the peculiar Duties of his Station with Diligence and Pleasure, as the grand Means of his Peace and Welfare upon Earth, and of his eternal Perfection and Enjoyment in the future Life. Plainness and Honesty will be in their Dealings with one another. Truth, Sympathy, and Kindness, will be in all their Words and Actions towards the poor, disconsolate and unhappy ; while at the same Time, they will be careful to maintain the Government of Reason over every private Appetite ; their Breasts are the pure Temple where they praise God by a habitual Rectitude of Temper ; they delight in Devotion, and embrace with Ardent Pleasure every Opportunity of publick Worship and Instruction. It were, indeed, a vain Utopian Fancy, to expect that in this imperfect and probationary State, even the best should possess these Qualities in their Perfection, or that every Individual will practice them,

them, even in a low Degree. But what I assert is this, that in a Nation, where from the Sovereign down to the meanest Subject, a Regard for God, and for every Branch of moral Goodness, preferable to Impiety and Vice, is diffused and prevalent, that such a Nation bids fairer than any other, to be secured in the Blessings of its Constitution and Government, and to remain flourishing and happy. For Industry in one Shape or other will be the Employment of all Stations of Men. Temperance will be the Strength of their Bodies, and true Religion the Peace and Fortitude of their Minds. In a Word, the Legislature will enact Laws with Sagacity and publick Spirit, and the Subjects will obey them with Pleasure and Constancy.

Such is the happy Nation which the Ruler of the World has engaged to protect and prosper. Enemies, no doubt they will have, and those Enemies like envious Characters in private Life, incapable to imitate or excell, will endeavour to ruin and destroy. But in vain do the Sons of Slavery and Vice project the Overthrow of a virtuous Nation, a Nation bravely united in the Defence of Blessings, greater than Life or Fortune, even their Religion and their Liberty ; for as they are strong in themselves, so are they strong in him who is Almighty. For the Lord is their  
Judge,

Judge, the Lord is their Lawgiver, the Lord is their King, and he will save them.

## S E C T. II.

*A Faithful Clergy necessary to preserve the Morals of a People.*

**I**F it is allowed that the Morals of a People are the best Security of good Government, it comes to be an Enquiry of the utmost Importance, what is the likeliest Means to preserve their Morals in opposition to the Growth and Prevalence of Vice? To this Question it may be answered in general, that there is a variety of things which may be done to effectuate this, such as proper Laws enacted to encourage Industry among all Degrees of Men; the Industry of Agriculture and Manufacture among the lower People, and Industry in the Arts and Sciences among those in higher Life. Severe Punishments may be annexed to all Sorts of Crimes, and these Punishments impartially inflicted upon the Offenders. These and many things besides, have, no doubt, a natural and beneficial tendency towards the End proposed. But upon calm and serious Reflection it will be found, that no Scheme devisable by human  
Account

Wisdom, will either mend or maintain the Morals of a Country, without the Assistance of a well instructed, pure, and laborious Clergy. And indeed we find God himself, some time after he had made the World, appointing an Order of Men, of a religious and sacred Kind, for the Benefit of the People, to instruct them in divine Knowledge, and to lead them on in the Paths of Virtue.

Nay, even the Wisdom of Heathen Rulers judged it necessary to the national Welfare, that an Order of religious Teachers should be constantly employed among them. But as I am a Christian and a *British* Protestant, and write to Christians and *British* Protestants, I shall confine myself to a short Account of the Work and Usefulness of the Ministers of the Gospel.

The great Business of Ministers, is to instruct Mankind in the Knowledge of God and his infinite Perfections, to maintain upon their Minds such a lively Sense of his Greatness and Excellence, as may prove a powerful Means of their fearing and loving him; to persuade them that the rational and acceptable Way of expressing their Regard towards him, is by sincere Worship, and cheerful Obedience; and that this, and this only, can secure the Peace of their own Minds, and the

Favour of God in this World, and obtain for them, through Jesus Christ, everlasting Perfection and Felicity in the Life to come. This is in general the proper Work and Employment of Ministers of the Gospel. But further, they endeavour in their weekly Sermons, to represent in the most convincing and affecting Manner, the evil Nature and the dismal Consequences of Vice in all its particular Kinds and Degrees, and to set forth Virtue in its Purity and Excellence, with all the happy Effects that naturally flow from it, applying the whole to the Situation of their People, and to the different Relations which they bear in the World.

To their publick Labours may be added their private Endeavours, for they are daily employed in conversing with their People, often visiting and comforting the Sick and Afflicted, instructing the Ignorant and Stupid, and remonstrating by all the Arguments of Religion, against the wicked Practices of the particular Persons under their Charge, not in Publick or in Company, but to themselves alone. Such as I have represented is their constant Work and Business; that they may succeed in it is their earnest Study and fervent Prayer, while by the Purity of their own Behaviour, they give Dignity and Influence to the whole of their Employment.

Suppose

Suppose then such an Order of Men having the People of a Country divided among them, and put under their particular Inspection and Care with respect to Religion and Morals, will they not contribute exceedingly to remove that Ignorance and Vice which are the Shame and Misery of the rational Nature, and the grand Obstruction of good Government and national Prosperity, while at the same Time they propagate and establish that Knowledge and Virtue which are the Pillars of publick Happiness, and the noblest Security of a free Constitution. If this is admitted, which it must be by every one of just and sound Reflection, will it not also be allowed, that the Legislature ought constantly to cherish and support such a useful Body; and that the doing so will be a Piece of substantial Policy; Policy, without which no Kingdom, no Government can long subsist or flourish.

## S E C T. III.

*Observations relating to the Scots Clergy's present Application to the King and Parliament.*

**I**N consequence of what has been laid down, I shall make some Observations, with regard to the Ministers of the Church of *Scotland*, and their present Application to his Majesty and the Parliament ; an Application, which it would have been just and honourable either in the landed Gentlemen of *Scotland*, or the Lords of Session in that Country to have prevented, by placing them above the Hardships, which by all Accounts, they have too great Cause to complain of. But now that they are obliged to lay their Circumstances before the Legislature, they will doubtless, find speedy and effectual Relief. And I am persuaded, every Person that is really disinterested in point of Profit and Principle, heartily wishes that they may ; especially when they consider, first, who they are that make this Application ; secondly, what is the Sum and Substance of their Petition ; thirdly, to whom it is they are applying to grant it.

First,

First, who they are that make this Application. They are the Ministers of the Church of *Scotland* ; a Society of Men, in proportion to their Number, not inferior to any of their Kind in the known World ; for by the best Information I can get, they are generally Men of good Education, Knowledge, and Literature, conscientiously laborious in every Part of the ministerial Work, and extremely regular and exemplary in the whole of their Behaviour. Nay, I am assured by many from *Scotland*, whose Accounts may be fully relied upon, that by their Means the Ignorance, Superstition, and Bigotry, which in former Times have prevailed in that Country, are in a great Measure removed, and that Knowledge and Moderation are coming in their room. While at the same Time, a regard to God and his Worship, and to good Morals, is generally maintained, in opposition to the spreading Licentiousness of the Age. Those who are making this Application have not distinguished themselves more by instructing and reforming the People among whom they live, than they have done by their Zeal and Activity to maintain the Liberties of *Britain*, and the Stability of his Majesty's Throne. They are not only an entire Body of loyal Subjects themselves, but have always endeavoured to make those around them so likewise.

wife. That Firmness and Spirit which they have constantly shewn in periods of publick Danger, plainly declares that they understand the Constitution, and rejoice in its Blessings. Those who are now making this Application are the Ministers of the Church of *Scotland*, who not above five Years ago, did what Men could do to crush a most wicked and unprovoked Rebellion ; nay, in the very Presence as it were of the lawless Usurper, and under the Eye of his Army, they behaved both in a judicative and single Capacity, with that Unity and undaunted Fortitude of Mind, which nothing but the highest Motives could inspire. With what Warmth and Ardor did they rouse and animate their People against the common Enemy of our Religion, our Liberty, our King, our Country, our all. Many of them left their Wives and Children at home, and marched with Cheerfulness at the Head of their Parishes to *Edinburgh*, to *Glasgow*, and to other Places where they were told that Danger and Occasion called ; and numbers of them in every Corner of *Scotland*, would have shed their Blood in the glorious Cause with the same Readiness, with which they exposed their Persons, expended their Money, and bore the spoiling of their Goods. These are the Men who are making the present Application.

Secondly,

Secondly, Let us consider what is the Substance of this Petition. As I understand it, they are not asking an Augmentation to all the Ministers, but only to such whose Stipend is so small, that they are not able to live upon it with Decency and Comfort. They submit it to the Wisdom of the Government what that Augmentation should be. Further, they ask it out of no Man's Property, but from the Tythes which are in the Hands of the Gentlemen in *Scotland*, and are expressly burthened by Law, with a suitable Provision for Ministers. Or from any Fund whatever, that may give least Umbrage or be least felt. Further, though they leave the particular Augmentation they desire unspecified in their Request, yet I am told the Mind of the Church is this, that the Parliament should, by a Law, appoint the Lords of Session to raise every Stipend to ten Chalders of Victual, or their Value, according to the Conversion of the Victual in the different Parts of the Country. Such a Law, it is alledged, would make the Stipend eighty-three Pounds where Living is dearest, and the Victual of the greatest Value ; about sixty-six Pounds where Living is somewhat easier, and the Victual cheaper, and about fifty or fifty-five Pound where the Victual and Living are cheapest ; and it is said, that upon a strict  
 Calculation

Calculation it has been found, that a Sum not exceeding eight thousand Pound Sterling yearly, would do all that is desired.

It may be appealed to Mankind, whether this be an unnecessary and extravagant Petition, considering how greatly the Times are altered in Regard of the necessary Expence of Living, or if it is not extremely just and moderate. And surely the Sum total of eight thousand Pound would be very lightly felt by the Body of the landed Interest in *Scotland*, more especially, considering to whom it is to be given, and that it comes from a Fund left open and destined by Law for the Support of the Ministers in that Country. A Fund from which the Lords of Session themselves, have always been in Use to give Augmentations of Stipend. But in fact, the Ministers are willing to be relieved out of any Fund that the Legislature shall judge proper, if they don't chuse to give it from the Tythes the Gentlemen have in their Possession, and which they always were, and always will be more inclined to keep to themselves, than to part with, even to the Clergy, who have a just and legal Claim upon them. And indeed, it will appear very strange, if the Wisdom of Parliament can fall upon no Method of granting such a modest Petition, given in by such a distinguished Body of Men ; for it is not to be  
 4 thought,

thought, that the whole Treasure of the *British* Dominions is more properly bestowed, than so small a Part of it would be for relieving the *Scots* Clergy. And it ought to be observed, that when their Request is granted, they will scarce be in so good a Situation as they were one hundred and eighteen Years ago, when in the Year 1633, in the Reign of King *Charles* I. it was enacted, That no Stipend should be less than forty four Pounds Sterling, that Sum being equal in Value then, to the highest Value of ten Chalders now.

As a full Proof of this, Money was then at ten, and is now to be had in great Plenty at five and four per Cent.

Thirdly, To whom is it that the Ministers of the Church of *Scotland* are making humble Application to grant their Petition? It is to the King and Parliament of *Great Britain*, to a King whom they love and honour, to a King whose Royal Breast is always disposed to Justice and Compassion. To a Parliament renowned for their Wisdom and Candor. To a Parliament, whose Business it is patiently to hear and fully to redress every *British* Subject of his just Complaints. To a Parliament, whose Being and Security is closely connected with the Prosperity of the Church of *Scotland*, as they are both essential

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Parts

Parts of the same glorious Constitution. In fine, they are applying to those whose Interest it is to maintain and support them, and who alone can do it. For the Difficulties of applying for Relief elsewhere, on Account of the Opposition of the Gentlemen, the Expence and Trouble of the Process, and the Uncertainty of obtaining it from the Judges of their own Country, as there is no Law obliging them, are quite insuperable to the poor and distressed Clergy.

#### S E C T. IV.

*The Consequences of granting and refusing the Petition of the Scots Clergy.*

**T**HE Policy of the Legislature's granting this Petition will appear in its true Light, from a Representation of the Consequences which will necessarily flow, first, from granting it, and secondly, from refusing it.

First, by granting this Petition, the Government will take the most effectual Method that Political Wisdom can devise for sinking the Interest of Jacobitism and crushing a Spirit of Rebellion; for hereby they will maintain the Ministers of *Scotland* in a State of  
 Independen-

Independence upon those against whose Principles and Vices they ought to remonstrate with an honest and faithful Freedom. If they are heard and helped upon this Occasion, they will remain a Bulwark to *Britain*, stronger, perhaps, and more impregnable than Castles and Garisons, nor so soon to be scattered and discomfited as Fleets and Armies. Their Labours, their Example, their Influence are constant and universal; so that the Bulk of the Nation will be guided by them. Learning and Moderation will increase by their Means, while the growing Trade and Manufactures of their Country will be cherished by the Morals which they daily Instruct and Exemplify. Thus even in the ruder and more remote Parts of *Scotland*, the Clergy will become the successful Instruments of reclaiming the People to Religion and Industry, and thereby to Loyalty, and the Love of our Constitution; so that the King which reigns over them shall also reign in their Affections.

Secondly, should the Legislature, and particularly those employed in the Administration, refuse to grant the Petition of the Ministers of the Church of *Scotland*, they refuse a Body of their true Friends, and will render them very insignificant in that Part of the United Kingdom where they have

contributed their Share to prevent publick and fatal Mischiefs. They will be thrown back to grapple with that Opposition and with these very Difficulties which have brought them hither. This may be a Mortification to the Church of *Scotland*, but it will not be so to her Enemies. It may dash the Spirit of her Ministers, and sink their Usefulness, but it will rejoice the Heart of the Impious and Profligate, that the faithful Teachers of Religion are discouraged while every Jacobite in the Island, secret and avowed, will hear of the Treatment with Pleasure, and write the agreeable News to their distant Friends. If they are refused, Contempt and Scorn will be added to their Poverty. The Hardships which they have complained of in vain, will be rendered more intolerable, while they will be told by every one that chuses to insult them, that they may apply to the King and Parliament for Relief. However shocking and certain these Consequences are, yet the Prospect is still more melancholy and affecting; for should this Petition be rejected, no dutiful Parent will henceforth put his Son to study for an Office where the Wages are Poverty, and the Character Contempt, when at the Expence of less Money and Time, his Son will make a much better Livelihood for himself and his Family, by following some Branch of Mechanicks,

chanicks, Trade or Manufacture. Such only will become Students for the Ministry, who are taken from amongst the meanest of the People, of low Birth, and lower Education, without Spirit, without Connections, incapable of understanding even the Languages of the Scripture, and of explaining the Sense of them to others. Such Persons will be absolutely unqualified to defend the Christian and Protestant Doctrines against the Infidels of the Times, and the sly Attacks of the Popish Adversary. They will be Men without Merit, without Ability, without Respect, and without Influence. Ignorance and Superstition, Vice and Disaffection, will quickly return in spite of all that can be done by a poor, illiterate, and despised Clergy. Formerly Ministers, whose Families are so many Seats and Soils of Loyalty, made a Shift to educate some of their Sons for the Ministry, which was a considerable Advantage to the Church, and a great Security to the Constitution. But now that is over with most of them, and become impracticable; for, if I am not greatly misinformed, there are hundreds of Ministers in *Scotland* at this present Time, who in spite of all the Frugality of Living, have not a Shilling in the World that they can call their own, and were they to die this Moment, could have a Winding Sheet, a Coffin, and a Grave, in

no other Way, than by disposing of so much of their household Furniture as will purchase them. If this Petition is refused, it is to be feared that many of them must live and die in this Situation, rendered in a great Measure, incapable of advancing the Interests of true Religion, and the Welfare of the Country.

Having finished what I have to say at present, I leave the Ministers of the Church of *Scotland* upon the King and Parliament for their Relief. If it comes not from them, it will not come from others; if it is not granted now, very likely it never will.

F I N I S.









